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ism, which had never been heard of at that period, its progress, as I have already shown, has been materially checked not only by the reactionary tendencies of this Nationalism in religious and social matters, but by the diversion of some of the best energies of the country into the relatively barren field of political agitation.

SOCIAL REFORM

Though social reform has been checked, it has not been altogether arrested, nor can it be arrested so long as British rule, by the mere fact of its existence, maintains the ascendancy of Western ideals. Happily there are still plenty of educated Indians who realize that the liberation of Indian society from the trammels which are of its own making is much more urgent than its enfranchisement from an alien yoke. Even amongst politicians of almost every complexion the necessity of removing from the Indian social system the reproach of degrading anachronisms is finding at least theoretical recognition. Alongside of more conspicuous political organisations devoted mainly to political propaganda, other organizations have been quietly developing all over India whose chief purpose it is to grapple with social, religious, and economic problems which are not, or need not necessarily be, in any way connected with politics. Their voices are too often drowned by the louder clamour of the politicians pure and simple and they attract little attention outside India. But no one who has spent any time in India can fail to be struck with the many-sided activities revealed in all the non-political conventions and conferences and congresses held annually all over the country. Within the last 12 months there have been philanthropic and religious conferences like the All-India Temperance Conference, the Christian Endeavour Convention, the Theosophical Convention, social conferences like the Indian National Social Conference, the Moslem Educational Congress, and the Sikh Educational Conference, economic conferences like the Industrial Conference held at Lahore in connexion with the Punjab Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition, not to speak of many others, such as the Rajput Conference, the Hindu Punjab Conference, the Kshatrya Conference, the Parsee Conference, &c., which dealt with the narrower interests of particular castes or communities, but nevertheless gathered together representatives of those interests from all parts of India, or at any rate from a whole province.

Some of these meetings may be made to subserve political purposes. Others, like the Parsee Conference, betray reactionary tendencies in the most unexpected places, for the Parsee community, which has thriven more than any other on Western education and has prided itself upon being the most progressive and enlightened of all Indian communities, is the last one in which one would have looked for the triumph, however temporary, of a strangely benighted orthodoxy. But the majority of these gatherings represent an honest and earnest attempt to apply, as far as possible, the teachings of Western experience to the solution of Indian problems, and to subject Indian customs and beliefs to the test of modern civilization. They apply themselves, moreover, chiefly to questions of social reform. A Government like that of India can take the serious risk of being altogether ahead of native opinion and dangerous opposition. As Mr. Lala Dev Raj,

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the chairman of the last Social Conference at Lahore, for instance, put it :—

“ The reforms advocated here strike at those harmful and undesirable customs which are purely of our own creation and which must be bidden farewell to, as our eyes are being opened to them. If we cannot do that, we can hardly call ourselves a living community.”

The results of all this activity may not so far have been very marked, but the mere fact that the supreme sanction of tradition, which was formerly almost undisputed, is now subjected to discussion is bound to make some impression, even upon those whose political concepts are based upon the immanent superiority of Hinduism. The new interpretation of the *Bhagvat Gita*, though sometimes distorted to hideous ends, has itself been inspired by a broader appreciation of social duty than there was room for in the Hindu theory of life before it had been modified by Western influences. So long as the spirit of social endeavour kindled by men like Ram Mohun Roy and Keshab Chunder Sen and Mahadeo Govind Ranade is kept alive, even though by much lesser men, we may well hope that the present wave of revolt will ultimately spend itself on the dead shore of a factious and artificial reaction, incompatible with the purpose to which their own best efforts were devoted, of bringing the social life of India into harmony with Western civilization.

A NEW PHENOMENON

A phenomenon which may prove to have a deep significance is that, side by side with these larger organizations for the promotion of social reform which only claim incidental service from their members, a number of smaller societies are growing up of which the members are bound together by much closer ties and more stringent obligations, and in some cases even by solemn vows to renounce the world and to devote themselves wholly to a life of social service. Many of them present features of special interest which deserve recognition, but I must be content to describe one of them to which the personality of its founder lends exceptional importance. This is the society of “ The Servants of India,” founded by Mr. Gokhale at Poona.

“ THE SERVANTS OF INDIA ”

Mr. Gokhale's career itself exemplifies the cross-currents that are often so perplexing a feature of Indian unrest. He is chiefly known in England as one of the leading and certainly most interesting figures in Indian politics. A Chitpawan Brahman by birth, with the blood of the old dominant caste of Maharashtra in his veins, he has often been both in the Viceroy's Legislative Council and in that of his own Presidency a severe and even bitter critic of an alien Government, of which he nevertheless admits the benefit and even the necessity for India. On the other hand, though he proclaims himself a Nationalist, and though, on one occasion at least, when he presided over the stormy session of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta in December, 1905, which endorsed the Bengali boycott movement, he lent the weight of his authority to a policy that was difficult to reconcile with constitutional methods of opposition, his reason and his moral sense have always revolted

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against the reactionary appeals to religious prejudice and racial hatred by which men like Tilak have sought to stimulate a perverted form of Indian patriotism. Highly educated both as a Western and an Eastern scholar, he approaches perhaps more nearly than any of his fellow countrymen to the Western type of doctrinaire Radical in politics and agnostic in regard to religion, but with a dash of passion and enthusiasm which the Western doctrinaire is apt to lack. When Tilak opened his first campaign of unrest in the Deccan by attacking the Hindu reformers, he found few stouter opponents than Mr. Gokhale, who was one of Ranade's staunchest disciples and supporters. Nor did Tilak ever forgive him. His newspapers never ceased to pursue him with relentless ferocity, and only last year Mr. Gokhale had to appeal to the Law Courts for protection against the scurrilous libels of the extremist Press.

His own experiences in political life, since he resigned his work as a professor at the Fergusson College in Poona in order to take a larger share in public affairs, have probably helped to convince Mr. Gokhale that his fellow-countrymen for the most part still lack many essential qualifications for the successful discharge of those civic duties which are the corollary of the civic rights he claims for them. He does not, it is understood, desire to seek re-election to the Imperial Council at Calcutta after the expiry of its present power two years hence, as he wishes to devote himself chiefly to the educational work, which, in one form or another, has perhaps always been the most absorbing interest of his life. When he was a professor at the Fergusson College, teaching was with him a vocation rather than a profession, and, if one may judge by his practice, he believes that only those who are prepared to set an example of selflessness and almost ascetic simplicity of life can hope to promote the moral and social as well as the political advancement of India. It is on these principles that he founded five years ago the "Servants of India" Society, recruited in the first instance amongst a few personal followers and supported hitherto by the voluntary contributions of his admirers. The objects of the Society as laid down by its promoters are "to train national missionaries for the service of India and to promote by all constitutional means the true interests of the Indian people." Its members "frankly accept the British connexion as ordained, in the inscrutable dispensation of Providence, for India's good," and they recognize that "self-government within the Empire and a higher life generally for their countrymen" constitute a goal which "cannot be attained without years of earnest and patient effort and sacrifices worthy of the cause." As to its immediate functions, "much of the work," it is stated, "must be directed towards building up in the country a higher type of character and capacity than is generally available at present," and to this end the Society "will train men prepared to devote their lives to the cause of the country in a religious spirit."

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIETY

The constitution of the Society recalls in fact that of some of the great religious societies of Christendom, and not least that of the Society of Jesus. With this cardinal difference, that it is essentially secular, it constitutes as its ideal the service of India for the good of the world, much in the same way as the Japanese have to

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a large extent merged their religious creeds in an idealized cult of Japan.

Every "Servant of India" takes at the time of admission into the society the following seven vows :—

(a) That the country will always be first in his thoughts, and that he will give to her service the best that is in him.

(b) That in serving the country he will seek no personal advantage for himself.

(c) That he will regard all Indians as brothers and will work for the advancement of all, without distinction of caste or creed.

(d) That he will be content with such provision for himself and his family, if any, as the society may be able to make, and will devote no part of his energies to earning money for himself.

(e) That he will lead a pure personal life.

(f) That he will engage in no personal quarrel with any one.

(g) That he will always keep in view the aims of the Society and watch over its interests with the utmost zeal, doing all he can to advance its work and never doing anything inconsistent with its objects.

The head of the society, called the First Member—who is Mr. Gokhale—is to hold office for life, and its affairs are to be conducted in accordance with by-laws framed for the purpose by the First Member, who will be assisted by a council of three, one of whom will be his own nominee, whilst two will be elected by the ordinary members. The powers assigned to the First Member are very extensive, and include that of recommending the names of three ordinary members out of whom, when the time comes, his successor will have to be chosen. His authority is, in fact, the dominant one, whether over the probationers under training for a period of five years, three of which are to be spent at the society's home in Poona, or over the ordinary members admitted to the full privileges of the society, or over those who as *attaches*, associates, and permanent assistants are very closely affiliated to it without being actually received into membership.

The scheme is, of course, at present in its infancy, as the Society still numbers only about 25, the majority of whom have not yet completed their term of probation. Mr. Gokhale, however, hopes very soon to have 50 probationers constantly in residence, and he has already gathered together in the well-appointed buildings of the Society's home, just outside Poona, in close proximity to the Fergusson College, a group of young men, to some of whom he kindly introduced me, who have evidently caught the fervour of his enthusiasm. One of the latest recruits was by birth a Mahomedan, of whom Mr. Gokhale was specially proud, as he is very anxious that the Society shall be in fact as well as in theory representative of all castes and creeds.

One of the first questions which this remarkable experiment suggests is whether the ideals which Mr. Gokhale sets before the "Servants of India" will suffice to supply the necessary driving power. Hitherto some form of religious faith and the hope of some heavenly reward have alone availed to induce men to renounce the world and all its material interests and surrender themselves to a life of rigorous and selfless discipline in the service of their fellow-creatures, or rather in the service of God through their fellow-creatures. Mr. Gokhale's Society makes no

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claim to any religious sanction. Though Indian asceticism has from the most remote times found devotees willing to lead a life of greater and more complete self-annihilation than any that the most rigorous monastic orders of Christendom have ever imposed, or that, for the matter of that, Mr. Gokhale seeks to impose upon his followers, it has always been inspired by some religious conception. Will the "Servants of India" find the same permanent inspiration in the cult of an Indian Motherland, however highly spiritualized, that has no rewards to offer either in this world or in any other? On the political as well as other potentialities of such an organization as Mr. Gokhale contemplates there is no need to dwell. For the "Servants of India," moulded by one mind and trained to obey one will, are to go forth as missionaries throughout India, in the high-ways and by-ways, among the "untouchables" as well as among the higher classes, preaching to each and all the birth of an Indian nation.

XXIV.—The Growth of Western Education

The rising generation represent the India of the future, and though those who come within the orbit of the Western education we have introduced still constitute only a very small fraction of the whole youth of India, their numbers and their influence are growing steadily and are bound to go on growing. If we are losing our hold over them, it is a poor consolation to be told that we still retain our hold over their elders. I therefore regard the estrangement of the young Indian, and especially of the young Hindu who has passed or is passing through our schools and colleges, as the most alarming phenomenon of the present day, and I am convinced that of all the problems with which British statesmanship is confronted in India none is more difficult and more urgent than the educational problem. We are too deeply pledged now to the general principles upon which our educational policy in India is based for even its severest critics to contemplate the possibility of abandoning it. But for this very reason it is all the more important that we should realize the grave defects of the existing system, or, as some would say, want of system, in order that we may, so far as possible, repair or mitigate them. There can be no turning back, and salvation lies not in doing less for Indian education, but in doing more and in doing it better.

FOUR SALIENT FEATURES

Four very important features of the system deserve to be noted at the outset:—(1) Following the English practice, Government exercises no direct control over educational institutions other than those maintained by the State, though its influence is brought in several ways indirectly to bear upon all that are not prepared to reject the benefits which it can extend to them; (2) Government has concentrated its efforts mainly upon higher education, and has thus begun from the top in the over-sanguine belief that education would ultimately filter down from the higher to the lower strata of Indian society; (3) instruction in the various courses, mostly to constitute higher education is conveyed through the a tongue still absolutely foreign to the vast education is generally confined to the intellectual ly absolutely from all religious teaching, but

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also very largely from all moral training and discipline, with the result that the vital side of education which consists in the formation of character has been almost entirely neglected.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SYSTEM

To make the present situation intelligible, I must recapitulate, however briefly, the phases through which our Indian system of education has passed. The very scanty encouragement originally given to education by the East India Company was confined to promoting the study of the Oriental languages still used at that time in the Indian Courts of Law in order to qualify young Indians for Government employment and chiefly in the subordinate posts of the judicial service. After long and fierce controversies on the rival merits of the vernaculars and of English as the more suitable vehicle for the expansion of education, Macaulay's famous Minute of March 7, 1835, determined a revolution of which only very few at the time foresaw, however faintly, the ultimate consequences. Lord William Bentinck's Government decided that "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of English literature and science, and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed in English education alone."

A GREAT INFLUENCE

Another influence—too often forgotten—had at least as large a share as Macaulay's in this tremendous departure. That was the influence of the great missionary, Dr. Alexander Duff, who inspired the prohibition of suttee and other measures which marked the withdrawal of the countenance originally given by the East India Company to religious practices incompatible in the opinion of earnest Christians with the sovereignty of a Christian Power. Duff had made up his mind, in direct opposition to Carey and other earlier missionaries, that the supremacy of the English language over the vernaculars must be established as a preliminary to the Christianization of India. He had himself opened in 1830 an English school in Calcutta with an immediate success which had confounded all his opponents. His authority was great both at home and in India, and was reflected equally in Lord Hardinge's Educational Order of 1844, which threw a large number of posts in the public service open to English-speaking Indians without distinction of race or creed, and in Sir Charles Wood's Educational Despatch of 1854, which resulted in the creation of a Department for Public Instruction, the foundation of the three senior Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, the affiliation to them of schools and colleges for purposes of examination, and the inauguration of the "grant-in-aid" system for the encouragement of native educational enterprise by guaranteeing financial support according to a fixed scale to all schools that satisfied certain tests of efficiency in respect of secular instruction.

Duff's influence had assured the supremacy of English in secular education but he never succeeded in inducing Government to go a step beyond neutrality in regard to religious education, and though the remarkable successes which he had in the meantime achieved, not only as a teacher but as a missionary, amongst the highest classes of Calcutta society no doubt

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led him to hope that even without any active co-operation from Government the spread of English education would in itself involve the spread of both Christian ethics and Christian doctrine, he never ceased to preach the necessity of combining religious and moral with secular education or to prophesy the evils which would ensue from their divorce.

SUCCESSFUL BEGINNINGS

The system inaugurated by the Educational Minute of 1835 and developed in the Educational Orders of 1854 began well. The number of young Indians who took advantage of it was relatively small. They were drawn mostly from the better classes, and they were brought into direct contact with their English teachers many of them very remarkable men whose influence naturally and often unconsciously helped to form the character of their pupils as well as to develop their intellect—and most of all, perhaps, in the mission schools; for the Christian missions were at that time the dominant factor in Indian educational work. In 1854 when there were only 12,000 scholars in all the Government schools, mission schools mustered four times that number and the rights they acquired under the Orders of 1854 to participate in the new “grants-in-aid” helped them to retain the lead which in some respects, though not as to numbers, they still maintain. For more than 50 years after the Minute of 1835, and especially during the three or four decades that followed the Orders of 1854, the new system produced a stamp of men who seemed fully to justify the hopes of its original founders—not merely men with a sufficient knowledge of English to do subordinate work as clerks and minor *employees* of Government, but also men of great intellectual attainments and of high character, who filled with distinction the highest posts open to Indians in the public service, sat on the Bench, and practised at the Bar, and, in fact, made a mark for themselves in the various fields of activity developed by contact with the West. No data have ever been collected to show what proportion men of this stamp bore to the aggregate number of students under the new system. The proportion was certainly small, but it was at any rate large enough to reflect credit upon the system as a whole and to disguise its inherent defects.

THE CAUSES OF DETERIORATION

Paradoxical as it may sound, it is the eagerness of young India to respond to this educational call that has led to the break-down of the system in some of the most important functions of education. In its earlier stages those who claimed the benefit of the new system were chiefly drawn from the intellectual *elite*—i.e., from the classes which had had the monopoly of knowledge, though it was not Western knowledge, before the introduction of Western education. With the success which the new system achieved the demand grew rapidly, and the quality of the output diminished as it increased in quantity. On the one hand education came to be regarded by the Indian public less and less as an end in itself and more and more as merely an avenue either to lucrative careers or to the dignified security of appointments, however modest, under Government. In either case, to a higher social *status*, which had a definite money value in the matrimonial market.

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The grand-in-aid system led to the foundation of large numbers of schools and colleges under private native management or under the control of District and Municipal Boards in which the native element predominated, and it enabled them to adopt so low a scale of fees that many parents who had never dreamt of literacy for themselves were encouraged to try and secure for some at least of their children the benefit of this miraculous Open Sesame to every kind of worldly advancement. Much of the raw material pressed into secondary schools was quite unsuitable, and little or no attempt was made to sift it in the rough. Numbers therefore began to drop out somewhere on the way, disappointed of their more ambitious hopes and having acquired just enough new ideas to unfit them for the humbler work to which they might otherwise have been brought up. On the other hand, whilst school and colleges, chiefly under private native management, were multiplied in order to meet the growing demand, the instruction given in them tended to get petrified into mechanical standards, which were appraised solely or mainly by success in the examination lists. In fact, education in the higher sense of the term gave way to the mere cramming of undigested knowledge into more or less receptive brains with a view to an inordinate number of examinations, which marked the various stages of this artificial process. The personal factor also disappeared more and more in the relations between scholars and teachers as the teaching staff failed to keep pace with the enormous increase in numbers.

TWO BANEFUL COMMISSIONS

All these deteriorating influences, though they were perhaps not then so visible on the surface, were already at work in the 80's, when two important Government Commissions were held whose labours, with the most excellent intentions, were destined to have directly and indirectly, the most baneful effects upon Indian education. The one was the Education Commission of 1882-83, appointed by Lord Ripon, with Sir William Hunter as President, and the other the Public Service Commission of 1886-87, appointed by Lord Dufferin, with Sir Charles Aitchison as President. It is quite immaterial whether the steps taken by the Government of India during the subsequent decade were actually due to the recommendations of the Education Commission, or whether the Report of the Commission merely served as an opportunity to carry into practice the views that were then generally in the ascendant. The eloquence of the Commission, if I may borrow the language appropriately used to me by a very competent authority, was chiefly directed towards representing the important benefits that would be likely to accrue to Government and to education by the relaxation of Government's control over education, the withdrawal of Government from the management of schools, and the adoption of a general go-as-you-please policy. Amongst the definite results which we undoubtedly owe to the labours of that Commission was the acclimatization in India of Sir Robert Lowe's system of "payment by results," which was then already discredited in England.

Just at the time when the transfer of the teacher's influence from European into native hands was being thus accelerated, the Public Service Commission, not a single member of which was an educational officer, produced a series of recommendations which had the

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effect of changing very much for the worse the position and prospects of Indians in the Educational Department. Before the Commission sat, Indians and Europeans used to work side by side in the superior graded service of the Department, and until quite recently they had drawn the same pay. The Commission abolished this equality and comradeship and put the Europeans and the Indians into separate pens. The European pen was named the Indian Educational Service and the native pen was named the Provincial Educational Service. Into the Provincial Service were put Indians holding lower posts than any held by Europeans and with no prospect of ever rising to the *maximum* salaries hitherto within their reach. To pretend that equality was maintained under the new scheme is idle, and the grievance thus created has caused a bitterness which is not allayed by the fact that the Commission created a similar grievance in other branches of the public service. Nor was this all the mischief done. It quickened the impulse already given by the Education Commission by formally recommending that the recruitment of Englishmen for the Education Department should be reduced to a *minimum*, and especially that even fewer inspectors of schools than the totally inadequate number then existing should be recruited from England. It is interesting to note in view of subsequent developments that, while this recommendation was tacitly ignored by the Provincial Governments in some parts of India, as, for instance, in Bombay, it was accepted and applied in Bengal—*i. e.*, in the province where our educational system has displayed its gravest shortcomings.

THE WANING OF EUROPEAN INFLUENCE

From that time forward the dominant influence in secondary schools and colleges drifted steadily and rapidly out of the hands of Englishmen into those of natives long before there was a sufficient supply of Native teachers fitted either by tradition or by training to conduct an essentially Western system of education. Not only did the number of native teachers increase steadily and enormously, but that of the European teachers actually decreased. Dr. Ashutosh Mookerjee, the Vice-President (?) of the Calcutta University, told me, for instance, that when he entered the Presidency College about 1880 all the professors, except a few specialists for purely Oriental subjects, were English, and the appointment whilst he was there of an Indian for the first time as an ordinary professor created quite a sensation. Last year there were only eight English professors as against 23 Indians. Yet during the same 30 years the number of pupils had increased from a little over 350 to close on 700—*i. e.*, it had nearly doubled. The Calcutta Presidency College is nevertheless far better off in this respect than most colleges except the missionary institutions, in which the European staff of teachers has been maintained at a strength that explains their continued success. Out of 127 colleges there are 30 to-day with no Europeans at all on the staff, and these colleges contain about one-fifth of the students in all colleges. Of the other colleges, 16 have only one European professor, 21 only two, and so forth. In the secondary schools the proportion of native to European teachers is even more unfavorable. From the point of view of mere instruction, highly unsatisfactory. From the point of view of discipline and the formation of character, they

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XXV.—*The Indian Student*

The fundamental weakness of our Indian educational system is that the average Indian student cannot bring his education into any direct relation with the world in which, outside the class or lecture-room, he continues to live. For that world is still the old Indian world of his forefathers, and it is as far removed as the poles asunder from the Western world which claims his education. I am not speaking now of the relatively still very small class amongst whom Western ideas are already sufficiently acclimatized for the parents to be able to supplement in their own homes the education given to their children in our schools and colleges. Nor am I speaking of the students who live in hostels under the superintendence of high-minded Englishmen, and especially of missionaries such as those of the Oxford Mission in Calcutta, who have to reject for want of space a score of applicants for every one they can take in. Those also form but a small minority. In Calcutta, for instance, out of 4,500 students barely 1,000 live in hostels, and not all hostels are by any means satisfactory. In the Indian Universities there is no collegiate life such as English Universities afford, and in India most of the secondary schools as well as colleges are non-residential. The majority of those who attend them, unless they live at home, have therefore to board out with friends or to live in promiscuous messes, or, as is too often the case, in lodgings of a very undesirable character, sometimes even in brothels, and almost always under conditions intellectually, morally, and physically deleterious.

A NOTABLE TESTIMONY

Lest I may be accused of exaggeration or bias, I will appeal here to the testimony of Dr. Garfield Williams, a missionary of the highest repute and experience, and in profound sympathy with the natives of India. Speaking at the Missionary Conference at Calcutta last winter, he said :—

“The conditions and environment of the student in Calcutta are such as to make the formation of character almost impossible. . . . He is not a student in the best sense of the word, for he has not the scholarly instincts of a student—I speak, of course, of the average student, not of the exceptional one. His parents send him to the University to pass one or two examinations, and these have to be passed in order to enable him to attain a higher salary. . . . His work is sheer “grind.” The acquisition of good notes for lectures is the first essential for him, and the professor who gives good clear-cut notes so that a man can dispense with any text-books is the popular professor—and for two reasons : first of all, it saves the expense of buying the text-book, and then, of course, it helps to get through the examination. That is a reason why two boys of the same village will go to different colleges because they can then “swap” notes. It is a very rare thing for a student to have money enough to buy more than one of the suggested books on a given subject for examination. He learns by heart one book and the notes of lectures of two or three of the favourite professors in Calcutta. There is many a man who has even got through his examinations without any text-book of any kind to help him, simply by committing to memory volumes

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of lecture notes. . . . I know of no student who labours more strenuously than the Bengali student. The question is how to prevent this ridiculous wastage of students ; how to prevent the production of this disappointed man who is a student only in name. He never had any desire to be a student in nature ; he was brought up without that desire . . . and indeed, if he be a boy with real scholarly instincts and he happens to fail in his examinations, it makes it all the worse, for his parents will not recognize those scholarly instincts of his—all they want is a quick return for the money spent on his education, and he will have to make that return from a Rs. 30 salary instead of a Rs. 50 one."

THE STUDENT'S DAILY LIFE

Can there be anything more pathetic and more alarming than the picture that Dr. Williams draws of the student's actual life ?—

"He gets up about 6, and having dressed (which is not a long process) he starts work. Until 10, if you go into his mess, you will see him "grinding" away at his text-book under the most amazing conditions for work—usually stretched out upon his bed or sitting on the side of it. The room is almost always shared with some other occupant, usually with two or three or more other occupants, mostly engaged in the same task if they are students. At 10 the boy gets some food, and then goes off to his college for about four or five hours of lectures. A little after 3 in the afternoon he comes home to his mess, and between 3 and 5 is usually seen lounging about his room, dead tired but often engaged in discussion with his room-mates or devouring the newspaper, which is his only form of recreation and his only bit of excitement. At 5 he will go out for a short stroll down College Street or around College Square. This is his one piece of exercise, if such you can call it. At dusk he returns to his ill-lighted, stuffy room and continues his work, keeping it up, with a short interval for his evening meal, until he goes to bed, the hour of bed-time depending upon the proximity of his examination. A very large percentage when they actually sit for their examinations are nothing short of physical wrecks."

Dr. Williams proceeds to quote Dr. Mullick, an eminent Hindu physician who has devoted himself to helping young students :—

"The places where the students live huddled up together are most hurtful to their constitutions. The houses are dirty, dingy, ill-ventilated, and crowded. Even in case of infectious sickness. . . they lie in the same place as others, some of whom they actually infect. Phthisis is getting alarmingly common among students owing to the sputum of infected persons being allowed to float about with the dust in crowded messes. . . . Most of them live in private messes where a hired cook and single servant have complete charge of his food and house-keeping, and things are stolen, foodstuffs are adulterated, badly cooked and badly served."

Dr. Williams, who states emphatically that "it is not exaggeration to say that the student is often half-starved," goes on to deal with the moral drawbacks of a life which is under no effective supervision and is not even under the restraints, implied in the . . . that play so important a part in Universities' collegiate life.

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"When you segregate your young men by thousands in the heart of this city of dreadful night, amid conditions of life which are most antagonistic to moral and physical well-being . . . the result is a foregone conclusion, and it does not only mean physical degeneration, it also means moral degeneration, and it becomes a most potent predisposing factor in political disease. Of that there can be no shadow of doubt."

THE INTELLECTUAL EVILS

The material conditions are not, it is true, nearly so bad in many other parts of India as they are in Bengal, and especially in Calcutta (though the Bengalis claim the intellectual primacy of India), and it is on the moral and physical evils produced by those conditions that Dr. Garfield Williams chiefly dwells. But the intellectual evils for all but a small minority are in their way quite as grave, and they are inherent to the system. Take the case of a boy brought up until he is old enough to go to school in some small town of the *mofussil*, anywhere in India, by parents who have never been drawn into any contact, however remote, with Western ideas or Western knowledge. From these purely Indian surroundings his parents, who are willing to stint themselves in order that their son may get a post under Government, send him to a secondary school, let us say in the chief town of the district, or in a University city. There again he boards with friends of his family, if they have any, or in lodgings amidst the same purely Indian surroundings, and his only contact with the Western world is through school-books in a foreign tongue, of which it is difficult enough for him to grasp even the literal meaning, let alone the spirit, which his native teachers have themselves too often only very partially imbibed and are therefore quite unable to communicate. From the secondary school he passes for his University course, if he gets so far, in precisely the same circumstances into a college which is merely a higher form of school. Whilst attending college our student continues to live amidst the same purely Indian surroundings, and his contact with the Western world is still limited to his text-books. Even the best native teacher can hardly interpret that Western world to him as a trained European can, and unless our student intends to become a doctor or an engineer, and has to pass through the schools of medicine or engineering, where he is bound to be a good deal under English teachers, he may perfectly well, and very often does, go through his whole course of studies in school and in college without ever coming into personal contact with an Englishman. How can he be expected under such conditions to assimilate Western knowledge or to form even a remote conception of the customs and traditions, let alone the ideals, embodied in Western knowledge?

Try and imagine for a moment, however absurd it may seem, what would have been the effect upon the brains of the youth of our own country if it had been subject to Chinese rule for the last 100 years and the Chinese, without interfering with our own social customs or with our religious beliefs, had taken charge of higher education and insisted upon conveying to our youth a course of purely Chinese instruction imparted through Chinese text-books, and taught mainly by Englishmen for the most part only one degree more familiar than their pupils with the inwardness of Chinese

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thought and Chinese ethics. The effect could hardly have been more bewildering than the effect produced in many cases similar to that which I have instanced on the brain of the Indian youth when he emerges from our schools and colleges.

THE RADICAL DEFECT OF THE SYSTEM

It may be said that such cases are extreme cases, but extreme as they are, they are not exceptional. The exceptions must be sought rather amongst the small minority, who, in spite of all these drawbacks, display such a wonderful gift of assimilation, or it might perhaps be more correctly termed of intuition, that they are able to transport themselves into a new world of thought, or at any rate to see into it as it were through a glass darkly. But the number of those who possess this gift has probably always been small, and smaller still, with the reduction of the European element in the teaching staff, is the number growing of those who have a fair chance of developing that gift, even if nature has endowed them with it. A comparison of the Census Report of 1901 with the figures given in the Educational Statistics for 1901-2 shows that the total number of Europeans then engaged in Indian educational work was barely 500, of whom less than half were employed by Government, whilst that of the natives engaged in similar work in colleges and secondary schools alone was about 27,500. As the number of Indian students and scholars receiving higher education amounts to three-quarters of a million, it is obvious that so slight a European leaven, whatever its quality—and its quality is not always what it should be—can produce but little impression upon so huge a mass.

Our present system of Indian education in fact presents in an exaggerated form, from the point of view of the cultivation of the intellect, most of the defects alleged against a classical education by its bitterest opponents in Western countries, where, after all, the classics form only a part, however important, of the curriculum, and neither Latin nor Greek is the only medium for the teaching of every subject. From the point of view of the formation of character according to Western standards, and even from that of physical improvement, the case is even worse. In Western countries the education given in our schools, from the Board school to the University, is always more or less on the same plane as that of the class from which the boys who attend them are drawn. It is merely the continuation and the complement of the education our children receive in their own homes from the moment of their birth, and it moves on the same lines as the world in which they live and move and have their being. In India with rare exceptions it is not so, but exactly the reverse.

XXVI—Politics in Schools and Colleges

There has been no more deplorable feature in the political agitation of the last few years than the active part taken in it by Indian schoolboys and students. It has been a prominent feature everywhere, but nowhere more so than in the Bengal provinces, where from the very outset of the boycott movement in 1905 picketing of the most aggressive character was conducted by bands of schoolboys who ought to have been doing their lessons. That picketing, and the state of utter demoralization that

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was ultimately reached may be gathered from the following statements in the last Provincial Report on Education (1908-9), issued by the Government of Eastern Bengal :—

"On the 7th of August [1908] most of the Hindu students abstained from attending the college and high schools at Comilla as a demonstration in connexion with the boycott anniversary. Immediately afterwards, on the date of the execution of the Muzafferpur murderer, the boys of several schools in the province attended barefooted and without shirts and in some cases fasting. . . . At Jamalpur the demonstration lasted a week. . . . Later in the year, on the occasion of the execution of one of the Alipur murderers, the pupils of the Sandip Cargill School made a similar demonstration."

The report adds, in a sanguine vein, that, as a result of various disciplinary measures, a marked improvement had subsequently taken place, but quite recent events show that something more than disciplinary measures is required to eradicate the spirit which inspired such occurrences.

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF POLITICIANS

The heaviest responsibility rests on those who, claiming to be the intellectual leaders of the country, not only instigated its youth to take part in political campaigns, but actually placed them in the forefront of the fray. However reprehensible from our British point of view other features of a seditious agitation may be, to none does so high a degree of moral culpability attach as to the methods adopted by Hindu politicians to undermine the fundamental principles of authority by stirring up the passions of inexperienced youth at the more emotional period of life. Even the fact that political murders have been invariably perpetrated by misguided youths of the student class is hardly as ominous as the homage paid to the murderers' memories by whole schools and colleges. Most ominous of all is the tolerance, and sometimes the encouragement, extended to such demonstrations by school-masters and professors.

These are symptoms that point to a grave moral disease amongst the teachers as well as the taught which we can only ignore at our peril and at the sacrifice of our duty towards the people of India. In his two last Convocation speeches, Dr. Ashutosh Mookerjee, the distinguished Hindu Vice-President of the Calcutta University, has laid special stress on the question of teachers and politics. Alluding in 1909 to "the lamentable events of the last 12 months," he maintained, "without hesitation," that "the most strenuous efforts must be unflinchingly made by all persons truly interested in the future of the rising generation to protect our youths from the hands of irresponsible people who recklessly seek to seduce our students from the path of academic life and to plant in their immature minds the poisonous seeds of hatred against constituted Government." This year he was even more outspoken, and laid it down that even the teacher "who scrupulously abstains from political matters within his class-room, but at the same time devotes much or all of his leisure hours to political activities and agitation, and whose name and speeches are prominently before the world in connexion with political organizations and functions," fails in his duty towards his pupils: for "their minds will inevitably be attracted towards political affairs and political agitation if they evidently constitute

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the main life-interest and life-work of one who stands towards them in a position of authority." Teachers should therefore avoid everything that tends "to impart to the minds of our boys a premature bias towards politics."

A most admirable exhortation, but I had an opportunity of estimating the weight that it carried with some of the political leaders of Bengal, when I accepted an invitation from Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, himself at the head of the Ripon College at Calcutta, to meet a few Bengalee students and have a talk with them. They were bright, pleasant lads, and if they had been left to themselves, I might have had an interesting talk with them about their studies and their prospects in life, but Mr. Banerjee and several other politicians who were present insisted upon giving to the conversation a political turn of a disagreeably controversial character which seemed to me entirely out of place.

ECONOMIC INFLUENCES

The mischievous incitements of politicians would not, however, have fallen on to such receptive soil if economic conditions, for which we are ourselves at least partly responsible, had not helped to create an atmosphere in which political disaffection is easily bred amongst both teachers and taught. The rapid rise in the cost of living has affected no class more injuriously than the old clerical castes from which the teaching staff and the scholars of our schools and colleges are mainly recruited. Their material position now often compares unfavourably with that of the skilled workman and even of the daily labourer, whose higher wages have generally kept pace with the appreciation of the necessities of life. This is a cause of great bitterness even amongst those who at the end of their protracted course of studies get some small billet for their pains. The bitterness is, of course, far greater amongst those who fail altogether. The rapid expansion of an educational system that has developed far in excess of the immediate purpose for which it was originally introduced was bound to result in a great deal of disappointment for the vast number of Indians who regarded it merely as an avenue to Government employment. For the supply outran the demand, and the deterioration in the quality of education consequent upon this too rapid expansion helped at the same time to restrict the possible demand. F.A.'s (First Arts) and even B.A.'s are now too often drags in the market. Nothing is more pathetic than the hardships to which both the young Indian and his parents will subject themselves in order that he may reach the coveted goal of University distinction, but unfortunately, as such distinctions are often achieved merely by a process of sterile cramming which leaves the recipients quite unable to turn mere feats of memory to any practical account, the sacrifices turn out to have been made in vain. Whilst the skilled artisan, and even the unskilled labourer, can often command from 12 annas to 1 rupee (1s. to 1s. 4d.) a day, the youth who has sweated himself and his family through the whole course of higher education frequently looks in vain for employment at Rs. 30 (£2) and even at Rs. 20 a month. In Calcutta not a few have taken on by philanthropic Hindus to do hard labour in jute mills at Rs. 15 a month simply to keep on. Things have in fact reached this pitch, that

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our educational system is now turning out year by year a semi-educated proletariat which is not only unemployed but in many cases almost unemployable. A Hindu gentleman who is one of the highest authorities on education told me that in Bengal, where this evil has reached the most serious dimensions, he estimates the number of these unemployed at over 40,000. This is an evil which no change in the relative number of Europeans and natives employed in Government and other services could materially affect. Even if every Englishman left India, it would present as a grave problem to the rulers of the country, except that the bitterness engendered would not be able to vent itself, as it too often does now, on the alien rulers who have imported the alien system of education by which many of those who fail believe themselves to have been cruelly duped.

DISCONTENT AMONGST THE TEACHERS

Similar causes have operated to produce discontent amongst the teachers, who in turn inoculate their pupils with the virus of disaffection. It was much easier to multiply schools and colleges than to train a competent teaching staff. Official reports seldom care to look unpleasant facts in the face, and the periodical reports both of the Imperial Department of Public Instruction and of the Provincial Departments have always been inclined to lay more stress upon the multiplication of educational institutions and the growth in the numbers of pupils and students than upon the weak points of the system. Nevertheless there is one unsatisfactory feature that the most confirmed optimists cannot ignore. Hardly a single one of these reports but makes some reference to the deficiencies and incapacity of the native teaching staff. The last quinquennial report issued by Mr. Orange, the able Director-General of Public Instruction, who is now leaving India, contains a terse but very significant passage. "Speaking generally," he writes, "it may be said that the qualifications and the pay of the teachers in secondary schools are below any standard that could be thought reasonable; and the inquiries which are now being made into the subject have revealed a state of things that is scandalous in Bengal and Eastern Bengal, and is unsatisfactory in every province." Very little information is forthcoming as to the actual qualifications or pay of the teachers. It appears, however, from the inspection of high schools by the Calcutta University that out of one group of 3,054 teachers over 2,100 receive salaries of less than 30 rupees (£2) a month. One cannot, therefore, be surprised to hear that in Bengal "only men of poor attainments adopt the profession, and the few who are well qualified only take up work in schools as a stepping-stone to some more remunerative career." That career is frequently found in the Press, where the disgruntled ex-schoolmaster adds his quota of gall to the literature of disaffection. But he is still more dangerous when he remains a schoolmaster and uses his position to teach disaffection to his pupils either by precept or by example.

THE EDUCATION SERVICE

I have already alluded to the unfortunate effect of the recommendations of the Public Service Commission of 1886-7 on the native side of the Education Service. But if it has become more difficult to attract to it the right type of Indians, it has either

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become almost as difficult to attract the right type of Europeans, or the influence they are able to exercise has materially diminished. In the first place, their numbers are quite inadequate. Out of about 500 Europeans actually engaged in educational work in India less than half are in the service of the State. Many of them are admittedly very capable men, and not a few possess University credentials. But so long as the Indian Educational Service is regarded and treated as an inferior branch of the public service, we cannot expect its general tone to be what it should be in view of the supreme importance of the functions it has to discharge. One is often told that the conditions are at least as attractive as those offered by an educational career at home. Even if that be so, it would not affect my contention that, considering how immeasurably more difficult is the task of training the youth of an entirely alien race according to Western standards, and how vital that task is for the future of British rule in India, the conditions should be such as to attract, not average men, but the very best men that we can produce. As it is, the Education Department cannot be said to attract the best men, for these go into the Civil Service, and only those as a rule enter the Educational Service who either, having made up their minds early to seek a career in India, have failed to pass the Civil Service examinations, or, having originally intended to take up the teaching profession in England, are subsequently induced to come out to India by disappointments at home or by the often illusory hope of bettering their material prospects. When they arrive they begin work without any knowledge of the character and customs of the people. Some are employed in inspection and others as professors, and the latter especially are apt to lose heart when they realize the thanklessness of their task and their social isolation. In some cases indifference is the worst result, but in others—happily are—they themselves, I am assured, catch the surrounding contagion of discontent, and their influence tends rather to promote than to counteract the estrangement of the rising generation committed to their charge. Some men, no doubt, rise superior to all these adverse conditions and, in comparing the men of the present day with those of the past, one is apt to remember only the few whose names still live in the educational annals of India and to ignore the many who have passed away without making any mark. The fact, however, remains that nowadays the Europeans who have the greatest influence over their Indian pupils are chiefly to be found amongst the missionaries with whom teaching is a vocation rather than a profession.

XXVII—Some Measures of Educational Reform

The first serious attempt to remedy some of the most glaring defects of our educational system from the point of view of intellectual training and of discipline was made during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty. He summoned and presided over an Educational Conference, of which the results were embodied in a Government Resolution issued on March 11, 1904, and in the Universities Act of the same year. They were received at the time with a violent reaction, especially from Indian politicians, who claim to represent the interests of the country. The last that Lord Curzon made a deliberate attempt to throttle higher education in India has now died away, except

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amongst the irreconcilables, and Dr. Ashutosh Mookerjee, an authority whom even Hindu partisanship can hardly repudiate, declared in his last Convocation speech that the new regulations which are now being brought into operation, far from bearing out the apprehensions of "alarmist prophets," have been distinctly beneficial to the better and stronger class of students.

THE WORK OF THE 1904 CONFERENCE

Space only allows me to give a very brief summary of the work of the Conference. It recognized in the first place the importance of the vernacular as the proper medium for instruction in the lower stages of education, whilst maintaining the supremacy of English in the higher stages. It sought to give a more practical character to high-school training by promoting the "modern side," hitherto overshadowed by a mainly literary curriculum, and it endeavoured to make the school courses self-sufficing and self-contained instead of merely a stepping-stone to the University courses. To this end secondary schools were encouraged to give more importance to School Final Examinations as a general test of proficiency and not to regard their courses as almost exclusively preparatory to the University Entrance Examination. Great stress was also laid upon the improvement of training colleges for teachers as well as upon the development of special schools for industrial, commercial, and agricultural instruction. Nor were the ethics of education altogether forgotten in their bearings upon the maintenance of healthy discipline. Government emphasized the great importance which it attached to the establishment of hotels or boarding-houses, under proper supervision, in connection with colleges and secondary schools, as a protection against the moral dangers of life in large towns; and whilst provision was made for the more rigorous inspection of schools to test their qualifications both for Government grants-in-aid and for affiliation to Universities, certain reforms were also introduced into the constitution and management of the Universities themselves.

The results already achieved are not considerable. The provision of hostels, in which Lord Curzon was deeply interested, has made great progress, and one may hope that the conditions of student life described by Dr. Garfield Williams in Calcutta are typical of a state of things already doomed to disappear, though at the present rate of progress it can only disappear very slowly. In Madras there is a fine building for the Presidency College students and also for those of the Madras Christian College. In Bombay Government are giving money for the extension of the boarding accommodation of the three chief colleges. In Allahabad, Agra, Lucknow, Meerut, Bareilly, Lahore, and many other centres, old residential buildings are being extended or new ones erected. The new Dacca College, in the capital of Eastern Bengal, is one of the most conspicuous and noteworthy results of the Partition. In Calcutta itself little has been done except in the missionary institutions; and it is certainly very discouraging to note that an excellent and very urgent scheme for removing the Presidency College, the premier college of Bengal, from the slums in which it is at present in every way most injuriously confined to a healthy suburban site has been shelved by the Bengal Government partly under financial pressure and partly because of the lukewarmness of native opinion.

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What is no doubt really wanted is the wholesale removal of all the Colleges connected with the Calcutta University altogether from their present surroundings, but to refuse to make a beginning with the Presidency College is merely to prove once more that *le mieux est l'ennemi du bien*.

In regard to the University Entrance Examinations, the latest Madras returns, which were alone sufficiently complete to illustrate the effect of the new regulations, showed that the increased stringency of the tests had resulted in a healthy decrease in the number of matriculations, whilst the standard had been materially raised. In Calcutta the University inspection of schools and colleges and the exercise by the Universities of their discretionary powers in matters of affiliation have grown much more effective. That the powers of the University Senates have not been unduly curtailed is only too clearly shown on the other hand by the effective resistance hitherto offered at Bombay to the scheme of reforms proposed by Sir George Clarke. To the most important features of the scheme, which were the provision of a course of practical science for all first-year students, a systematic bifurcation of course, the lightening of the number of subjects in order to secure somewhat more thoroughness, and compulsory teaching of Indian history and polity, no serious objection could be raised, but the politicians on the Senate effectively blocked discussion.

THE NATIVE AND EUROPEAN TEACHING STAFF

A great deal still remains to be done, and can be done, on the lines of the Resolution of 1904. The speed at which it can be done must no doubt be governed in some directions by financial considerations. The extension of the hostel system, for instance, which is indispensable to the removal of some of the worst moral and physical influences upon education, is largely a matter of money. So is also to some extent the strengthening of the educational staff, European and native, which is also urgently needed. The best Indians cannot be attracted unless they are offered a living wage in some measure consonant with the dignity of so important a profession, and our schools and colleges will continue to be too often nursery grounds of sedition so long as we do not redress the legitimate grievances of teachers on starvation wages. But though improved prospects may attract better men in the future, the actual inefficiency of a huge army of native teachers far too hastily recruited and imperfectly trained can at best be but slowly mended. We want more and better training Colleges for native teachers, but that is not all. The great Mahomedan College at Aligarh, one of the best educational institutions in India, partly because it is wholly residential, has obtained excellent results by sending some of its students who intend to return as teachers to study Western educational methods in Europe, after they have completed their course in India. The same practice might be extended elsewhere.

To raise the standard of the Europeans in the Educational Service something more than a mere improvement of material conditions is required. Additions are being made to both the teaching and the administrative staff. But what is above all needed is to get our teaching not merely as a livelihood, but as a profession, to form them with a better understanding both of their own duties and of the character of the people whom they have to train and of the character

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and methods of the Government they have to serve. This can hardly be done except by associating the Educational Service much more closely with what are now regarded as the higher branches of the public service in India. No Englishmen are in closer touch with the realities of Indian life than Indian civilians, and means must be found to break down the wall which now too often separates the Educational Service from the Civil Service. Opportunities might usefully be given to young Englishmen when they first join the Educational Service in India to acquire a more intimate knowledge of Indian administrative work, as well as of the character and customs and language of the people amongst whom their lot is to be cast, by serving an apprenticeship with civilians in the *mofussil*. The appointment of such a very able civilian as Mr. Harcourt Butler to be the first Minister of Education in India may be taken as an indication that Lord Morley realizes the importance of rescuing the Educational Service from the water-tight compartment in which it has hitherto been much too closely confined.

We can hardly hope to restore English influence over education to the position which it originally occupied. There are 1,200 high schools for boys in India to-day, of which only 220 are under public management and, even for the latter, it would be difficult to provide an English headmaster apiece. What we can do is to follow up the policy which has been lately resumed of increasing the number of high schools under Government control, until we have at least one in every district, and in every large centre one with an English head-master which should be the model school for the division.

THE CHEAPNESS OF EDUCATION

A much vexed question is whether it is impossible to raise the fees charged for higher education with a view to checking the wastage which results from the introduction into our schools and colleges of so much unsuitable raw material. The fees now charged for the University course are admittedly very low, even for Indian standards. The total cost of maintaining an Indian student throughout his four years' college course ranges from a *minimum* of £40 to a *maximum* of £110—i.e., from £10 to £2710s. per annum. The actual fees for tuition vary from three to twelve rupees (4s. to 15s.) a month in different colleges. Very large contributions amounting roughly to double the total aggregate of fees have therefore to be made from public funds towards the cost of collegiate education. Is it fair to throw so heavy a burden on the Indian taxpayer for the benefit of a very small section of the population amongst whom, moreover, many must be able to afford the whole or at least a larger proportion of the cost of their children's education? Is it wise by making higher instruction so cheap to tempt parents to educate children often of poor or mediocre abilities out of their own plane of life? Would it not be better at any rate to raise the fees generally and to devote the sums yielded by such increase to exhibitions and scholarships for the benefit of the few amongst the humbler classes who show exceptional promise?

Against this it is urged that it would be entirely at variance with Indian traditions to associate standards of knowledge with standards of wealth, and in practice education has, I understand, been found to be worst where the fees bear the greatest proportion

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It is announced today that the Madras Government has protested against the proposal of imposing taxes upon tobacco grown in Madras.

22. A British Infantry attack a gang of Frontier raiders, and in the encounter 3 raiders are killed and 2 captured.

23. In reply to questions in the House of Commons asking for reasons of forfeiture by the Eastern Bengal and the Punjab Governments of Mr. Mackerness's book on the Indian Police, Mr. Montague offers to go through the book with Mr. Keir Hardie and explain to him the "enormous number of inaccuracies on every page of it."

The Government of Bombay issues a note favouring, and outlining a scheme for the establishment of a Pasteur Institute in Bombay, to be located at Parel.

The monsoon bursts in Bombay with almost unprecedented force, accompanied by storm and torrential rain, resulting in the complete inundation of the town with 13'70 inches of water and in heavy damage to telegraph and telephone posts and many private dwellings and firms.

The Punjab Government has secured the services of an expert date-grower from Bussorah to supervise the cultivation of date palms and instruct local date-growers in producing dates on a commercial basis.

24. The Salvation Army settlement for the Pakkiwars Criminal Tribe at Katmokhal in the Sialkot district and a school for the children of this tribe is opened today.

A Regulation is published from Simla providing further restrictions on sea traffic in arms and ammunition, between Aden and places in the Gulf of Aden, so as to render the owner of any vessel doing a contraband trade liable to a fine of Rs. 5,000 or imprisonment upto 3 years on conviction. A Regulation is also published providing for the organization and maintenance of rural police in the Sonthal Parganas.

Mr. Graham, Sessions Judge of Faridpore, agreeing with the assessors, acquitted Mr. Surendramohun Ghosh charged with murdering Prionohun, Gobesh's brother, at Fatejangpur.

25. A *communiqué* states the scheme of raising an All-India Memorial to King Edward in the shape of an equestrian statue at Delhi at the estimated cost of 5 lakhs of rupees.

A *communiqué* states that with effect from July, 1910, radio telegrams over the Calcutta-Sandheads wireless telegraph circuit should be charged for at ordinary rates and the special surtax of Rs. 4 abolished.

27. The Special Tribunal of the Calcutta High Court sentences Abonibhusan Chakravarti, the approver in the Nangla Dacoity Case, under Section 395, I. P. C. and Section 59 I. P. C., to transportation for seven years.

29. Figures published for 1909 reveal a very high rate of mortality among infants in Burma, 257, 862 deaths having occurred of which nearly $\frac{1}{5}$ was due to fevers.

30. It is announced today that in consequence of the complaint made by the Chinese that inspite of Great Britain's assurances that opium imports from India would be reduced, there was last year an actual increase in the number of chests brought by sea into China and an enquiry was instituted which show that the increase was due to the great rush of this drug from the Dutch East Indies.

The work in connection with the Tolly's Nullah Syphon near Calcutta is finally completed today.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

Juvenile Criminals

A noteworthy experiment is being tried in the United Provinces in the reclamation of juvenile criminals. A jail for juvenile and young convicts was opened at Bareilly in April, 1909. With the object of avoiding contamination by contact with old offenders, prisoners are located in the jail close to the Bareilly Central Jail. They are subjected to ordinary jail discipline and prison life is now made attractive. They have to go through physical drill daily. Not much stress is laid on secular education but great stress on religious and moral training. They are taught the proper prayers of their religion, and are made to repeat them to masters, morning and evening. Selected pieces from the Koran and religious Hindu works are regularly read and explained, and moral lessons in plain language are daily given. Special watch is kept over the warders and the use of indecent or obscene language by them is strictly prohibited. The essential part of the education is the training of the prisoners in handicrafts. Four trade masters are employed—a tailor, shoe-maker, weaver, and blacksmith, who also teaches carpentry. As far as possible the boys are taught trades usually carried on by their castes.

Plague in India

The present epidemic of plague in India first broke out at Bombay in August, 1896, and it has been responsible for a heavy rate of mortality since that date. In 1907 the deaths from plague attained the highest total yet recorded—viz., 1,315,892 for India as a whole, the number in British India alone being 1,166,223, or 5·16 per mille. In 1908 the mortality declined enormously, falling to 156,480, the lowest total since 1900. The fall in the Punjab was from 30·3 to 1·5 per 1,000, in the United Provinces from 6·9 to 0·5, and in Bombay from 5·1 to 1·5. The course of the epidemic differed from that of the previous four years in that its *maximum* prevalence was in March instead of in April. In 1909 there was once more a relatively low mortality, the preliminary figures showing only 174,874 deaths, or fewer than in any year since 1900, excepting 1908. The mortality again reached its height in March. After reaching its lowest level in July, the epidemic increased steadily until October, when a decline again occurred.

Of Governors-General and Viceroy

The longest term of office of any Governor-General of India was that of Warren Hastings, who remained in control for 13 years. The shortest was that of the first Earl of Minto, who died in harness 20 months after his arrival. Lord Dalhousie was the youngest man who ever filled the office, having been appointed at the

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age of 35. Lord Curzon was not quite 40 when he became Viceroy. Warren Hastings was the longest lived of Governor-Generals for he attained the ripe age of 86, while Lord Amherst lived to be 84. The strain of work in India led to Dalhousie's untimely death at 48, and his successor Canning died from the same cause at 50, a few weeks after reaching England. Clive died by his own hand at 49, and Mayo was assassinated in the Andamans in his 50th year. Two Governor-Generals are buried in India, Cornwallis at Ghazipur and Elgin at Dharmsala. Three ex-viceroy's are still living—Lords Lansdowne, Elgin, and Curzon—and to these may be added the name of Lord Ampthill, who acted as Viceroy for some months in 1904.

Skin Disease in Eastern Bengal and Assam

Diseases of the skin would seem to be very prevalent in Eastern Bengal and Assam, to judge from the dispensary returns of the New Province for last year. The Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals records that the number of patients treated for skin diseases in 1908 had reached the total of 526,528, and that this number had fallen to 220,424 in 1909. This number does not include those treated for parasitic diseases, such as scabies and ring-worm, the number of patients treated for these having risen from 319,023 to 655,750. Malarial fever holds the record, however, the number of such cases having risen from 547,122 to 609,626. This corresponds with the death-rate from this cause, which was nearly 25 per cent. of the total mortality from all other diseases put together. Of the total number of 3,466,068 patients treated during the past year, 0.08 per cent were Europeans and Eurasians; 44.81 per cent. Hindus; 49.01 per cent. Mahomedans, and 6.10 per cent. other classes. According to sex, 64 per cent. were adult males and 13 per cent. adult females; 15 per cent male and 8 per cent. female children.

The Navigation of the Hugli

As for the dangers of the navigation of the Hugli, the writer of a recent official handbook is at some pains to prove that they have been greatly exaggerated. The perils and even the difficulties have been largely eliminated by an elaborate system of surveys which the handbook describes in fascinating detail. Over 600 separate and minute river plans are issued by the Deputy Conservator every year, and nearly 400 river notices are supplied to pilots. The result is that a pilot, before he reaches the principal bars, including the famous James and Mary, knows the exact depths on the best tracks as sounded only a few hours previously, and the information is so precise that it is quite safe to take a vessel over a bar though there may be only a slight margin between her draught and the estimated depth of water. Picturesque writers have unwittingly done some injury to Calcutta by representing the Hugli as a dying river and enlarging upon the terrors of its bore. In reality, the navigable capacity of the river is steadily increasing and recently, owing in part to the operations of a powerful dredger, a steamer drawing 28ft. 3in. has proceeded down the river without difficulty—moreover, the draught possible in the river exceeds that which is allowed in the

Suez Canal, so that any vessel which can go through the Canal can navigate the Hugli. As for the bores, they are seldom more than a few feet high, and they can be predicted to the day and even to the hour, so that damage is very rarely done to shipping.

The Kasauli Pasteur Institute

There is continued increase in the work of the Kasauli Institute, as the last published Report states, the figures for the year showing a marked advance over those of any previous period, and this despite the existence in Coonoor of another anti-rabic institute to deal with cases in South India. In 1900 the total number of patients was 321, of which 146 were Europeans; in 1908, there were 1,389 patients, and in the year-ending December last 1,937 persons underwent treatment, 490 of them being Europeans. The percentage of failures, that is of those who died of rabies more than 15 days after completion of the course, was 0.57. Of the 490 Europeans and 1,447 Indians treated, 1,719 were infected by dogs, 183 by jackals, 10 by cats, 2 by monkeys, 5 by horses, 2 by mules, 1 by a donkey, 2 by wolves, and one each by a leopard, a fox, a bullock, which in turn had been bitten by a dog and one by a pig. In addition nine had been infected by the saliva of men suffering from hydrophobia. An analysis of statistics of persons bitten by one animal, shows that on an average a rabid dog will bite 25 human beings, and a rabid jackal, if it comes into a town or village, nearly twice the number. If the authorities insisted on a heavy dog tax in every Indian town, a registration of canine pets, and a rigorous destruction of pariahs, the numbers of those going in fear of their lives from a horrible disease would be enormously reduced.

The Kumbh Mela at Hardwar

Seventeen miles north-east of Roorki is the sacred town of Hardwar. It was formerly known as Kupila, after the sage of that name, and also as Gangadwara—the gate of the Ganges—and it is situated in the gorge in the Sewaliks, through which the Ganges breaks into the plains. There is no more sacred river to the Hindoo than Mother Ganga, and the most holy spot on her banks is Hardwar. The town itself in normal times numbers little over 5000 souls, yet when a religious fair is in full swing there may be 100,000 pilgrims, or more likely 200,000. Every twelfth year the planet Jupiter is in sign Aquarius at the time of the sun's entering into Aries. It is an astronomical fact which determines the Kumbh Mela. This is the greatest religious fair of all. Thousands of eyes turn towards the north, thousands of feet plod steadily along the dusty March roads, and the wayfarers greet each other: "Oh, traveller, where are you going?" "To Hardwar; and you, brother?" "I also, dharmwala, be happy and keep in the sacred way." The majority of the pilgrims come from a distance of many hundreds of miles, and the trains dump them down in swarms at Lhaksar junction. Here they are transferred to the Dehra Dun line, and the real crush begins. Herded in closed goods trucks, open waggons, and every conceivable form of railway carriage, they travel on the last stage of the journey more closely sandwiched than the proverbial herrings. They are a holiday throng, and jokes meet with ready laughter. It is a very lucky family that can keep together, but all are supremely happy. The Punjabec rubs shoulders

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with the man from Benares, sinking mutual differences ; the quaintly booted Bandalkhandi—the veritable man from the country—utilises his roll of bedding with bland indifference to the comfort of the supercilious Lucknow Kaisth, who vainly protesting that he holds an intermediate ticket, has been shut in with the third-class crowd. Time does not admit of nice discriminations. An incoming train swells the long platform to overflowing ; another special for Hardwar relieves the pressure. Railway officials shout, and try to divert the rush from the carriages, already full, native policemen bellow imprecations, and, where opportunity offers, pass scathing genealogical remarks on the parties at fault ; but there is mostly no chance for successful witticism, as the offender is carried past in a scramble for a neighbouring truck. Caste distinction is lost—the Chamar has his ticket, and he knows it to be as good as the Bannia's and if he can but oust him he has scored against him and his kind. At Hardwar itself are the district officials—the Magistrate, the Superintendent of Police, and his Assistants. Here also are Royal Engineers, building pontoon and trestle bridges across the stream. The Sanitary and Deputy Sanitary Commissioners, with their numerous Special Conservancy Staff, see to the cleanliness of the vast camp. Every nook and cranny smells of phenyle, in the great fight to ward off an outbreak of dreaded cholera. In 1819, 430 persons were killed in a crush ; now Government would rave if four were so sacrificed. Then no record was kept of the deaths from disease, now each forms the subject of a separate report. It is difficult work in a crowd that are as sheep without a shepherd ; the sun is hot above, and no amount of water can lay the dust, which intensifies as the multitude swells daily. It is a beautiful place, this Hardwar, with its brown tree-clad slopes and the continual roar of the river rushing green beneath. The stream is wide and deep here. It rises many hundred miles further north, away beyond the snowy peaks of Kedar Nath and Badrinath, whither only the most austere ascetics follow its mountain course to Gangotri and Gaimak (cow's mouth). There the main body, called Bhagirati, leaves the glacier, and in a formless torrent of melted snow falls many thousand feet in its impetuous course, and, sawing its way through rocky chasms, it gathers volume in its flight, till it debouches from the upper hills (the true Himalayas) and breaks through the outer line of the Sewaliks. Some two and a half miles above Hardwar is Bhimgoda, where Bhima, one of the five Pandu brothers, was placed to guide the Ganges waters. Here and now the headquarters of the great Ganges canal—huge barriers of mortar and stones—have taken up the work of the god. A little below Hardwar itself may be seen the great sluice gates which lead the life-giving water in a wide bed of nearly 100 yards, till, after sending out innumerable branches and distributaries, the remnant, which a man might leap across, falls into the Ganges again at Cawnpore.

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

Trade of Burma

Rs. 55,09,08,258 represents the aggregate value of the trade of Burma, for the official year 1909-10, as against Rs. 57,63,99,131 in the previous year.

Hides and Skins

Exports of hides and skins in 1909-10 were larger than in the preceding year, which was affected by drought and mortality among cattle. The exports of raw and dressed hides and skins were respectively £6,430,000 and £2,650,000, as against £5,560,000 and £2,750,000 in 1908-9. Germany bought nearly 40 per cent. of the raw hides and the United States nearly 80 per cent. of the raw skins, while the United Kingdom took about 80 per cent. of the dressed hides and skins.

Foreign Matches in India

During 1907-08 the value of foreign matches imported into India was 74 lakhs of rupees, which paid 3½ lakhs of rupees in import duty. The value of matches imported into India has been steadily rising, having reached the above figure from over 50½ lakhs in 1903-04; and it is still increasing. For the year ending 31st March 1910, the value of matches imported into India had reached Rs. 81,55,266. The two great foreign competitors of India in the match industry are Sweden and Japan. Thus in the year just closed Sweden's share was Rs. 23,41,694, and Japan's Rs. 17,22,452.

High Prices Enquiry

In connection with the High Prices Enquiry it is stated that the whole of India, including Burma and Baluchistan, has been mapped out into 22 divisions, each of which may be considered as economically homogeneous. The case of the five great seaports is to be considered separately. The investigation will include an enquiry into the rise not merely of food-grain prices but of other commodities during the last fifteen years. Then attempts will be made to discover how far the rise in different areas is due to local conditions and how far it is due to influences affecting the world at large, and, again, whether the rise is a temporary feature or is likely to be a permanent one.

Increase in Seeds

The condition of affairs as regards seeds in 1909-10 was precisely the reverse of that in 1908-9, for India had good crops while her chief competitors did badly. The export of all Indian seeds rose from 16 to 27 million cwt., and the value from £7,785,000 to £12,484,000. Prices of cotton-seed and linseed were very high. Cotton seed was in demand on account of the shortage of cotton in America, and linseed on account of the shortage in Argentina, Russia, and America. Indian cotton-seed has in recent years been in increasing demand, as it can be treated more easily through improvements in machinery. The exports of the principal oil seeds were as follows in 1909-10:—Linseed, 4,677,197 cwt., worth

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£2,616,867; rapeseed, 6,629,313 cwt., worth £3,122,161; gingelly, 2,983,630 cwt., worth £1,772,767; groundnuts, 3,243,168 cwt., worth £1,646,615; cottonseed, 5,649,817 cwt., worth £1,354,531; and castorseed, 1,900,769 cwt., worth £840,435.

The Tea Trade

The demand for tea has for several years more than kept pace with the supply, while the area under cultivation has been carefully restricted. So in spite of a record crop, prices were higher in 1909-10. The average in Calcutta was 8·30d. per lb. in 1909, as against 7·91d. per lb. in 1908. The crop was well up to the average in quality. The quantity exported rose from 234 to 249 million lb. and the value from £6,929,000 to £7,811,000, an increase of 6 per cent. in quantity being accompanied by an increase of 13 per cent. in value. The United Kingdom took (partly for re-export) about 76 per cent. of the total Indian shipments in 1909-10, Ceylon coming next with about 6 per cent., and Russia with about 4 per cent. But the countries of shipment are not always those of ultimate destination. Private trade reports credit Russia with total purchases of 30 million lb. of Indian tea, though the direct exports to Russia (which go largely *via* Vladivostok and the Trans-Siberian Railway) were only about 10 million lbs. In Calcutta, where about 62 million lbs. of tea were disposed of direct, Russia was the chief purchaser. China bought six million lbs. of dust for the Hankau brick tea trade. The prosperity of black tea caused a decline in the production of green tea.

Metals and Metal Manufactures

The relatively depressed condition of factory and other industries in India in 1909-10 was manifested in reduced imports of metals and machinery and mill-work, but it should be remembered that the imports in 1908-9 were above normal proportions. Imports of copper amounted to £1,762,000, against £1,814,000; and iron and steel imports to £5,894,000, against £6,029,000. The lull in factory enterprise is most apparent in the falling off in machinery and mill-work from £4,410,000 to £3,381,000, the greatest fall being in textile machinery. The exceptional activity shown in 1908-9 in providing State and private railways with materials and rolling stock was not renewed in 1909-10 and the expenditure was smaller by £2,373,000. In hardware and cutlery there was a further decrease. As usual, the United Kingdom supplied about two-thirds of the total value under this very miscellaneous head, the chief competitors being Germany, Belgium, Austria-Hungary and the United States. There is little foreign competition in machinery and railway materials, but in iron, and especially in steel, Germany and Belgium continue to be formidable rivals. In steel plates and sheets, representing nearly one-third of the steel imports, England did better, but Belgium supplied £570,000 out of a total of £658,000 of steel bars.

Calcutta Port Trust

The figures published by the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence testify clearly to the wonderful, yet steady, development of the commerce of the Hugli. An accurate idea of the progress of the port of Calcutta may be got by taking the figures of the

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preceding year for comparison with those of 1903-4. The results are very striking, and may be set forth thus :—

Foreign Trade.	
1903-4	£60,496,000
1907-8	£81,705,000
Coasting Trade.	
1903-4	£7,737,000
1907-8	£13,524,000
River Trade.	
1903-4	£18,376,000
1907-8	£27,411,000

The increase of 36,000,000 sterling in five years is reflected in the expansion of the revenue of the Port Commissioners, which, in spite of a substantial reduction of rates, rose from £415,521 in 1898-9 to £801,801 in 1908-9. The revenue of the Calcutta Port Trust, it may be added, is equal to that of Bombay, Karachi, Madras, and Chittagong *put together*. Calcutta, owing to its position, is the terminus of three railway systems—the East Indian, the Bengal-Nagpur, and the Eastern Bengal State Railways—and river steamers carry a vast traffic as far as Assam. Altogether Calcutta may be said to be a distributing centre for a population of 74,000,000.

Raw Jute and Jute Manufactures

The recent fluctuations in jute stand as follows in tabular form :—

Year.	Raw Jute. Quantity. Cwt.	Jute Manufactures. Value. £	Total value. £
1904-5 ...	12,875,000	6,626,000	14,603,000
1905-6 ...	14,480,000	8,299,000	19,716,000
1906-7 ...	15,970,000	10,477,000	28,369,000
1907-8 ...	14,192,000	12,198,000	24,180,000
1908-9 ...	17,880,000	10,491,000	23,714,000
1909-10...	14,608,000	11,397,000	21,456,000

It will be seen that there was a falling-off in exports of raw jute in 1909-10 from the high figure of 1908-9, although the quantity was well above a normal amount. The total value was below that of any year in the quinquennium, for, notwithstanding the fact that 1908-9 was a year of large production, prices were higher than in 1907-10. The quality of last year's crop was not very good, and there were again complaints of heart damage due to excessive moisture. The disappearance of the wave of trade depression, combined with the recent reduction in the area under jute, may tend to restore prices to a higher level. Although the Calcutta mill industry was in an unsatisfactory condition and mills worked short time for half the year, the exports of jute manufactures increased to £11,397,000. The large increase in quantity—from 301 to 364 millions of gunny bags and from 770 to 940 million yards of gunny cloth—was not attended by a corresponding increase in value. Of the raw jute exported about 41 per cent. went to the United Kingdom (partly for re-export), 22 per cent. to Germany, 10 per cent. to France, and 9 per cent. to the United States. As regards manufactures, Australia, Chile, the United States, and China were the largest

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buyers of gunny bags and the United States and Argentina of gunny cloth, the former taking two-thirds of all the cloth exported.

Oil in Burma

In the Records of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. 38, Part 4, 1910, just issued, there are three reports on oil-bearing strata in Burma. The first of these, by Mr. Murray Stuart, Assistant Superintendent, Geological Survey of India, deals with the prospects of oil in Western Prome, and Kama, Lower Burma. After describing the geology of this region, Mr. Stuart comes to the conclusion that the source of the oil is to be found in the "Kama Clay" beds; that in Padaung the oil seepage comes from the base of Kama clays where they outcrop in the bed of the Irrawaddy; but as there is no evidence of oil in the Pegu series below the base of the Kama clays a boring in the anticline would probably not pass through any oil-bearing strata. The same remarks apply to the Ziaing region. In the Namayan region also Mr. Stuart thinks it would be useless to prospect for oil. In the vicinity of Taungbogyi, he says some borings were put down some years ago which failed to obtain oil at any depth. Since then all show of oil has disappeared. In the Kama region proper, oil has been reported from a place south of the town, but owing to the rocks all dipping steadily eastwards, without any anticlinal structure, oil cannot be expected in any quantity. The second report is by the same officer, and deals with the oil-bearing strata of the Pegu system in Burma. He says although there is much greater thickness of oil-bearing strata here than in any of the localities discussed in the previous paper, yet absence of anything approaching a definite anticline in them, precludes much hope of obtaining oil, save in shallow wells. There is plenty of evidence that oil could be obtained in shallow Burmese wells, but the water level of the country seems too high to obtain oil at a depth by boring. A few years ago he adds many wells were drilled around Banhyin and Padaukpin, but they have all been abandoned, and Mr. Stuart does not think that the locality offers any inducement for further experimental boring. The third report is by Mr. G. de P. Cotter, also an Assistant Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India, and deals with the Zenangyat oil-field. In his opinion the country to the north of Block 134 may be condemned, since the crest sinks too rapidly. From Block 123 southwards, the country seems worth testing; the blocks, he thinks, will probably increase in thickness to the south at least as far as Block 67, owing to the rise of the anticline. All three reports are extremely interesting and valuable from a geological point of view.

SELECTIONS

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD'S IMPRESSIONS OF INDIA

I. THE OLYMPUS AND THE GODS

Simla is eight thousand feet above sea level, and ten thousand miles above the heads of the people. The train up to these heights twists and doubles, snorts and puffs, races and almost sticks; it pirouettes round corners and glides along the edges of precipices; its path zig-zags upwards, visible many tiers ahead.

At first the journey is interesting. The mountains receive their visitor with regal splendour. They throw their arms about him; they envelop him in their mightiness; they soothe him and overwhelm him by their massive grandeur. But they pall as the hours go, and before Simla is reached the flesh has become weary and the eye tired, and it is a jaded and blasé wanderer who at length beholds the sacred snow-clad mountains from which the Ganges comes, and the dwelling-places of those who are permitted to live on this Olympus.

A CENTRE OF DIGNITY

They tell us that the railway journey, with the expectations of its start dying away to the weariness of its finish, is an allegorical representation of the way which men have to walk from the day they pass into the service to that when Simla opens its gates to them, and that the Government of India defends the otherwise indefensible loss on this railway on the ground of its moral value. On this, as on other vital matters, the "Annual Report on the Material and Moral Progress of the East Indies" is silent.

So soon as the wanderer steps out of the train he knows he has come to a town unique amongst towns. Simla hangs on to the hill-tops by its eyebrows, and earthquakes try every now and again to shake it off. When earthquakes fail, the heavens open their doors and deluges fall to wash it away. But it sticks tight, like a cowboy on a bucking steed, and preserves its dignity. And who is to write of that dignity? It pervades Simla as the smell of cows pervades some Hindu temples. You have simply to sit down by the side of the road and feel it glide past. If it now and again merges into the ridiculous—well, that is always the flaw in the material of dignity.

The roads climb up hill-faces, and they are narrow and cannot be laid properly. Therefore only three households of the gods are allowed to drive upon them. The rest of the dwellers must walk, or must be drawn by four men in rickshaws which look like dilapidated Bath-chairs. Some of the more permanent sojourners have private establishments of Bath-chairs. They have a staff of runners in uniform, and their ladies sally forth with these in the afternoon, and, arrayed in all the glories of the West, are pulled up hill and down dale. I have been told that only those who have been in Simla can imagine what the more delectable parts of heaven are like. I have also been told by poor, over-worked, over-worried, and over-spending officials that that is the nonsense poured into the minds

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of innocent Europeans who know not the world. But I must write of what I saw, of how I felt—and of how, ultimately, I laughed and sorrowed.

THE INDIAN OFFICIAL.

Taken individually, the Indian official has more than the average amount of virtue. He is sensitive and introspective, for he suffers from fever and exile, and so his very virtues become a burden to him. He is honest, he worships efficiency, he is sensible of his high calling to rule equitably. He does his best in these respects, and he never spares himself in the doing of it. But his path is through a jungle infested by troublesome beasts of prey. There is the House of Commons on the one hand, there are the educated agitating natives on the other. Pursuing his way alone as he has so often to do, through this weary land, his mind never shifts from his work, his thoughts never turn from his honesty. He takes few holidays, for he spends his cold weather in his district, and with the hot weather comes that maddest of all of the mad doings of the English in India—the emigration of the whole of governments to some hill station—and he goes up to meet the rest of the headmen of his caste and burn incense with them in their departmental temples, to attend religious dances, dinners, and receptions at the Viceregal abode, and to purify himself by writing reports and compiling statistics.

This goes on for years without a break, except when he is in bed with fever, or when he runs home in a hurry with a broken-down wife or a child ready for exile. His Government pays handsomely for a daily supply to him of home news, which is both prejudiced and inaccurate, and appears to be designed to upset his nerves: and if his Government does not do him that service his newspapers will do it a few hours later. Thus fate is hard with him.

Moreover, he feels that prestige is the bulwark of his rule. We do not rule India by the sword, but by our prestige. "The sahib is a man of power," so says the Indian; and, adds the sahib himself, "Akbar, and not a Whitehall official, is the potentate upon whom I should model myself." Thus it happens that when a Member of the House of Commons puts questions about the Sahib, the Sahib resents it. He constructs theories about the questioning Member; the Anglo-Indian Press assists his imagination. So the Sahib becomes more dignified, more introspective, more conscious of his own virtue, more resentful about questions in Parliament. He murmurs more devoutly about "prestige," that occult abracadabra which gets him out of all corners, which surrounds him with magical influences, which makes him sacred. He thus tends to become a thing apart, to become a Raja who is convinced that his ancestor was a moon or a sun or other respectable deity. As a matter of simple and sober fact, he is only a good average Englishman, with remarkably little knowledge of the world and of what is going on in it, with an honest, bluff sense of justice and a real desire to do his work well.

He was put in an isolated post in India at too early an age perhaps; he had to pass examinations which did not really winnow the chaff from the wheat; he has to do his best to keep fit in a climate which doesn't give him a chance; his whole life, and especially his arrangement of work, are immaterial; he lives in an

THE OLYMPUS AND THE GODS

alien civilisation and has too defective an imagination to get into vital touch with it. These are his troubles. A little more sympathy with the West from which he came would help him in his trials, but, as it is, he is in India but not of it, of the West but not in it. All he can do, therefore, is to constitute the most clearly defined of all the castes in India, the ruling caste, and become a god sitting in an Olympus.

"SALT OF THE SERVICE"

As such you see him in Simla, walking or riding with dignified helmet on his head and impressive cane in his hand—grave, upright, supermanly in aspect and demeanour. A stranger from Mars dropped on the top of this hill would certainly inquire, "Who are these kings? From what other world do they come?" And he would put his question in sober seriousness. For the Indian official looks the part he has chosen for himself. Indeed, he is as near the perfect official, whose type is to be found in heaven, as any which I have seen. As a matter of fact, if he would only read Radical papers exclusively for a year, so as to acquire some knowledge of Western politics, and confine his other reading for the same space of time to works of humour, so as to become a little thick-skinned, nobody on this earth would be like him. I have met some such. No place where I have been is without them altogether. They are the salt of the service, and if Lord Morley could only discover them (he has put his finger on one or two already), the British Raj could laugh at sedition, and the British citizen have no qualms about the government of India.

But a great impediment has been put in the way of the salvation of the mass. Some time ago a poet came to their aid, and wrote "Paget, M. P." The System in Simla sighed with satisfaction. It fashioned the rhyme into breast-plates and helmets, swords and spears, greaves and gyves. "Morning Prayers," the "Manual of Deportment," "How to Approach an A. D. C.," Reuter's telegrams, the *Pioneer*, were all put into the background as things of offence, defence, and consolation. The inquirer who comes to India and who asks about the extravagant waste of money on public undertakings, from railway to Simla roads, about the whacking of natives, about the mystery of the rick-shaw, about the bribery that is honey-combing the lower strata of the public service, gets some information politely, but "the man who knows" is sad at heart. He is certain that the poor stranger does not understand that he will not have the intelligence to steer clear of educated natives, that he will not be able to appreciate the Indian truth. He is a fish out of his moral water. And so, whilst the System explains and defends its absurdities to you, it also seems to say, "but excuse me, my dear innocent. You must remember you can never understand the occult, which is the truth upon which I am based. Let me get up on my pinnacle and recite a little wise poetry to you." Up it goes, and begins:

Paget, M. P., was a liar, and affluent liar therewith—

He spoke of the heat of India.

And you feel very humble and very angry—and the gulf between you and the System widens.

The first of all Indian problems is to keep Indian administration out of ruts and in sympathetic touch with the democracy of the West.

II. AT BENARES

To the east a tawny band of light spans the horizon ; overhead the pale pure crescent of a new moon lies like a piece of delicate jewellery on blue velvet ; behind to the west the stars are still shining.

It is half an hour from sunrise, and I am hurrying to the Ganges. The lanes of Benares, from which offensive smells arise as incense, are just beginning to bestir themselves. A woman sweeps at her door ; a figure that has been sleeping in a corner wakes up ; a man fans a newly-lit fire. The tawny light is warming to pink, and mists begin to rise from the dewy ground.

Suddenly there is an end to the road, and the Ganges flows at our feet. To the left the river comes down in a magnificent bend, the banks on the outer curve being high. There stands Benares—steps, temples, palaces rising in sweeping terraces from the water, the two tall minarets of Aurangzebe's mosque forming the crowning point of all. What menace is there in this incongruous survival here of the work of the bigoted Mohammedan ? What shadow of the future does it throw over the holiest ground of Hinduism ?

WORSHIPPERS AT THE GANGES

There is a murmur on the shore ; there is a confused movement ; there is a sigh as if a waiting people have seen the sign of deliverance. A hot flame of fire has risen above the horizon. Prayers are murmured by thousands of lips ; thousands of feet obey the impulse to go forward into the water ; thousand of dark bodies are bowing in humiliation and adoration, vanishing from sight below the river, rising dripping to add to the murmur of prayer which goes out in a confused hum to welcome the sun.

The sun glistens on the little brazen drinking pots which the people have brought down to cleanse, and lights up the many-coloured robes of the worshippers. White predominates. It glares and challenges everything with its purity. But there are also patches of green and red, purple and pink, saffron and yellow ; and they move and mix like a kaleidoscopic mass of ever-changing pattern. The eye becomes bewildered ; the mind grasps only mass and motion. Slowly the stream drifts the boat down, but the scene becomes more and more a dream, a symbol, a moment in the eternal pursuit of the Infinite. The murmur seems to come far down Time. The crowds holding up hands in adoration and bowing the head low in supplication are but representations of what has gone on through the ages. The clanging of bells in the temples, the haunting notes of the reeds played beside the shrines are but the jarring notes which man always strikes when, in his moods of self-consciousness, he brings sacrifices to his gods.

So we drift downwards past places varying in their degrees of sacredness, past stairs which rise upwards in uninterrupted flights and others which are broken by shrines, by masses of bamboo rods bearing wicker-work baskets at their tips, by platforms where wise and holy men teach novices the way of life, and in the end we come to where the poor Hindu body seeks rest at last. All day long thin blue columns of smoke rise from this ghat, all day long they seem to be building piles of wood there ; all day long processions come bearing gaily-decorated burdens on their shoulders.

The bodies wrapped up in white, or pink, or yellow cloth, lie with their feet in the water waiting for the pyre. You see them in rows lying thus. And the smoke rises lazily and heavily, and is blown across the bathers. You hear the crackling of the consuming fire. No one heeds. "All die," they say, "in due time," and blessed are those whose ashes mingle with the muddy waters of the Ganges. So this strange medley of colours, this confusion of people and tongues, this mingling of the sublime and the sordid, of life and death so characteristic of India, this cry for Infinite Peace, go on through the years.

SCENES IN THE HOLY CITY

The sun is far up. Bells are tinkling in the temples, and the hum of chanted prayers falls upon the waters. We go up from the river to the town—to the Holy City—to the Rome of India. But who can describe the life of its narrow lanes? Who can penetrate their mysteries of devotion and deceit, of holiness and blackguardliness? The temples are full. Incessant streams of people pass and repass their door-ways. The heathen can but peep in, and he sees nothing but brown skins crowding round repulsive idols, throwing flowers at them, sprinkling them with water, bowing before them.

Sacred monkeys chatter from innumerable perches, sacred cows wander round courtyards, sacred men take toll at every point of vantage. Every foot of the road is lined with beggars—beggars suffering from every loathsome disease and every sickening contortion under the sun. Their howls, their whines, their importunities make you feel you are treading the corridors which lead to the places where the lost are in torment.

All is confusion; nothing rests for a moment; it is an endless stream, a ceaseless murmur, a never-slackening crowd. The air is heavy with the scent of flowers and the stench of cattle, and is hot and sickening with humanity. They hang garlands round your neck, and they seem heavy as iron chains, and their odours make mists in your eyes. You must get away from the stifling place.

Out in the courtyard where the air circulates more freely, and where the clang of the temple bell sounds remote, one can stand and watch. In one corner is a fakir in an iron cage, and a group of weary and worn women are taking counsel of him. Poor old things, their wizened breasts, their sunken eyes, their decrepit attitude, tell how unmercifully life has laid burdens on their backs. Nearer is the "Well of Knowledge," round the railings of which a crowd always lingers. Across the pavement wanders an array of queer creatures, wild and unkempt, covered with ashes and little else. Standing there, one begins to grasp the spirit of Benares. One drifts in the muddy, troubled stream of men seeking for that peace which passeth understanding—of men who at one moment are soaring high in the clear blue of religious thought, and in the next are wallowing in the filthy mud of religious ceremony.

THE FEAST OF MATERNITY

That is India all over. It tolerates everything. It looks upon human frailty with the kindest of eyes. Its moments of purifying devotion obliterate its years of debasing exercises. Moreover, it cleanses itself with its humour. It does not believe its own extravagances. It comes to love its gods as one loves a family heirloom.

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We saw the feast of maternity when the mother goddess, after having dwelt in houses for some days, is borne with bands in procession to be thrown into the Ganges. When she goes, we were told, the hearts of the women are void as when a child dies. They crowd the doorways and balconies to see her taken away and they weep at her going.

And is it all real?" I asked. "Yes and no" was the reply of an English friend who has lived long amongst the people. "The mother has twined herself round my own heart. She was very ugly when I saw her first, but I now think her beautiful. India knows, and yet she does not know. She is content to worship." She follows her quest for the Eternal, of whom the things of life are but the shadow and the thought, through the most sordid paths, through nauseating filth and appalling error, and yet upon her shines, in an extraordinary degree, the light of pure devotion and absolute abandonment.

Truly, Benares, the Holy City, holds in its keeping the soul of India.

THE RIG-VEDA IN RELATION TO THE PRESENT. AWAKENING IN INDIA

The Rig-Veda has the honour of being the eldest book in Indian literature and one of the oldest books in the literature of the world. It is at least as old, *i. e.*, the hymns of which it is composed, as the Homeric cycle of poems, and it may possibly be much older. Scholars agree that the 1028 hymns which constitute the *Rig-Veda Samhita* or Collection were edited about B. C. 600. That date then represents the final limit as regards authorship. How many centuries were covered by the composition of the hymns is a matter of uncertainty. In fact, as yet the chronology of the Rig-Veda is a chaos of conflicting opinions. The orthodox opinion in India is that the Vedas are eternal. Critical scholars are divided into two camps, those favouring an early date and those favouring a late date. Professor Hopkins of Yale, perhaps the greatest authority in the world on the epic literature of India, and Professor Jackson of Columbia, well-known as a Zoroastrian scholar, both agree in holding that the bulk of the Rig-Vedic hymns were composed during the two centuries 800—600 B. C. As Professor Hopkins put it: "One thousand B. C. is not the lowest but the highest limit that we can reasonably set to the Rig-Veda, and 800 B. C. is probably nearer the mark, as far as the bulk of the Rig-Veda is concerned."* According to this view the earliest Vedic literature is contemporaneous with the earliest Hebrew literature. Briefly stated, their grounds for such a late date are as follows: (1) The date of Zoroaster is now generally fixed at 660—583 B. C.; and, since there is only a dialectic difference between the language of the Rig-Veda and that of the Avesta, there can be no great interval in time between the two works, the date of Zoroaster, of course, determining the date of the oldest part of the Avesta. (2) The change in language between the Rig-Veda and the Upanisads is not greater than that between Chaucer and

* *India Old and New*, p. 30.

RIG-VEDA AWARENING IN INDIA

Milton, and hence it is fair to suppose that about 200 years would suffice in the one case as well as in the other. (3) The Rishis who composed the hymns may very well have been in a large measure contemporary one with another, and certain differences may be accounted for simply by variety of authorship.

At the opposite pole from Hopkins and Jackson stand Tilak and Jacobi, who, on the basis of astronomical calculations, would carry the period of the composition of the Vedic hymns back beyond B.C. 2500 as far at least as to 3500 and according to Tilak even to 4500 B.C. The Tilak-Jacobi thesis has not met with favour at the hands of scholars such as Weber, Whitney, Oldenberg, Thibaut, Hopkins and Macdonnell. Apart from the assumed astronomical data, however, Jacobi urges that the norm of European progress cannot be applied to India on account of its isolated position and the consequent independent character of its development. And he emphasizes the fact that the dates assumed by himself for the Vedic period are not greater than are accepted by scholars for the civilization of the Euphrates and the Nile. Without endorsing the Tilak-Jacobi theory, several scholars have on other grounds advocated an early date. Thus the late Professor Bühler was of the opinion that the conquest and brahmanization of India compels us to postulate a much earlier date for the beginning of the Vedic period than 1000 or 1200 B. C. Following him Winternitz* declares that from the standpoint of Indian history there is nothing against the view that Vedic literature goes back to the third millenium and the beginnings of Indian culture to the fourth millenium B.C. Professor Bloomfield, too, of Johns Hopkins, has joined the ranks of those who are "now much more inclined to listen to an early date, say 2000 B. C., for the beginnings of Vedic literary production, and to a much earlier date for the beginnings of the institutions and religious concepts"† thereof.

From these widely differing views of equally competent scholars it is clear that positive data are as yet lacking for determining the chronology of the Vedic period. The only formula which adequately describes the indefiniteness of the Vedic age is that suggested by Winternitz, namely \times to about 500 B. C., the symbol \times being the *terminus a quo*. Scholars who bring forward considerations based upon the length of time assumed to be necessary for a particular development, linguistic, literary, or historical, as the case may be, often forget that in literature and history as well as in religion one day may be as a thousand years and a thousand years as one day; that is, the literary and political development may at one time drag very slowly and at another time proceed with leaps and bounds. If the development of the invading Aryan tribes was rapid—and the development of an invading population is not unlikely to be rapid—then a period of four hundred years might well suffice for the composition of the Vedic hymns and the spread of Vedic culture as assumed in the hypothesis of Hopkins and Jackson and exemplified in the development of the new world after its discovery in 1492. But if, on the contrary, the development was slow, then the period suggested by Bühler, Winternitz and Bloomfield may be none too large. What is needed to set

* *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur*, 1904, S. 254.

† *The Religion of the Veda*, 1908, p. 20.

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all this uncertainty at rest is the discovery of *positive* data bearing upon the problem. Such data must clearly be *archæological*. The Vedic Indians lived for centuries and possibly for milleniums in and about the Panjab. They must have left archæological remains of some sort, which are to be looked for at the bottom of the great mounds in the northern and eastern Panjab. From 500 B. C. to 800 or 1000 B. C. there was more or less commercial intercourse between the Euphrates and the Indus. If the Vedic age was comparatively late, a lucky archæological find may establish a synchronism. At any rate there is no need of becoming hopeless, so long as the mounds of the Panjab are not attacked by the spade. Even as it is, the considerations adduced by Hopkins and Jackson are, in the opinion of the writer of this paper, so strong as to throw the burden of proof upon any one who defends an earlier date for the beginning of the Vedic age than 1500 or at the very outside 2000 B. C.

The Rig-Veda is the Vedic Book *par excellence*. Chronologically, as we have seen, it is the oldest book in Indian literature. Theoretically, it is the most sacred, as it heads the list of books which come under *śruti* or "revelation." The word *Veda*, which is cognate with the Greek *oida*, Latin *video*, German *weiss*, English *wit*, means wisdom or knowledge and Rig (Rik) is the name for laudatory verse or stanza. Hence the compound word *Rig-Veda* may be translated by "verse-wisdom." It is the earliest and most sacred wisdom of the Indian Aryans set forth in the form of verses or stanzas which are grouped in hymns. The unit of revelation, as in the *Quran*, seems to be the verse.

The Rig-Veda collection is only one among four collections. There is in addition the *Saman* or Chant-Veda, the *Yajus* or Veda of sacrificial formulas, and the *Atharvan* or Veda of "popular religion." The four Vedas are not unconnected with one another. Thus all the stanzas of the Sama-Veda except seventy-five are found in the Rig-Veda. The Yajur-Veda and the Atharva-Veda also have a considerable amount of material in common with the Rig-Veda. What we really have, then, in the Four Vedas is the distribution of the original Vedic material into four *Sanhitas* or "Collections." The Four Vedas are a four-fold presentation of the primitive Veda, very much as the Four Gospels are a four-fold presentation of the primitive Gospel. By the "primitive Veda" of course is meant the poetic material of the Vedic age before it was collected. The poetic material existing in the various Vedic clans and priestly families consisted as the four historic collections show, of "a heterogeneous combination of old hymns, charms, philosophical poems, and popular songs, most, but not all of which are of religious content."^{*} The motive which determined not only the composition of most of the Vedic hymns but also their collection and preservation was a *religious* one. Of the metrical stanzas in Vedic literature fully one half occur in the Rig-Veda. The Rig-Veda has furnished nearly all the stanzas for the Sama-Veda, one-fourth of the matter for the Yajur-Veda and a considerable part of the contents of the Atharva-Veda. The Rig-Veda, then, is a great documentary source for the other three Vedas, very much as the Gospel of Mark is a chief source for the

^{*} Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

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Canonical Gospels, Matthew and Luke. Each of the four hymn-collections has its own elucidative literature in the form of *Brahmanas* which expound and develop the ritualistic element in the hymns, the *Upanisads* which do the same thing for the philosophical element, and the *Sutras* which are mnemonic compendia of the Vedic ritual and customary law. Thus by Veda in the narrow sense we mean the Rig-Veda ; in a wider sense, the Four Vedas ; and in the widest sense of all, the whole cycle of Vedic literature. The extent of the existing Vedic literature may be estimated from the fact that about one hundred and twenty texts have contributed to the Vedic Concordance of Professor Bloomfield. The Rig-Veda itself is about equal in bulk to the Iliad and Odyssey combined.

The Vedic Aryans, whose first and greatest literary monument is the Rig-Veda, appear in the Vedic age with their faces turned eastward. That is, they came from the west or north-west, entering India from without. The references to mountains and rivers found in the hymns show that the Vedic tribes occupied the northern and eastern parts of the Panjab. The history of India is the history of the movement eastward and southward of the Aryan religion, language and culture, until the whole of India was more or less Aryanized. That the Vedic tribes came from the west is proved not only from the fact that the Aryan line of march was from the west eastward, but also from the close connection which exists between the language and institutions of the Persian Aryans and the Indian Aryans. The Indo-Persian Aryans, as is well known, belonged, probably in blood and certainly in language, to the great Indo-European family. The contributions of the various groups within the Indo-European family have been diverse. The great contribution of Greece has been art ; of Rome, law, and of the Teutonic world, liberty, while the most conspicuous contribution of both India and Persia has been *religion*. The Indo-Iranian peoples have furnished two national religions, Brahmanism and Zoroastrianism, and one international or "world" religion, Buddhism. Thus in the matter of religion, Aryan and Persian have been close competitors with Hebrew and Arab.

And the continent which in these days is awakening out of sleep has been the mother of all the great historic religions of the world. The awakening of Asia ought to mean, in the long run, an awakening of that spiritual instinct, that religious creativeness, by which in the past the whole world has been enriched. The Vedic Aryans, who entered India sometime between 5000 B. C. and 1200 B. C. (probably nearer the later date than the earlier) were a manly race of shepherds and farmers who had a most healthy love of the good things of life. In their prayers to the gods as found in the Vedic hymns they asked for victory over enemies, long life, large families of sturdy sons, and plenty of cows. Though their prayers sometimes took a higher flight, it is sufficient to emphasize at this point that their desires were predominately for very material and tangible good—for food, and cows, and sons, and victory. In fact, the Aryan tribes, when they invaded the Panjab and laid the foundations of an Aryanized India, were not at all unlike the Jutes and Angles and Saxons who invaded Britain and laid the foundations of the Anglo-Saxon world. Both groups of peoples were adventurous in spirit, ready for migration, and hard

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fighters. If the encounter between Anglo-Saxon and Briton meant war to the death, the encounter between *Aryan* and *Dasa* on the plains of the Panjab meant also either death or slavery for the latter. And let us remember that the Aryan who invaded India and the Anglo-Saxon who invaded Britain were kinsmen, language-brothers certainly, and probably blood-brothers. Wherever either of them went, he went to *rule*. We have already seen that the Vedic Aryans were cheery and optimistic, lovers of life and of the good things of life. One of the most striking contrasts in the history of thought is the contrast between the optimism of the Vedic age and the pessimism which gradually settled down like a pall upon the spirit of India and finally obtained its credal statement in Buddha's doctrine of suffering.

Certain other contrasts may also be specified. Earliest India, *i.e.*, the India of the Rig-Veda, cherished the belief in personal existence after death, as *e.g.*, in the "highest step" of Vishnu, the sun-home of the soul, a place symbolized by the sun in the zenith, where the sainted dead are happy by the side of Vishnu's "well of honey." But in later India, *i.e.* from the time of the Upanisads onward, transmigration is the dominant view in eschatology. Earlier India is without the ascetic ideal, so far as can be gathered from the Rig-Vedic hymns, its priests being frank and unabashed lovers of "*bhikshish*"; whereas for later India the religious ideal is that of renunciation, the ideal of the yellow robe and the begging bowl. But, as already stated, the greatest contrast between earliest India and later India is the contrast between optimism and pessimism. The Rig-Vedic age was an age of endeavour, an age of appreciation for the good things of life, and of longing for them. But ere long "the native hue of [Vedic] resolution was sicklied o'er by the pale cast of thought." What it was that transformed Vedic optimism into the later Brahmanical and Buddhist pessimism is not quite certain. Possibly Bloomfield is right in saying that "India herself, through her climate, her nature, and her economic conditions, furnishes reasonable ground for pessimism."^{*}

It must be admitted that the Vedic Aryans were able to live a long time in the Punjab without becoming pessimists, centuries at the very least and possibly millenniums. It is a remarkable fact, too, that the present awakening in India is characterized by an optimistic appreciation of the good things of this life, such as education, representative government, religious reform, agricultural improvement, social welfare, good bank deposits, etc., etc., and by a strenuous endeavour to secure these things. In this respect Young India is clasping hands with the Old India of the Rig-Veda, and the emphasis is somewhat less upon other worldliness than heretofore. Doubtless many things have contributed to bring about this awakening, *e.g.*, the contact of the meditative Aryan of the East with the more practical Aryan of the West, the mingling and clashing of the religious ideals of India with those of Arabia and Palestine, and the splendid peace and security guaranteed to the whole of India by the British Government. It is true, India is so densely populated that the standard of living is very low. India is a land, too, of drought and famine, of plague and cholera, and of venomous snakes. And in addition, before the advent of the

^{*} *Religion of the Veda*, p. 264.

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British Government, India was a land of chronic warfare and pillage. There was some ground for pessimism especially in the good old days. But great changes have taken place. War and pillage have ceased. Irrigation has increased the area of soil capable of cultivation. The enlargement of the railway system in India makes it now possible to send food rapidly into famine districts. The appliances of modern medical science are used against plague and cholera. Five Universities minister to the intellectual needs of the land. Thus life is becoming gradually a more tolerable thing in India. And as the cause of this the greatest agent on the material and intellectual side is the British Government. Studies in history, politics, and economics, have given to the young men of India a larger outlook. The victory of little Japan over the giant of the North brought to India also a consciousness of power. In the light of these facts is it any wonder that the awakening of India is marked by an attitude of strenuous endeavour and of great hopefulness? Something of the buoyancy of the Vedic age is returning, its love of life and of life's good things and its readiness to strive for them. The pendulum is returning to where it was before. "The pale cast of thought," which has characterized India throughout the centuries, is gradually giving way to India's primitive "native" and Vedic "hue of resolution." This change represents one of the most outstanding results of the meeting of East and West. And what does it all mean except this that the strenuousness and love of life found reflected in the hymns of the Rig-Veda are more consonant with western ideals than with those hitherto associated with the meditative East.

It is to be hoped, however, that the process of the assimilation of East to West may not be carried too far. What a pity it would be, if the characteristic elements in the Indian consciousness, its sense of the unseen, its conviction of the supreme importance of the spiritual, its masterful repose should ever go down in a mad rush after material ends. What a pity it would be if India should ever forget a truth once voiced by a man of Asiatic birth: "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth."* The Indian type of consciousness is, as it were, a tropical plant trained up in the age-long isolation of India, the product of all the influences, climatic, geographic, ethnological and historical, which have played upon India from the beginning. Whatever contribution India has made to the world's good in the past has been along the line of her own specific endowment. So will it be in the future. Whatever may be the permanent value of the metaphysical conclusion to which the sages of ancient India attained, the type and attitude of mind, which formulated the conclusions is in the opinion of the writer of this paper, even more valuable than the conclusions formulated. The writer of this paper, a Christian missionary in India, is looking for a great contribution from this same Indian consciousness to help to solve the problems of Christian interpretation, thought, and life. It may be said that part of India's contribution has already been made, and there is truth in this. The doctrine of the divine immanence, in however exaggerated a form it has been held in India, has helped to correct the deistic tendency toward an exaggerated transcendence. And the

* Luke, xii, 15

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doctrine of *Karma*, namely, that "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap" deserves a larger development in Christian theology than it has yet received.

There is no great fear that the best elements in the Indian consciousness will ever be lost. The forces which helped to mould and fashion this particular type of mind are also present to conserve it. During the process of awakening now going on in India, the pendulum will undoubtedly swing for a time toward the material and the secular. This will mean simply that India has discovered that "the life that now is" has its rights as well as "the life that is to come." But more than this, India's thought can never influence the world as it should, until there has been a *Purgatio intellectus*, a purging of the understanding. What is better calculated to give poise and sanity to India's thought than just the attempt to understand "the life that now is" through the study of the empirical sciences of this present life such as physics, chemistry, biology, history, economics, psychology, etc., studies enthusiastically pursued by multitudes of young men in the Indian Universities at the present time. When through the intelligence and effort and sacrifice of the people of India life in this land becomes a more tolerable thing and the hitherto-existing grounds of pessimism have been largely removed, when "the life that now is" is valued at its true worth, whether found in Brahman or woman or pariah, then the conclusions of the thinkers of India on the problems of "the life to come" will carry still greater weight. And the interesting thing is, in this connection, that the growing appreciation of the value of the present life, now observable in India, marks a kind of return to the spirit of the Rig-Veda, even as the spirit of the Vedic Aryan was in many respects akin to the spirit of the Anglo-Saxon. Without such a return to the spirit of the Rig-Veda, India would be faithless to one part of her ancient heritage. It is one of the great merits of the British administration in India that it has helped the people of India to rediscover a highly important, but almost forgotten, part of their spiritual inheritance. (Dr. D. H. Griswold, Ph. D. in the Bulletin No. I of the Society of comparative Theology and Philosophy.)

LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

ECONOMIC CONDITION OF INDIA

The Statist has been for some time discussing in a series of interesting articles the affairs of India mainly with reference to her economic condition. *The Statist* begins by describing the poverty of the people by citing a mass of interesting figures in the following manner, showing how immensely poor India is in comparison with Europe :—

“To begin with, we may say with small deviation from the truth that in India there is no middle class. Consequently, there is very little of what we in this country call trade, and it is not much exaggeration to say that the population lives by the land. India is preponderantly an agricultural country. And the vast majority of the population are miserably poor. In the whole of India there are only 29 cities each with a population of 100,000 persons and over. And the aggregate population of these 29 cities is no more than 6,605,837, making just 2·3 per cent. of the total population. In other words, very nearly 98 persons out of every 100 live in the country or in urban districts with populations under 100,000. To put the matter somewhat differently, and in a way that will probably make the facts of the situation more intelligible to our readers, the aggregate population of the 29 greatest towns in India is very little larger than the population of Greater London alone. Furthermore, of the towns with populations varying from 10,000 to 100,000, the aggregate throughout the whole of India is no more than 15,351,280. Consequently, in the whole of India the population of towns of 10,000 people and upwards amounts only to 21,957,117, or 7·5 per cent. of the total population. As we have already said, India is, to all intents and purposes, an agricultural country. It has hardly any middle class, as we understand the phrase. There are, of course, ruling princes, great nobles, rich land-owners, and wealthy bankers and merchants; but the vast majority of the population live by agriculture. According to the “Statistical Abstract Relating to British India,” the total number who live by agriculture amount to 191,691,731, or 65·16 per cent. of the total population. Practically, that is to say, two-thirds of the whole population live by agriculture. Of these two-thirds, 88,641,399 persons, or 46·3 per cent., being 30·13 per cent. of the

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total population, are actual workers on the land. The remainder, numbering 103,344,013, are dependent upon the workers. They amount to 53·7 per cent. of the two-thirds, or 35·03 per cent. of the total population. We need hardly remind the reader that an agriculture of such magnitude implies the existence of a multitude of ancillary trades, such as farriers, smiths, carpenters, cart-makers, and the like. Consequently, if we include not only persons who are partly farmers and partly traders, but also the members of all the trades ancillary to agriculture, it will be seen that the population dependent upon the land is very considerably more than two-thirds of the whole people of India. According to the Statistical Abstract already referred to, the rate of wages of the agricultural population ranges from a minimum monthly wage of Rs. 1·87 at Fyzabad to a maximum monthly wage of Rs. 15 in Rangoon and Toungoo. In other words, the highest monthly wage is only equivalent to £1 in English money, and the lowest to slightly under half-a-crown. Having now shown that very nearly two-thirds of the population live by the land, and that the average wages of agricultural labourers ranges from somewhat under half-a-crown per month up to £1 per month, the reader is in a position to understand the difficulties which are presented to the European statesman who endeavours to raise the condition of the people. But to appreciate still more clearly all difficulties, it is well to bear in mind that, so far as the mass of the people are concerned, they have no education, and never have had ; that they are, consequently, sunk in the deepest ignorance—so much so that they have been induced by sedition-mongers to believe that their own Government has employed agents to poison their wells, and that they resent as little short of impiety every attempt to fight plague or to introduce sanitation. Over and above this, India is subject every few years to severe droughts which cause grievous famines. Lastly, for its size and population India has exceedingly little foreign trade. The total value of the imports into India during 1909 amounted to £80,561,000, and the total value of the exports to £112,431,000 ; both together, therefore, were only £192,992,000 comparing with an aggregate foreign trade during the same year in the case of the United Kingdom of £911,754,000. We have shown above that while India is a little larger than Europe outside of the Russian Empire, its population, likewise, is a little larger than the population of Europe, with which we have compared it. Consequently, the density of population in India is about the same as the density of population in the wealthiest, most

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intelligent and most commercial portion of the Old World. We do not, of course, include in our comparison new countries like the United States and our own Colonies. But though India, as a civilised country, is older than Europe, yet, comparing it with the richest and most forward part of Europe, it is at least as densely peopled. Unfortunately, however, the poverty all over India is far greater than the poverty in even the worst parts of old Europe."

The writer then alludes to the Government of India being too costly and observes :—

"India is governed by a country thousands of miles away, which country sends out a number of highly educated civil servants, with a Governor-General at their head, and that, in addition, the ruling country provides India with a white garrison about 80,000 strong. To make sure that the Government shall be competent it is obviously necessary to pay its members on a high scale—to pay them somewhat better than the same class of men would be paid at home. Consequently, the Government is an expensive one. And, being animated by all the European ideals of government, of decency, of order, and so on, it aims at carrying out reforms many of which are repugnant to the governed, and all of which are costly."

The writer in *The Statist* further regrets that the people of India are devoid of all banking faculties and goes on to say :—

"There are, of course, Presidency banks which cater for the commercial community, and there are exchange banks which serve the foreign trade. But, speaking generally and broadly, banking is quite unknown to the Indians outside the great towns. The agricultural population, which practically is the Indian population, has to depend almost altogether for banking accommodation upon village usurers, though quite recently people's banks have been introduced here and there."

The Statist, in its characteristic manner, then proceeds to recapitulate its pet theory about the 'hoarded wealth' of India :—

"From time immemorial India has hoarded gold and silver. Sometimes immense sums in actual coin are hoarded, but most generally the practice is, with regard to the small people, to put their savings in the form of ornaments to deck out their women-folk. The accumulation of savings or hoardings must be almost incredible. In the 33 years which ended with the preceding March, there had been imported into India and kept in the form of gold and silver the enormous aggregate of £356,324,000. Now, hoarding had been going on from time immemorial before that, and has been going on ever since. Therefore, the mass of gold

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and silver accumulated in private hoards of all kinds must be incredibly great. But it is hardly necessary to point out that this habit of hoarding is uneconomical in the last degree. The amount of gold and silver accumulated during the 33 years just referred to was at the rate of over 10¾ millions sterling per annum. It is obvious that if that vast sum had been laid out in enterprise it would have immensely improved the condition of the people ; whereas, hoarded mainly as ornaments, it served no other purpose than to gratify feminine vanity. Still, it is important to remember that there is in the country a hoard of the precious metals and precious stones of incredible amount, which, if it can be drawn forth, may in the future prove of incalculable benefit."

The writer, however, rightly holds the action of the Government of India in closing the mints to free coinage of silver partly responsible for the poverty of the Indian people : 'The closing of the mints 17 years ago has depreciated the value of silver, and, therefore, in its degree has, in the first place, helped to impoverish India, and, in the second place, has gone to swell that rising tide of discontent which in its worst form is manifesting itself in political assassinations."

In continuation of his article describing the economic condition of India, the writer in *the Statist* proceeds in a subsequent paper in the same journal to enquire how this condition can be met and improved, and, after having a few words of warm appreciation for the reforms recently introduced into the Indian Legislative Councils, he suggests that there are two ways by which the condition of India can be effectively improved *viz.*, (1) utilization of Indian labour by emigration on a great scale (2) a sound system of education.

Referring to the question of emigration, the writer regrets that in their attempt to emigrate to the United States, to Canada, to Australasia, and to South Africa the Indians have everywhere been received with a cold shoulder and blames the authorities in England for their indifferent attitude in this regard. The writer then suggests new fields for exploitation by the Indians and points to Nigeria, Uganda and British East Africa as being "fertile territories which one day, doubtless, will be highly prosperous." He, however, points out the difficulties in the way of the Indians there : "But unfortunately they have become British so recently that there has not been time for a large British population to grow up and, consequently, they hold out little attraction to the Indian without means who is contemplating emigration. An Indian with a little capital, with enterprise and self-reliance, no doubt, would prosper greatly in

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any of these, but a very poor Indian, who only by the help of his friends perhaps can scrape together his passage money, and who looks for—indeed, must have—immediate employment on landing on the unknown shore, would starve in these very new countries.” The writer, however, recommends the matter to be of the highest importance and suggests to the Government of India :—“It is for the Indian Government to consider carefully whether it can solve the problem. All visitors to Uganda, for example, speak of it most enthusiastically. All it wants is an industrious, enterprising population. There is no question at all of the industry of the Indians. It would be easy, therefore, to attract a very considerable Indian settlement, and if the settlers were guided by Europeans with the necessary sympathy and the necessary judgment they might make Uganda blossom like the rose.”

As to the other and more general way of improving the condition of the Indians,—namely, a sound system of education which can benefit the mass of the Indian people—the writer begins by condemning the present one in vogue as being “too literary.” Says the *Statist* :—

“Education means the development, the strengthening, and the perfection, so far as anything human can attain perfection, of all man’s powers. Education to be complete must be intellectual or mental, moral, and physical, including in the latter technical education. . . . Now the men who established the British system of education in India neglected both moral and physical education altogether, and instituted only literary education ; or, if that is too absolute a statement, at all events they established a system which is so mainly literary that it almost leaves in the shade everything else.”

The Statist then traces one of the causes of the present unrest in India to this “denaturalised and distorted system of education based upon a misconception both of the condition and of the needs of India” in the following words :—

“The result has been altogether unfortunate. The present unrest in India, no doubt, is due to many causes. But there is no question that it has been aggravated, extended, and made more bitter by a false system of education, which has turned out, and is turning out, multitudes of young fellows quite unfitted for the only work that will be offered to them. These young men have received an education which qualifies them for nothing but the professions and Government employment. There is no room for more than a small proportion of them either in the professions or in the Government

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officers. Those who fail in their search for a livelihood, therefore, are filled with a bitter resentment, and hence we see that the preachers of sedition, and, most frequently, likewise, the agents of murder, are students, or have been students, at the Government colleges and universities."

The writer then suggests that India wants "a system of education that will raise the whole body of the people, will fit them to work more efficiently than they can work at present and will thereby enable them to pay better wages. More particularly, we want technical education for the two-thirds of the people who live by agriculture." With some wise remarks on the supreme necessity of extending facilities for technical education to the agriculturists, the writer concludes :—

"If we are to make labour more efficient we must endeavour to teach the labourers, and not, as hitherto, confine our attention to those who are deemed worthy of a literary education. The education must be elementary, of course, but it must also be technical. India at present is suffering from two diseases—extreme poverty and widespread political unrest. The extreme poverty is the result, of course, of historic causes, which it would take us too far out of our way to trace. But we have evidence in the recent history of Prussia and Japan that those causes can be counteracted and the scale of living of the people can be raised by, amongst other things, and first of all things, a really sound system of education. The really sound system of education, however, must be provided for the whole body of the people. It is important, of course, that all classes should be highly trained—not merely the workers, but the capitalists also. But there cannot be material relief to the poverty of India until the poorer portion of her people are given a better education. In its turn a better education will lessen, if it does not root out, political discontent—at all events, political discontent of the dangerous kind. A healthy discontent which spurs men on to additional exertion is always desirable. But a discontent which refuses to admit the share of those who feel it in the general evil and tries to take vengeance upon its rulers, is an unhealthy sign, and can but bring mischief in the country where it prevails. A really sound system of education would open the eyes of the people to the fallacy of sedition ; would lead them, it may be hoped, to co-operate with their rulers ; and would gradually bring about a better state of things, political as well as economic."

RUPEE PRICES AND WAGES IN INDIA

We have noticed at length the articles of *the Statist* about the economic condition of India with special reference to that of the agricultural labourers and its suggestions for improving the same. We shall now present before our readers a few suggestions on Rupee prices and wages in India as discussed in a recent issue of *the Economist* and in two other very interesting papers—one by Mr. F. J. Atkinson, Accountant-General of the United Provinces which appeared in a recent number of the Royal Statistical Society's *Journal* and the other read some time ago by Sir James Wilson before the Royal Economic Society in London. Considering the enormous increase that has been effected in the price of almost all commodities in India during recent years, the subject invites special attention, especially in view of the laudable anxiety shown by the Government of India to ascertain the causes of this increase.

Unlike *the Statist*, which refuses to be satisfied with the present condition of things and advocates progressive changes in the right direction, *the Economist* sneers at "the conflicting statements and the persistent flood of obvious falsehoods about the condition of India," and in order to give a lie direct to these statements the latter journal asks the Government of India to address itself to the task of preparation of statistics showing, first, the movement of wages, and secondly, the movement in prices of those things which wage-earners have consumed during the last ten years, or, if possible, for an even longer period." *The Economist* seems to have no faith in the doctrine that there has been an all-round increase in the price of food stuffs in India and, commenting on the remarks made by Mr. Atkinson that "the level of food prices from 1843 to 1858 in India is represented by the figure 72, the level from 1900 to 1904 is represented by the figure 125, which is not far off double" our contemporary observes :—

"So far as wheat and other cereals are concerned, we know that a sovereign in London, or Bombay, or Calcutta, would buy far more in the second period than in the first, though the case of rice may be different. No doubt until the growth of railways levelled the prices of commodities in India the most extraordinary differences existed. There might be a glut in one district which would make food unsaleable, and a famine in another district, which raised it to an impossible price."

The *Economist* then proceeds with suggestions as to how the enquiry into the prices should be conducted :—

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“ But we should have thought that an inquiry into the prices of the principal articles of food, clothing, and commerce in India should start with the gold prices of the various articles in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras at the different periods. An attempt to follow local variations without ascertaining first the governing and indisputable facts was certain to end in failure. We should be very sceptical indeed about ancient figures of wages and prices ; for until railways developed prices depended upon local crops. There might be famine prices in one district, and in a near but disconnected area at the same time cheapness and plenty might rule.”

Sir James Wilson like *The Economist* belongs to the Official creed which makes much capital out of the material prosperity of India under British Rule and differing from *The Statist* applauds the action of the Government of India in closing the mints in the following words :—

Previous to 1873 the ratio of value of gold to silver throughout the world had for many years remained fairly stationary at about $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, or, in other words, silver was worth about 60·84 pence per ounce. As silver was freely coined into an equal weight in rupees at the Indian mints the value of the rupee in gold was almost exactly the same as the value of the silver in the rupee ; and when silver sold at 60·84 pence per ounce, the value of the silver in a rupee was almost exactly 24 pence ; so that in those days the exchange value of the rupee remained practically stationary at about 24 pence, or two shillings per rupee ; or, in other words, ten rupees were equivalent in value to one sovereign. Owing to changes in the world's demand and supply of silver in comparison with the demand and supply of gold, about 1870 the gold value of silver began to fall, and as the Indian mints remained open to the unrestricted coinage of rupees until 1893, the gold value of the rupee fell in proportion to the fall in the gold value of the silver contained in it. The fall in the gold value of silver, and therefore of the rupee, went on so rapidly that in 1892 the rupee was worth in gold only 15 pence in place of the 24 pence it was worth 20 years before ; in other words, it took 16 rupees to buy a sovereign, instead of the old ratio of 10 rupees to the sovereign. This fall in the gold value of the rupee, so far as it was due to the appreciation of gold in relation to all other commodities, did not so very much matter to the inhabitants of the Punjab, but so far as it was due to the depreciation of silver in relation to all other commodities, and so caused a general rise in silver prices, it acted very unfairly to many people, although it was of advantage to

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others ; for instance, all debtors who were bound to pay a fixed number of rupees benefited, and their creditors suffered, because the debt contracted in rupees worth 24 pence could now be paid in rupees worth only 15 pence ; and again, it was hard on all who drew salaries or wages fixed in rupees, as their rupees now purchased much less of general commodities than before. The fall in the gold value of the rupee had a disastrous effect on the finances of India, which owes a large debt in gold, and has to pay the interest in gold or its equivalent, while its income is almost entirely in rupees. For these reasons the Government of India in 1893 took the bold step of closing the Indian mints to the unrestricted coinage of rupees, with the object of reducing the supply of rupees so that the demand for them should maintain the value of the rupee in gold at 16 pence, whatever might be the value of silver. The experiment was a risky one, for there was a very large, but unknown, quantity of rupees in hoards, which might be tempted into circulation and upset all calculations ; but ultimately it was completely successful in attaining its object. The gold value of silver went rapidly down still further, till in 1895 it was only 30 pence per ounce, just half the traditional rate which had prevailed up to 22 years before. The gold value of the rupee also fell, but not in proportion to the fall in the gold value of silver. It reached its lowest point in the year 1895, and was then worth in gold only 13·6 pence, while the silver in it was worth only 12 pence. Then the demand for rupees began to overtake the supply, and the gold value of the rupee steadily rose, until in 1898 it reached 16 pence, and has since remained practically at that figure ; that is, 15 rupees have for the last eleven years equalled a sovereign in value. The rupee cannot rise appreciably above 16 pence, because since 1899 the sovereign is a legal tender in India at the ratio of 15 rupees ; so that, if people found they could buy sovereigns at anything under, say, 14¾ rupees, it would pay them to purchase sovereigns from anywhere in the world, and to pay their debts in sovereigns instead of in rupees. There is still a danger that in seasons in which, owing to a decrease in the demand for currency, there is a redundancy of rupees in circulation, the gold value of the rupee might fall below 16 pence ; and eighteen months ago some anxiety was caused by the enormous number of rupees which were returned from circulation into the Government treasuries, owing to the pooriness of the harvests and the slackening of trade ; and it became necessary by the issue in India of sterling bills, to draw largely on the gold standard

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reserve in London to keep up exchange : but the measures taken were successful and the danger was tided over. The fact remains that for the last eleven years the gold value of the rupee has continued steady at 16 pence, and there seems no reason to fear that it will ever depart appreciably from that ratio. The closing of the mints, therefore, has resulted in a steadying of the value of the rupee in relation to gold, and has eliminated the very perplexing factor formerly due to the great fluctuations of exchange ; as, for all practical purposes, buyers and sellers may now safely assume that a sovereign means neither less nor more than 15 rupees."

Referring to the condition of the Indian labourers, Sir James Wilson observes :—

" The average wages of an agricultural labourer in the Punjab, measured in annas, are now nearly double what they were 40 years ago, and at least 50 per cent. higher than 20 years ago. For the last eleven years the anna has been exactly equivalent to a penny, and today the agricultural labourer in the Punjab can earn from fivepence to sixpence a day. But, of course, the true measure of the labourer's prosperity is the margin he has left over from his wages after providing for his necessary wants, and we must, therefore, make allowance for the recent rise in prices of food-grains. As compared with his daily food, his other needs are of little importance. For clothing, the poorer class of agricultural labourer is content with a few garments of coarse cotton and a woollen blanket or two. For shelter, he is happy in a house of sun-dried bricks, made with his own hands and with the help of his neighbours. For fuel, he or his family can always pick up enough sticks or dung to make a fire to bake his scones, or heat his milk, or boil his vegetable broth. He rarely tastes meat or spirits, and his chief luxuries are sugar and tobacco, which are not taxed inside India, and are therefore cheap.....Thus, notwithstanding the rise of prices, the average labourer is much better off than he was formerly, and has now nearly twice as much to spend on comforts and luxuries as he could reckon on 20 years ago."

THE SOCIAL CONSCIENCE IN INDIA

In a recent issue of *The Times of India* an admirable article has been published on the above subject. It sums up in a succinct manner the ills and sores of the Indian Society and points

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to the achievement of the British Government in their attempt to remove the same by helping the Indians to quicken their Social Conscience. In answer to the question whether India is progressing under British rule, the writer observes that "there are those who point to the rapid growth of our foreign trade, the thousands of miles of our railways, the millions of acres reclaimed from the waste by our irrigation systems. There are others again who dwell on the poverty of the masses, the vast region of illiteracy that awaits the illumination of knowledge, the large numbers of the people who fall victims every year to malaria and plague and other epidemic and endemic diseases. These statistical duels have a value of their own."

The Times of India, however, considers that the success in quickening the social conscience of India is a surer test of the real position of India and proceeds to describe the condition of the Indian Society as it was on the advent of the English :—

"In India, and the East generally, the social conscience had become crystallised into customs and traditions in the course of centuries under a regime of authority both in religion and politics. In effect this was equivalent to the abolition of the social conscience altogether. A man's duty to women and to his neighbours of his own and other castes was laid down once for all and no one thought of acting in any other manner. Isolated attempts at innovation were snuffed out by the simple process of eliminating the reformer from the social order. In a few cases where powerful individuals from the lower castes headed a movement against the pretensions of the higher, the arts of diplomacy were employed to extinguish it by detaching the leaders who were admitted to the honours of sanctity. Indian apologists sometimes instance the case of a few Mahars and other low caste bards who are regarded as saints in proof in the catholicity of their ancient religion. But they do not explain that the canonisation of a few Mahars had absolutely no influence on the position of the low castes. Even virtue and vice were defined by custom. No man was considered respectable who did not possess what a contributor in our columns not long ago aptly spoke of as "supplementary spouses." A wealthy man owned a mistress or two in those days as much as a matter of course as he does one or more motor cars in these. And nobody thought the worse of him for that. Priests would flock to his house, he might be a temple trustee, a pillar of orthodoxy and mothers would hold him up as a model for their children. So also even now a man who returns after serving a term in the Andamans has less difficulty in obtaining re-

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admission into some of the more orthodox communities, than one who returns after completing, it may be with brilliant success, a course of studies in Europe or America. The escapades of young widows were winked at, while the mere mention of remarriage would lead to the excommunication of the daring speaker. High placed men who drank and devoured forbidden food were safe in their castes, while a man who partook a strictly vegetarian meal with a friend of another caste, was rigorously put out of it. You may be a humbug and a hypocrite as much as you please, but never an open advocate of reforms in social customs. The Abbe Dubois states that in his days Indian gentlemen, when visiting one another, had a bevy of nautch girls going before them in a procession. *Sati* and infanticide were looked upon as rather meritorious practices by some of the highest castes. The attitude of the people to the depressed classes can be summed up in the ancient dictum : He that is filthy let him be filthy still."

The writer in the *Times of India* then proceeds to show to what extent the English have succeeded in purging the Indian society of its many evils :—

"Such was the state of the social conscience, or rather the negation of it, in India previous to the days of English education and British rule. No one who has a regard for truth will say that we have reached the millennium ; but at the same time we must be walfully blind not to see that an immense change has taken place in the people's view of social life. Some of the grosser evils have been put down by the direct action of the State, and the people have acquiesced in their suppression willingly. In other matters, which do not lie within the province of legislative action, a good deal has been and is being done by social and religious reformers to hold up a high ideal of conduct before their fellow men. That imitation of the example of their superiors is the moving principle of the social life of the masses, is rather unpleasantly brought out by the fact to which the census reports of several provinces bear testimony, that the customs of child marriage and enforced widowhood are followed to-day by castes which did not observe them some thirty years ago. When a Hindu prospers in life, he gets his children married and forbids remarriage of widows in his family after the manner of the Brahminical castes. Evidence is available to show that among the latter the efforts of organisations like the Social Conference are beginning to have a wholesome effect. The authors of the last all India Census Report acknowledge their influence on marriage and vital statistics. In

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his recent volumes on South Indian castes, Mr. Edgar Thurston notes that the propaganda of social reformers has brought about a notable change in public opinion regarding *muralis* and *devadasis*, whose number is steadily decreasing. The standards of personal life and conduct have been totally revolutionised. Responsible authorities have borne testimony to the purity and integrity which the accession of educated Indians has introduced among the rank and file of the public services. The new social ideals have evoked support even from some of the religious heads and *gurus*. Educated men are beginning to bestir themselves on behalf of the amelioration of the depressed classes. In several parts of the country, and among several castes, a sea voyage has practically ceased to be regarded as a social offence. Young widows have been remarried in some of the most respectable families, especially among the Brahmins of Maharashtra. Hindu girls remain unmarried and pursue their education to an age which would have horrified their grandmothers. No doubt, all these ideas are visible only in the lives of a small number, which is as a drop in the ocean of Indian humanity. But it is the little leaven that leaveneth the whole lump. These ideas are held intellectually by a very much large number of persons, who only require the driving-power of a strong emotion to give effect to them in their lives. The masses, as we have seen, will follow the example of the classes. The inveterate pessimist will not, of course, be dislodged from his pessimism by these things, and he will find ample material for his gloomy creed in the undeniable backwardness of India's masses. But we venture to think that the unprejudiced student of Indian history will see in the few facts which we have here given, a sure sign of an awakened and quickened conscience which, far more enduring than material achievements, will be gratefully remembered by generations yet unborn as England's noblest gift to India."

THE ENGLISH IN THE COURT AND CAMP OF SIVAJI

Mr. J. L. Chatterjee gives an interesting historical description of Bombay and the relation of Sivaji with the English in the latter part of the Seventeenth Century in the July number of the *Hindusthan Review*. Mr. Chatterjee naturally gives a very high place to Sivaji as a soldier, statesman and, above all, as a patriot. Differing from

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most English historians who have painted Sivaji's character in an unduly black colour, Mr. Chatterjee observes : " Political exigencies recognise no claims of justice, while making no difference between jealousy and gratitude. Justice is not half as blind as political motive. Political expediency dictates what the historian writes, the statesman practises, and the orator proclaims. It is a case of *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi* all along the line. . . . The English came in contact with Sivaji at the closing period of his extraordinary career. At that time he was at the zenith of his power, the ruler of a vast tract of country, practically the whole of western Deccan, seated firmly on his throne at Raicee, dreaded by the pitiless Aurangzeb with his thundering legions, adored by the nation which he had raised from the dust, and exercising his kingly duties as though he had been in a family of kings and born to rule. Imagination is staggered to read the story of that wonderful man. It has all the freshness of a romance without its absurdity. And the vilifications of malicious traducers sink into insignificance when the real facts concerning his public and private life are studied with due regard to the attendant circumstances."

Mr. Chatterji, however, carries his admiration for Sivaji to an absurd length. Comparing Sivaji with Napoleon, Mr. Chatterji observes :—

"Dispassionately viewed, while the Mahratta hero suffers nothing by contrast with the conqueror of Europe, he undoubtedly looms larger than the latter in some respects. The opportunities he had at the start of his career were without doubt much fewer than those which came to Napoleon, and the difficulties he had to surmount before he could obtain a footing were greater than Napoleon had ever to contend with. Sivaji was not pre-eminently a child of destiny. And the out-standing fact remains, which none can challenge, that while the Napoleonic dynasty established only in 1804 has disappeared like a startling dream, the Mahratta supremacy founded so far back as 1674, exists to this day in an appreciable form. The Revolution aided Napoleon, and the disturbed condition of India aided Sivaji, but the measure of success obtained by the latter was strikingly greater than what Napoleon secured."

The writer then proceeds to discuss how Sivaji came in touch with the English and incidentally gives the following account of the condition of Bombay about that time :—

"At the period we are dealing with, Bombay had not developed into the fine and prosperous presidency that it is to-day. It was a

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cluster of scattered villages boasting of mud huts and a few good buildings here and there. Its dependence even for articles of food was such that the Sidi of Janjira could, by a *kukum*, put the city on fish diet or starve it according as he chose, while the island of Kenery supplied firewood. The English residents in Bombay were few in number, for we read that at times there were no more than a dozen women, while the soldiers and civilians could not have exceeded four or five hundred."

Speaking of the English and the attitude of the Mahomedan and the Mahratta rulers towards them, Mr. Chatterji observes :—

"The English were nothing more than traders compelled to keep in good humour the last of the Great Moghuls and his lieutenants on the one hand and the rising Mahrattas on the other. They had factories in several places, from Zeilon to the Red Sea, but Surat contained the most important and influential of them all, for the headquarters had been established in that town, and a semblance of society with such amenities as could be brought or otherwise secured had been formed there. Surat, in short, was the principal seat of the English in India, administered by the chief of the factory, little noticed either by the Moghuls who were striving hard to maintain their colossal Empire or by the Mahratta who had just commenced their sanguinary operations. . . . There was, however, a touch of Imperialism in the demeanour of the English, and it would seem as if the settlers had seen through the misty years before them and caught a faint glimpse of the position their proud descendants were destined to attain less than a century afterwards. It was in vain that the Moghul and the Mahrattas alternately protested against the overbearing attitude of the handful of white colonists, that Aurangzeb ordered their expulsion out of India, that means were devised to keep them within bounds. The cry of "forward" had gone forth, and an invisible, irresistible hand was ceaselessly at work to carve out for the unnoticed factors an empire which the great Moghuls in the zenith of their pride and power had not dreamt of."

* The writer then describes the attempt of Sivaji to crush the growing influence of the English :—

In 1661 Sivaji invaded the English factory at Rajapur which was taken and plundered ; several of the factors were seized and confined for two years on the alleged ground of their having assisted the Sidi Johur with mortars and shells at the siege of Panalla. The release of the captives had to be purchased by their fellow-countrymen by means of a ransom, and this was done the more easily as it was

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money that Sivaji wanted and cared for. . . . Sivaji next attacked Surat early in 1664 when Sir George Oxinden was President and Chief Director of all the affairs of the Company at Surat and other factories. It is related by Orme that Sivaji went into the city in disguise and remained in it three days, picking up intelligence and marking the opulent houses. To conceal his intentions he formed two camps, one before Chaul and the other before Bassein, as if his designs were in those quarters. He then took 4,000 horses from his camp at Bassein, ordering the rest to continue the same watches and music to make it appear that the number of his soldiers had not diminished and he himself was present on the scene. He led his horse through unfrequented tracts which he had personally examined, and appeared before Surat before his approach was known. . . . The inhabitants fled from their houses, offering no resistance and leaving their treasures behind them. Sivaji had his opportunity, and the booty he collected was estimated at about a million sterling. It is noteworthy in this connection that he did not molest the English or the Dutch factories. In 1669-70 Sivaji fell upon Surat for the second time as a falcon swoops down on its prey. It was now President Gerald Aungier's turn to defend his factory. The Musulman Governor of the town, pretending surprise, retired into the castle as soon as Sivaji's troops entered Surat. The Mahrattas, with the help of an European Engineer, had sprung a mine to blow up the castle but were unsuccessful. Every house, which did not pay competent ransom, was plundered, but the English and Dutch factories were exempted, as in 1664, from either molestation or demand. The booty was regularly collected and conveyed to Rairee.

Mr. Chatterji in this instalment of his paper does not proceed further, proposing to discuss more incidents in connection with the relation between the English and Sivaji in a future article. He, however, defends the great Mahratta patriot against the insinuations levelled against him that plunder more than anything else was the guiding motive of Sivaji's life :—

“Not that plunder was to him the breath of his life, but it was a sort of necessity which compelled him to resort to that particular means of raising money. His soul burned with the fire of patriotism and he was bent upon founding an Empire large and powerful enough to withstand the enveloping progress of Aurangzeb's hosts. That monarch had succeeded in making himself and the Moghul name odious throughout Hindustan by his relentless

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persecution of the Hindus and their religion, and the genius of Sivaji early taught him to provide means for the preservation of the religion to which he belonged. Hence his assiduous effort to build a power in the Deccan and his perpetual enmity towards the Moghuls. But he was without resources of any kind. The soldiers—dacoits, if you will—had to be fed and paid and clothed ; expedition after expedition, incursion after incursion, into the most distant parts of India and into the very camp of the formidable enemy he had made, had to be organised and successfully carried on ; the great and all-consuming object of weakening the strength of Aurangzeb had to be accomplished at any cost. He could not get large loans from any quarters ; his neighbouring Rajas were too apprehensive of themselves and too submissive to Aurangzeb to befriend an unknown soldier of fortune like himself ; and when he became a powerful potentate, his brethren of the sceptre were too jealous of him, too mean to appreciate the cause he had single-handed fought for. Accordingly, Sivaji was thrown from the first on his own resources, upon such ways and means as his far-seeing genius could invent and create and instead of loitering and languishing like the great Rana Pratap of hallowed memory in the heedless deserts in quest of aid from others, Sivaji took to plundering as a sure and ready means of collecting the sinews of war. He cannot be charged with having thereby departed from all precedents. History furnishes the lesson that plunder, notwithstanding the euphemistic and apologetic words substituted for it, is the right of every conquering legion. Conquest is based in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred on revolting crimes which lose all their justification immediately after the attainment of the object for the furtherance of which they were committed. Rapine, slaughter, summary justice, wholesale confiscations, bombardments, the razing of cities to the ground—what are these but necessary and inevitable auxiliaries to conquest and empire-building ? Success attended with glorious results vindicates the crimes, while failure or petty results invest them with a darkness unrelieved by so much as a single gleam of light. The circumstances in which Sivaji was placed and the then political condition of India carry with them sufficient justification of the tactics he employed not for the furtherance of selfish objects but to subserve a laudable purpose."

A MUCH-NEGLECTED PUBLIC SERVICE

"A Musulman" discusses the status of *The Provincial Judicial Service* in the July number of *The Muslim Review* and strongly urges the necessity of raising the same by increasing the pay of, and extending greater powers to, that unfortunate class of public servants who go by the name of Munsiffs. He advocates the increase of their pay on the following grounds :

"In the first place the price of food grains, the wages of servants and house rent have gone up, hence the necessity of increasing the salaries of ministerial officers. In the second place, formerly Munsifs used to begin service on Rs. 250, and the change would merely rehabilitate them to their former condition. Thirdly, members of the Provincial Police Service, who do not surpass members of the Judicial Service, either in previous training and educational qualifications or in social status and official dignity, now draw an initial pay of Rs. 250. Fourthly, the fact that officers belonging to the Provincial Executive Service begin at Rs. 200 cannot be advanced as an argument against this proposal ; for, generally speaking, a Deputy Magistrate begins to draw Rs. 200 when he is much younger and usually draws Rs. 300 a month at an age when a Munsif is confirmed in service ; in other words, the maximum age at which Deputy Magistrates can enter service is 25, while the minimum age at which it is practicable for a Munsif to be confirmed in service is 30. Fifthly, the increase of pay suggested above would work out to Rs. 29,400 per annum, which is less than the pay of one second grade District Judge, and lastly, considering the profit which Government makes annually from civil litigation, amounting to considerably over fifty lacs of rupees (in one Province alone), this slight increase should not be grudged, hence we suggest that the last grade of Munsifs on Rs. 200 should be abolished and Judicial Branch should be placed on a footing of equality with the Executive Branch, *vis.*, Deputy Magistrates. Next, it is well-known that Government has often expressed its willingness to create a grade of Munsifs on Rs. 500 a month ; thus admitting the necessity of such a grade—provided the High Court agreed to the abolition of the first-grade of Subordinate Judges on Rs. 1,000 a month. It seems obviously unfair not to give some additional remuneration to such members of the first-grade of Munsifs as are called upon to exercise jurisdiction over suits above Rs. 1,000, but not exceeding Rs. 2,000 in value, for the extra work thrown upon their shoulders—works which are properly the sphere of the Subordinate Judges. To solve this problem, personal allowance of Rs. 100 should be granted to

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Munsifs exercising pecuniary jurisdiction up to Rs. 2,000. When a Subordinate Judge or Munsif goes on a deputation to a higher appointment or takes furlough or some other kind of leave, other than privilege and casual, the senior officers of all the lower grades in succession down to the lowest should be benefited by the temporary vacancy thus caused in the service."

"Mussulman" rightly condemns the practice that has grown up by which Munsiffs and Subordinate Judges are deprived of 'the joining time' to which they are entitled on transfer under the Civil Service Regulations. "More consideration," he suggests, "should be shown to those gentlemen of their position who have got families, and are put to the greatest inconvenience by being transferred on a short notice. In education, in intelligence, in devotion to the public service and in public estimation, the officers of the Subordinate Judicial Service are not surpassed by those of any other department under the Government." "Why, then," the writer pertinently inquires, "should the claims of this branch of the service always be deferred to those of other departments," and proceeds to enumerate the principal grievances of the Munsiff and suggest their removal in the following manner :—

(1) The appointment of senior officers as extra or additional hands causes unnecessary hardships to the officers concerned, hence we advise that only junior officers should be appointed as Additional Munsifs. (2) Munsiff's quarters should be greatly improved, and the attempt should be made to provide them in outlying stations with decent dwelling houses which may not be a menace to their health and lead to their premature death. And considering that Deputy Magistrates who are Sub-divisional Officers have no house rent at all to pay, the rent on the Munsiff's houses should be reduced and put on a reasonable scale. (3) District Judges are required to record their opinions regarding 'the character, qualifications and official merits' of the Subordinate Judicial Officers while submitting their annual Administration Reports. These opinions are treated as strictly confidential and never made known to the officers concerned, and yet they form the basis of their promotion and preferment. This practice of submitting secret reports by the District Judges should be abolished as it causes misunderstandings and heart-searchings. (4) There ought to be a well-defined channel for laying the grievances of individual Subordinate Judicial Officers before the High Court, in the matter of transfer and the like, it being at present entirely discretionary with District Judges to forward to the High Court any representation made by a Subordinate Judicial Officer. (5) To sacrifice quality

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of work to quantity is a most mischievous policy no doubt and is bound to lead to the deterioration of the service and serious injustice. The District Judges are required to submit a concise statement regarding the out-turn of work of Munsifs and Subordinate Judges once every half-year, and rule 59 of Chapter X of the General Rules and Circular Orders of the High Court says : " These statements will be taken into consideration by the Court in connection with transfers and promotions in the Subordinate Judicial Service." There is no rule emphasising the need of examining the quality of the judgments delivered by these officers, which ought to be a matter of greater importance, if justice be the primary object aimed at. And to ensure that object the number of Subordinate Judges and Munsifs should be increased. (6) The status and prestige of Subordinate Judicial Officers are being steadily lowered instead of being gradually improved, thus bringing them down more and more to the level of ministerial officers in relation to the District Judge. It will not be denied that in point of learning, culture, and ability, the difference between the District Judges and the Subordinate Judiciary has appreciably diminished, and that the proper relation between them ought to be that subsisting between senior and junior colleagues. (7) A small uniform scale of yearly grants should be sanctioned for the contingent charges of Subordinate Judicial Officers with freedom of expenditure within the limits prescribed, and the registers of such expenditure kept by them subjected to periodical inspection by the District Judge, thus the interests of economy being sufficiently safeguarded. (8) The centralisation of power in the Civil Judicial Department is irritating and unnecessary. There is no statutory rule which makes it incumbent on the District Judge to consult a Subordinate Judicial Officer when promoting, transferring or degrading a ministerial or menial officer on his establishment ; and oftener than not, the District Judge acts in these matters in his own initiative, without reference to the head of the office. A most significant illustration of the anachronism which characterizes some of the provisions of the Civil Courts Act is furnished by Section 29, which lays down that a District Judge may in urgent cases go the length of suspending a Munsif, and report the fact at once to the High Court. This rule was framed to meet the exigencies of a time long past, when Munsifs were no better than the *amlas* of the present day in respect of education and reputation for honesty, and when communication was not so easy as at present. It is impossible now-a-days to conceive of a case of judicial corruption or misconduct so urgent that it cannot

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be suitably dealt with by the High Court through the medium of the electric telegraph, with due despatch and promptitude. District Magistrates, it should be noted, cannot suspend Deputy Magistrates placed under their control.

It may be, the writer proceeds to observe, as has sometimes been urged, that, even with their present restricted powers, members of "the judicial branch of the Provincial Civil Service possess greater control over their ministerial staff than those of the executive branch of the Public Service. Superintendents of Post Offices, many of whom are Indians, enjoy, in spite of their inferior educational qualifications, much greater powers in the matter of appointing their own subordinates than members of either branch of the Provincial Civil Service, who cannot but be struck by the contrast."

The writer then puts forward his own suggestions for improving the status of this much-neglected service :—

(1) A really fit and capable officer should be selected to discharge the double function of pointing out the defects in the practice and procedure of the Munsif Courts and voicing the hardships and disabilities of the officers presiding over these courts. Another improvement in the same line which has long been desiderated would be the appointment of two Munsifs, one from each province, as assistants to the Registrar of the appellate side, High Court, the tenure of office in the case of Munsifs so appointed being fixed at three years. (2) There should be stricter compliance with High Court's instructions with regard to the issue of Circular Orders by District Judges and to reduce overwork the strength of the cadre should be increased. (3) The work under sections 103, 105-106 of the Tenancy Act, requiring knowledge of civil law, should be done exclusively by Munsifs deputed for the purpose. It is well-known that the public have greater confidence in the judicial decisions of Munsifs than of revenue officers. (4) Under the existing rules, the members of the Provincial Judicial Service are allowed privilege leave on only half pay, whereas the members of the corresponding branch of the executive service are entitled to privilege leave on full pay. The members of the Judicial Service are a great deal more hard worked than the members of the Executive Service, and, therefore, it is only fair that this disparity in the leave rules should be done away with. (5) Not only should the Munsifs be appointed wholetime officiating officers at Rs. 200 per month, but also that no sooner are they made permanent than they should get Rs. 250 per month. It is well-known that most of them now rot in the grade of Rs. 300 or Rs. 400.

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The writer further suggests that a change should also be made in the nomenclature of the service. Sub-Judges should be called 'Civil Judges' and Munsifs 'Assistant Civil Judges.' Not a very bad suggestion this.

" Mussulman " concludes :

" I hope the Government and the Hon'ble High Court would consider the grievances of the members of the Subordinate Judicial Service which require to be dealt with in a sympathetic spirit. I should say that in the first place, the administration of civil justice is one of the most important functions of the State and the officers entrusted with the work, form a very important fraction of the total number of those engaged in Government service ; and in the second place, the resources of the Government should be ample enough to enable it to deal speedily with all matters that come about within its purview, specially after the duplication of the higher administrative machinery and the consequent reduction of work brought about by the partition of Bengal. I say once more that substantial good will be done to these members of the service if instead of wasting time in drawing on eloquent fancy portraits, that powers that be were to devote their attention to a few simple remedies, and make an earnest and sympathetic attempt to give effect to them."

Mr. Ramananda Chatterji, the talented editor of the *Modern Review*, has compiled a little pamphlet on this subject which gives a lot of useful and valuable informations on the grievances and status of the provincial judicial service of Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam. The suggestions thrown out in Mr. Chatterji's pamphlet nearly cover all the proposals noticed in this article and they go to make out a very strong case for the sympathetic consideration of the Government.

REVIEW & NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE PHILOSOPHY OF BRAHMOISM

[*The Philosophy of Brahmaism*—By .Pundit Sitanath Tatwabhusan. Published by Higginbotham & Co., Mount Road, Madras. Price Rs. 2-8.]

The book has come to our hand with an air of novelty about it. It is the first attempt to place before the public the philosophy of a great movement in the historic evolution of this country. Of all great movements in modern India, Brahmaism is perhaps second to none, whether in its intrinsic importance or in its far-reaching consequences. With the founder of Brahmaism, the great Raja Rammohan Roy, begins a new epoch in Indian history—the distinctively modern era. He is the father of Indian Renaissance. Whether all the aims and aspirations of the Raja have been successfully realised in the Brahma movement we are not called upon to discuss here. But there is no denying that Brahmaism is pre-eminently the product of Indian Renaissance, and is largely identified with it. The Philosophy of Brahmaism, in that sense, may therefore be called the philosophy of a great transitional period of our national history.

Every great movement in history, every conscious movement in particular, is primarily the movement of Thought. We see how the spirit of Reform is first born in the twilight of Dreams and Ideas, and then gradually comes down to the world of Facts and Realities. In fact, Thought and Reality are not two separate entities, but are only two differentiated aspects of one and the same organic whole. Every human movement is, therefore, the movement of what is essentially an organism, and has necessarily some philosophy of Life behind it. In other words, it is capable of being philosophised about. The Brahma movement, from this point of view, should not be taken as an independent or "outlandish" movement in this country. Its real significance can only be understood by tracing its growth and development in the historic evolution of the great Indian nation. It is only in the larger life of the national organism that it can be said to live its own life truly ; it is only in the rationalisation and progress of this national whole that it can aspire to realise its highest end.

It is indeed a fact that the Brahma movement is more or less a

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Hindu movement, and it is worthy of note that, inspite of its pronounced cosmopolitanism on the social side, it has not yet been absorbed either by Islam or Christianity in this country. It seems, therefore, that the protest against Hindu idolatry represents only the negative aspect of the Brahmo theology ; while in its positive aspect it can yet boast of its individuality along side of the two other non-idolatrous religions in India. Another cause of the non-absorption of Brahmoism either by Islam or Christianity lies in the existence of inherent racial distinctions, which modern sociology does not overlook, though perhaps it must be admitted that some Brahmo reformers in the first impulse of their enthusiasm did actually tend to overlook them. No violent revolution can essentially separate a community from its past, and how true it is in the case of the Brahmo movement !

Brahmoism being thus the latest development of Hindu culture and Hindu civilisation, the question deserves the attention of every student of our ancient culture and hoary civilisation, as to how far it truly represents them before the modern civilised world. As "form,"—the sense of the proper relation between parts in reference to the whole—constitutes the characteristic element of Greek civilization, as "covenant,"—the contract between Jehovah and his people, is the dominating note of Hebrew culture, so has the "consciousness of the spiritual or the universal" been the central element of Hindu civilisation even up to the present day. This overwhelming consciousness of the spiritual is vividly present in Brahmoism too. Another great feature of Hindu culture consists in its peculiar mode of search after unity : *Ekam sadbipra bahudha badanti*. The Indian Rishis at the very dawn of human civilization gave this memorable utterance as the fruit of their silent meditations. The Great Hindu philosophers Madhava and Bijnanabhikshu sought to establish a unity among the different schools of Indian philosophy that were then in vogue. The reformers of the 15th century, Nanaka and Kavira, made a bold attempt to set up a sort of harmony between Islam and Hinduism. Similarly in the modern epoch of the world's history, the founder of Brahmoism sought to work out a synthesis among all the different historical religions of the world on the most rational and scientific lines that were then within his reach. And the great Keshabchandra fulfilled this particular mission of the Rajah by tracing all religions to one ultimate basis, the universal providence and dispensation of God. Thus through the different stages of historic evolution, we find that the Hindu mind is essentially a synthetic mind.

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At the same time, we cannot shut our eyes to one most glaring defect of Hindu culture. From the early days of its history, it has created a divorce between the spiritual and the social life of the people, a divorce that is principally due to the exaggerated emphasis it has given to the transcendental as compared with the immanent aspect of the Universal in Theology. A critical examination of Indian history leaves no doubt about the fact that this is mainly responsible for the arrested growth of science in the country, for the abject poverty of the present art-life of the nation, for the individualistic nature of the spiritual salvation it teaches men to seek, for the total absence of any philosophic conception of the State, for the tendency to monkish asceticism instead of towards leading a vigorous and healthy social life, for the importance attached to the material symbols in religious worship, in spite of the highly rational and philosophic temper of the people. Now, in Brahmoism, for the first time, we find that the mediæval ideal of ascetic life has once for all been discarded and the immanence of God has received its due share of recognition. It is still, however, a matter of dispute among the reflective few of the country whether present-day Brahmoism is not an abstract universalism in theology and a vague cosmopolitanism on the social side. Some who hold this opinion think that if it is not invigorated with the influx of a newer life, if it does not keep pace with the rising and more comprehensive national movement of the country, it will gradually give way to disruption and decay, and will at no distant future die a natural death in its proud isolation. Can this be the fate of a movement which was once born with so much promise for our people? In our opinion the time has not come when one can make a forecast about the future of the Brahmo movement. To-day it stands differentiated from other Indian movements; its main function is to impart the essential dynamic element to the cause of religious and social reform. The five great world-cultures have stood face to face in India, and it would be the height of absurdity to hope that all of them would be reduced to one nerveless, rootless, and colourless humanitarianism. No, in the interest of the nation and, therefore, of humanity, none of them should be annihilated or totally absorbed in the fiery arms of another. Each should keep its identity, but at the same time reconstruct its life in the light of the modern Ideal. The Hindus, the Mahomedans, the Buddhists, the Christians and the Zoroastrians are now eagerly awaiting the evolution of a mighty Indian Nation out of them all. This Indian Nation is

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just passing from the dream-land of idealists into the world of discussion of statesmen. And let us hope she will soon be visible with immense potentialities in the world of Facts and Realities, whence she will further proceed to assert her right and place in the federation of modern Humanity, because it is the national alone that can contribute to the cosmo-national. Let this great Indian Nation be born, and Brahmoism will then find the fulfilment of its sectional life in the larger and deeper life of the nation to which it organically belongs.

"The Philosophy of Brahmaism, expounded with reference to its history," by Pundit Sitanath Tattwabhusan, is a work of singular interest. The Pundit, considering his personal relation to Brahmaism, cannot claim that detachment from the object of his study and investigation which is often necessary to form a correct estimate of it. Consequently we find here and there instances of dogmatic but common-place defence of Brahmic doctrines without which the book would have been more useful to students of both Philosophy and Sociology. There are people who think that Brahmaism is only a refined sort of religion, and as religion in its narrower sense is primarily a matter of faith and conviction, they think it a sacrilege, on the part of Philosophy, to sit in judgment upon it. These critics commit a two-fold mistake. In the first place we deny that Brahmaism is merely a religion and nothing but a religion ; and secondly, we hold that every bit and every class of human experience must, in order to have any permanent value, whether as contributing to the good of the individual or of society, prove its validity at the bar of Universal Reason. And we do not know why Religion should prove an exception to this law.

"On all great subjects," says Mill, "much always remains to be said:" and the Philosophy of Brahmaism is undoubtedly one of those great subjects to which Mill's saying is applicable. Still we are bound to say that the book under review is a complete work : and neither Brahma literature nor the religious literature of modern India is over-rich in treatises of this kind. There is much in it which would undoubtedly raise a controversy among the thinking public, and yet there is a good deal in it which will only perish with modern culture, thought and philosophy. We doubt, with many others, whether the great Raja was really a mediæval Vedantist, as Pundit Tattwabhusan represents him to have been. We once heard a great Brahma leader proclaim that "the Brahma Somaj as a body is as far from the right apprehension of the Raja's ideal as the rest of their countrymen." We do not know how far this assertion

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is true ; but the representation of the Raja in this book can not possibly command unquestioning support. In regard to Intuition, the Pandit tells us that it ultimately leads us to necessary religious truths ; similarly he has shown that *Atma-pratyaya* in its last analysis leads to *Brahma-pratyaya*. Here we see an attempt to show the inner connection of two of the leading thought-currents of the world hitherto held to be essentially different—Neo-Hegelianism and Vedantism.

The transition from the individual self to the Universal Self in one of the lectures is rather too rapid. The Pandit seems to us to be here and there a bit Berkeleyan, though he would certainly repudiate the charge. He would have done better to have laid greater stress upon the fact that, without the object of knowledge, the mind also is a metaphysical nonentity. We thoroughly agree with the Pandit's exposition of the Will, its purposiveness and rationality, its omnipotence and causal power. It is not, therefore, the blind Will of either Schopenhauer or E. U. Hartmann. But here the Pandit seems to have totally forgotten the standpoint of Spinoza, Kant and Hegel in respect of external Teleology whose main advocate is James Martineau. Teleology is after all a theory concerning phenomena. And as a Vedantist, we expected the Pandit to have gone deep into it and to have said something about the doctrines of "Sub specie æternitatis," "Internal Finality," and "Immanent Teleology."

With regard to moral life, we are afraid, rather too much stress has been laid upon the ethics of reflection in this book, consequently too little upon the ethics of feeling. Are not there many instances in our life when we know the right and still do the wrong ? Again we think with Kant and Hegel that it is not sufficient that Reward and Punishment should be remedial. They should be retributive too. Repentance at its best is a subjective phenomenon, and again, how many of us do actually repent ? We think, therefore, that the violation of objective and eternal laws should, for justice's sake, call for something more in the way of punishment than subjective repentance. Moreover, the Pandit should not forget that this repentance on which he seems to lay so much stress is, after all, branded by the Jewish sage, Spinoza, as a sign of "double weakness."

In considering the question of Divine Holiness, the Pandit has not raised the problem of Moral Evil at all, and the statement that "there is a large preponderance of Good over Evil in the world" is put before us as an assertion simply, without the least

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shadow of evidence at its back. Then the way of God's love to man, indicated by the Pandit, can also be met, we think, with the celebrated *Determinatio negatio est* of Spinoza. The quotation from James in the lecture on future life seems to us rather too lengthy. Nor are we quite sure that the quotation has adequately served the purpose of the Pandit. There is a very strong objection to the immortality of life in its individualistic sense, gaining strength day by day among the reflective few. Can man seek individual immortality without doing harm to Religion in its highest sense—to the growth and progress of self-conscious humanity—is the question they ask. Without a proper examination of this philosophic doubt, no discussion on the present subject can be regarded as either complete or even adequate.

We are thankful to the Pandit for his clear exposition of the psychological importance of the Brahmo system of *sadhan* and spiritual culture. This psychological basis of the Brahmo form of worship is worthy of being noted by people of other religious persuasions.

Then with regard to Social Reform we have very great differences with the Pandit. We object strongly to what the Pandit says about the "atrophy of the moral sense," which he erroneously thinks to be the main cause that keeps Hindu theists outside the Brahmo Samaj. The real significance of the recent caste conferences in the country, we are sorry to say, does not also seem to be clear to the Pandit. It is indeed a truism that the evolution of the social mind entirely depends upon the social composition and the social constitution, and it goes without saying that the condition of our society is far from perfect. But the complexity of Hindu social life presents such serious difficulties to the reformer that no *a priori* or revolutionary method seems to suit us at the present crisis. The study of modern sociology will never allow us to base our social reform on either abstract moral codes or vague cosmopolitanism of a type which regards all social distinctions and racial differences as mere superstitions, and which thinks nothing to be of any real value except an extra-cosmic Providence above us and the individual here below.

Reform in all rigid constitutions, says the Pandit, necessarily comes through revolution; and he holds that our caste is only a rigid constitution. But may we not expect that these separate caste conferences will one day transcend their immediate purposes and rise to a point of view whence in the interest of the nation at large they will see at once the necessity and the desirability of

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declaring for and adopting inter-caste marriages among the different castes ? Revolution is good only when it succeeds, and what can only be aimed at through revolution at one stage may be successfully achieved through the growth of social self-consciousness at the next one.

Then we do not think that the ex-communication of the reformers is in all cases absolutely necessary. It is the last of the four methods of social reform which were expounded by the late Mr. Ranade, and it is worthy of note that, on the advice of Dr. Vandarkar, Mr. Ranade ultimately discarded this method. And again, did not the founder of Brahmaism, the great Raja himself, "show solicitude up to the close of his life not to be excommunicated from the pale of Hindu Orthodoxy" ? We are pained in this connection at the disparaging manner in which the Pandit has spoken of Hindu gods and goddesses. We find absolutely no justification for the strong language in which the author indulges with regard to the Hindu educated community. In one place he says : "Hindu educated society is at present characterised by a singular moral insensibility." In another place he asserts : "nothing certainly can be expected from such a morally dormant and apathetic class of men." From Dan to Beersheba all is barren to the Pandit. Such intolerant spirit, with the best intentions in the world, only defeats its own end,

The one thing which has struck us most in this treatise is the successful attempt of the author to harmonise modern European philosophy with the Hindu Brahma-jnana of thirty centuries ago in a full synthesis. It is an interesting contribution to the Philosophy of Religion of which the Hindu society, in spite of its differences with the Pandit, may well be proud.

G. S. R. C.

ARTICLES

THE RELIGION OF THE MUNDAS

I

RELIGIOUS IDEAS AND DOCTRINES

The groves were God's first temples, ere man learned
To hew the shaft, and lay the architrave,
And spread the roof above them,—ere he framed
The lofty vault, to gather and roll back
The sound of anthems,—in the darkling wood,
Amid the cool and silence, he knelt down
And offered to the Mightiest solemn thanks
And supplication.

—W. C. Bryant.

"As soon as man became distinguished from the animal, he became religious—that is to say, he saw something beyond death. This sentiment, during some thousands of years, became corrupted in the strangest manner. In many races it did not pass beyond the belief in sorcerers, under the gross form in which we still find it in certain parts of Oceania. Among some, the religious sentiment degenerated into the shameful scenes of butchery which form the character of the ancient religion of Mexico. Among others, especially in Africa, it became pure Fetichism—that is, the adoration of a material object, to which are attributed supernatural powers. Like the instinct of love, which at times elevates the most vulgar man above himself, yet sometimes becomes perverted and ferocious, so this divine faculty of religion during a long period seems only to be a cancer which must be extirpated from the human race, a cause of errors and crimes which the wise ought to endeavour to suppress."—Thus wrote M. Ernest Renan in the opening chapter of his book on the *Life of Jesus*. Indeed, it is but natural to suppose that the religious instinct, which like the faculty of Reason, is one of the glorious birth-rights of the human species, should have been present in *man* from the very beginning. Nothing stands more to reason than that the soul of man which was "made in the image of God," or is, in fact, a spark of Divinity itself, should have an attraction, however latent and unevolved, towards its original Prototype and Divine Source. In fact, the religious rites and observances of a people form but the outward language, as it were,

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of this secret yearning of the soul towards its Divine Maker. The less developed the race, the more clumsy and gross would be the language,—the outward forms and ceremonies—in which this innate yearning would seek to express itself. True, this 'divine faculty of religion' has at times been perverted by man and has led him occasionally to deplorable crimes and errors. But it would indeed be an evil day for any people when this faculty should be, if indeed it could be, extirpated from their souls, as Monsieur Renan seemed to think. For, we may confidently expect that with the gradual development of the soul, and the growth in intellectual culture, these deplorable aberrations of the 'religious faculty' will be corrected; but if, on the other hand, the faculty itself be wanting, what will there be left to differentiate a man from a beast except perhaps a finer and more developed physical organisation and a little more intelligence? Fortunately, however, this dire contingency does not appear to be within the range of probability. Except perhaps in rarely extreme cases, there does not appear to be any danger of the total extinction of the religious faculty, which is innate in man. Even where the individual suffers this inborn faculty to be deadened through a dogged defiance to its promptings, the faculty hardly dies out altogether but only lies blunted and benumbed, awaiting more favourable opportunities here or hereafter for its reawakening.

We are aware that some eminent sociologists have denied the universal existence of the religious instinct in the human race. We have been told that there still exist a number of savage tribes among whom the religious sentiment is altogether absent. Captain Ross has made this statement with regard to some of the Esquimaux tribes, Baegart about the Californian savages, Williams about some of the Polynesian tribes, Hearne about some of the Canadians, Lichenstein about the Koosa Kaffirs, and other travellers have made similar statements regarding other barbarous peoples. It appears quite probable, however, that these writers on backward tribes may have been misled by the wide dissimilarity of the ways of thought and the modes of expression of the religious ideas, of these primitive peoples from those of their own. And in some cases it is likely enough that the inquirers have not been as thorough in their investigations as might be necessary. Indeed, such an investigation would require a degree of familiarity with the people—an appreciation of their inmost thoughts and feelings—which does not ordinarily fall in the way of the average traveller or even of the hard-worked official. Catechise a Munda, for example, about his

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religious ideas and doctrines, and, ten to one, you will get precious little out of him. Nor indeed could he, even if he would, give you anything like a clear account of his religious creed. As is but natural, his ideas about these matters are more implicit than explicit. You have to mix with such a people, intimately see things with their eyes, put yourself into their inmost being, as it were, in order to be able to probe their religious consciousness. In fact, in the case of a primitive people, the consciousness of the race as a whole appears to be greater than the consciousness of any one individual. And you have to form your estimate of the religion of such a people not by questioning one or more individuals only, but by gauging the thought-area actually realised by the race-soul, as it were. For, after all, religion, in its essence, consists not in mere doctrine and ritual, but in actual realisation—in the experiences of the soul.

That verdicts are sometimes pronounced by foreign writers about the religious ideas of alien races without sufficient inquiry and adequate comprehension is a fact which we in India are familiar with. We find such an eminent authority as the late Sir William Hunter thus writing of the Santals: "Of a supreme and beneficent God, the Santal has no conception. His religion is a religion of terror and degradation. Hunted and driven from country to country by a superior race, he cannot understand how a Being can be more powerful than himself without wishing to harm him."* This description, as we know, will not stand the test of close scrutiny. A careful and patient inquiry in a Santal village will prove this account to be altogether erroneous. The Santal, like his cousin the Munda, believes in a Supreme God—Sing Bonga—who is regarded as the Creator and Preserver of mankind.† Nor are the inferior deities of the Santal pantheon merely 'malignant and destructive' beings as Colonel Dalton describes them to be. Their power for good as for evil is believed by their votaries to be indeed very great. But they are not offended without cause—without some offence of commission or omission on the part of the suffering village or family or individual, as the case may be.

What we have just said about the Santals holds equally good about their near kinsmen, the Mundas. The religion of the Mundas has been misjudged and misrepresented by people who should have known better. Of the Mundas as of the Santals, we are some-

* *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 181.

† Vide the Santal legend about 'The Beginning of Things', in Mr. Bompas' "Folk lore of the Santal Parganas," pp. 401-404.

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times told that they have no idea of a beneficent Deity. If these hasty judges had cared to inquire of any *Pahun* or priest of the Munda tribe as to what were the formulæ of worship recited by them at their several *pujas* or religious festivals, they would certainly have been led to form a different opinion. They would then have discovered that the Mundas believed in the beneficence of their deities, and, in their invocations of them, always supplicated them for blessings on themselves, their families, their cattle and their crops. "*Soben bugiakan tainoka. Horo-jt hormotile bugiakanle tainoka. Ale laihasu bo-hasu soben bugiakanle tainoka. Uri-enga merom-enga gutigari gutisara leka poakan posakanka ; bibi-enga adeking rasunriking leka gurakan latumakan tainoka.*" 'Thus they pray to their gods for the blessings of health and plenty. In their simple way they supplicate their deities for health of body and mind for themselves, their family, and their relatives, and pray that their cattle and their crops may multiply as thick and fast as "monkeys among beasts, and ginger and garlic amongst vegetable roots."

A study of the religious beliefs and ritual of the Mundas will show that they have long out-grown, if they ever passed through, the lower stages of religious thought denominated by Sir John Lubbock and other sociologists as Fetichism and Totemism. Nor is the Munda religion entirely or even essentially *Shamanistic* in character. Not that traces of these supposed earlier phases of religious thought are altogether absent from the Munda's religious creeds. But are not such traces to be met with also amongst the popular beliefs of most 'advanced' races? A comparison of the religious forms and ceremonials of the Mundas with those of the aboriginal tribes of other countries—those of Africa, Australia or America, for example,—would seem to show that the Mundas have attained a higher stage in the evolution of religious thought than most of those other tribes. This superiority in the Munda's religious system, over those of most other tribes in an equally low social scale, is in all probability traceable to some extent to the influence of Hinduism with which the Mundas appear to have come in intimate contact at some remote period of their history.

To form a correct estimate of any religious system the first and essential point we have to consider is its conception of the Deity. Western sociologists tell us that a people's ideas of religion have to pass through several successive stages,—from what is sometimes called *atheism* or the absence of any definite ideas about a Deity and a vague belief in the existence of evil spirits, successively

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through *Fetichism* or the deification of material objects,* *Shamanism* or the worship of beings more powerful than man but living far away and troubling themselves little about the affairs of mortals although accessible at times only to inspired persons or *Shamans*, and *Anthropomorphism* or *Idolatry* in which the gods are completely of the nature of men but more powerful, conceived of as a part of nature and not as creators,—finally to the conception of a supreme Deity who is regarded as the author and not merely a part of nature,—a beneficent and just Being who rules the universe. This process of gradual development of the religious ideas of man is thus described by Sir John Lubbock (Lord Avebury):—"After regarding spirits as altogether evil, he (man) rose to a belief in good as well as evil deities, and, gradually subordinating the latter to the former, worshipped the good spirits alone as gods, the evil sinking to the level of demons. From believing only in ghosts, he came gradually to the recognition of the soul, at length uniting this belief with that in a beneficent and just Being, he connected Morality with Religion."†

Without pausing to discuss the doubtful general applicability of this description of the successive stages of the development of religious ideas, we can at once say that a people who have risen to the conception of a Supreme Deity as the Creator, Preserver and Ruler of the Universe, has indeed attained a high stage of development in religious ideas. And a study of the religion of the Mundas will show that they have indeed attained to something of that conception. Although they believe in a host of *bongas*, or inferior deities, the latter are all regarded as subordinate to the one Supreme Deity whom the Munda calls Sing Bonga.‡ As the Sun is the great central luminary who gives life and light to the entire solar system and holds all the lesser luminaries—the stars and planets—in their places, so does Sing Bonga, the Supreme Deity, rule the universe, and it is by His appointment that the inferior deities guard the villages and jungles, the fields and groves, the hills and springs, which the Mundas call their own, and protect the Munda

* *Zoolatry* or animal worship is classed under the head of Totemism. Amongst the Mundas and the Oraons of Chota-Nagpur, as amongst several other aboriginal tribes of Australia and South Africa, we find different sects or classes named after different animals. And no one amongst them may eat the flesh or wear the skin of the animal after which his clan is named and which is taboo to him. *Sabæism*, or the worship of heavenly bodies viz. the sun, the moon and the stars, would also seem to be classed as Totemism.

† *Origin of Civilization*, p. 385.

‡ Literally, the Sun-God. He is the *marang uterni*, i. e., the greatest of all, the Supreme.

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from all sorts of evil. And before offering his prayers and sacrifices to any of these lesser deities, the Munda will invoke the Supreme deity, Singbonga. "*Am hukumkedam mente neuko negeko omtanaing Buginale tainoha,*" &c. "It is by Thy orders that we make these offerings. May we remain in health," and so forth.

As to these lesser deities who live and work in the aerial realms, the existence of such beings appear to be admitted by all the great religions of the world. They are the 'Devas' of the Hindus, the 'Angels' of the Christians, the 'Ferishtas' of the Mahomedans, the 'Ameshaspentas' of the ancient Iranians* and the 'Malakhs' of the ancient Jews. And the traditions of different races agree in referring to the happy time, before the advent of materialistic ideas and habits of life, when man freely communed with these lesser deities.† So far back as in the time of the Roman Emperor Caligula, we find the philosopher Judaeus Philo describing this class of elemental spirits as a chorus of disembodied souls. And this description is in surprising agreement with the account of the origin of the *Nage Era Bongas*, which we find in the Munda mythological legend known as the 'Asur Legend'.‡ The fact that the *bongas* or gods are believed by the Mundas occasionally to bring pestilence, drought and disease, when a particular family or village neglect their duties towards the *bongas*, will not justify us in calling them 'malignant' or 'evil' spirits. The ordinary function of these shining spirits—the *Jaher Bongas*, the *Chandi Bongas*, the *Ikir Bongas*, the *Buru Bongas*, the *Nage Eras*, the *Desauli Bongas*, the *Manra Buru Bonga*, and various other local *Bongas*, is to protect their votaries from all sorts of evil—even from the pricking of a thorn in the feet, as we hear them say in their prayers. It is only when a family or a village neglect their duties to the *bongas* and omit the customary sacrifices which symbolise their devotion to the gods—it is only then that the *bongas* are indignant, and disease or pestilence visits the offending family or village. It is a chastisement meant to be corrective, not destructive. A belief like this is to be found in the great religions of the world. Do we not find even in the Holy Bible the belief that pestilence is at times an angelic visitation? Are we not told in the Second Book of Samuel, of the three days' pestilence in Israel which killed full

* Their modern representatives are the Parsis of India. These good angels, the Ameshaspentas as well as the Fravishes, are the instruments of the will of Ahura-Mazda, the Supreme God.

† In our times the Theosophical Society is trying to impress on the materialistic West the existence of a spiritual world.

‡ *Vide* an article headed "A Legend of Munda Mythology" by the present writer in the *Indian World* for 1908.

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seventy thousand men from Dan to Beersheba,* and again, in the Second Book of the Kings, of the angelic visitation in the camp of Sennacherib, King of Assyria, when "the angel of the Lord . . . smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred four score and five thousand."†

Of the *Bongas* worshipped by the Mundas, there are different divisions. Besides the general and the local Bongas, there are the Bongas—the guardian angels or deities—of particular families and classes. To this latter class belongs the *Achrail Bonga*, who presides over the interests of married women ; but should any such woman surreptitiously carry away anything from the house of her parents to her husband's place, the Achrail Bonga would mark his displeasure by bringing sickness to the house where the stolen goods are taken. As to the existence of such guardian angels of individuals and classes, too, the authority of the Bible may be quoted. Thus, in the Acts of the Apostles, we read of the 'angel of Peter'‡ and in the Gospel of St. Mathew we read of the 'angels' of little children.§

Closely connected with the worship of the various *Bongas* is the Munda's worship of spirits of deceased ancestors. In fact, the disembodied spirits of his ancestors are regarded by the Munda as the guardian angels of his family—the gods of the household,—the 'orabongako,' as they are called. Like the other *bongas*, these 'orabongas,' too, have their special days of periodical worship. But over and above, these special *Pujas* of the spirits of deceased ancestors on the occasions of the *Ba-parob*, the *Hon-ba-parob*, the Soharai Puja, and particularly the *Mage-parob*, they are, in fact, informally worshipped by the Munda every day of his life. Before every meal, the Munda is required by his religion to remember his dead ancestors, and drop on the ground a few grains of rice out of his own dish as an offering to the spirits of the dead, and a similar offering of a few drops of *ili*, or rice-beer, must be made before the Munda puts his *dona* or cup of liquor to his lips. Of the other gods, it is Sing Bonga—the Supreme Deity—alone, who is entitled to a daily worship, for every morning at sun-rise the Munda is required by his religion to *johar* or make his obeisance to Him.

Ancestor-worship has been supposed by Herbert Spencer and some other eminent sociologists to be the beginning of all re-

* II Samuel, Ch. XXIV, verses 15 *et seq.*

† II Kings, Ch. XIX, 35.

‡ The Acts, XIII, verse 15.

§ St. Mathew, XVIII, 10.

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ligion, and it has been pointed out that many savage tribes, in Africa and elsewhere, are worshippers of deceased ancestors. But an exhaustive inquiry will show that ancestor-worship is not known to the lowest savages. And travellers tell us that with most 'savage' tribes amongst whom ancestor-worship is in vogue the spirits of deceased ancestors are looked upon more as ghosts or evil spirits to be kept in good humour than as guardian angels or beneficent deities to be worshipped as the Mundas regard them to be. The spirits of deceased ancestors are to the Mundas almost as sacred as the *Pitris* of the Hindu *Shastras*. The same formula of worship is used by the Munda in worshipping the spirits of ancestors as is used in his invocations of the general and local *Bongas*. The same prayers for prosperity in agriculture, increase of progeny, and health to men and cattle, are offered to these *orabongako* or household deities. And the same ceremonial cleanliness and purity, ablutions, continence,* and fasting, have to be observed by the Munda as preliminaries to the worship of his deceased ancestors, as he has to observe in the worship of the other *bongas*. Every Munda house has its sacred *ading*—an inner room specially consecrated to the worship of deceased ancestors. None but a member of the family—not even a near relative—will be allowed to sleep in this sacred apartment. The Munda's meals may be cooked in one of the outer rooms or *sareys*, but the cooking utensils have to be kept in the sacred *ading* which further serves the purpose of a store-room.

A consideration of the Munda's religious beliefs leads us to suppose that in the growth of his religious ideas, the idea of Sing Bonga, the Great God, came first.* In his search for the One Cause, of all the phenomena he saw around him, the sight of the great luminary who with clock-like regularity brings in day and night and who apparently regulates the activities of man, inspired him with the idea that even such must be the great all-pervading Mind or Spirit who created the universe out of Himself and who preserves and rules it according to immutable laws of His own making. And thus the Supreme Author of the universe was, by the Munda, named after the Sun.

The human soul is not, however, satisfied with the mere conception of a Supreme Ruler, the King of Kings, too far above him

* A Munda may not share the same bed with his wife on the night, or rather two nights, preceding the day of any of the *pujas*.

† Thus, we find that the *Asurs* or *Agarias*, who are descended of the same stock as the Mundas, recognise *Sing Bonga* but not the lesser *bongas* of the Mundas. (vide Dalton's *Ethnology*, p. 221).

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to be approached for succour or consolation in his ever-recurring troubles and perplexities. It seeks closer personal relations with the great Cause of causes—the one Eternal and Changeless Being in this ever-changing world. The soul of man has its yearnings quite as much as—nay, more than—his intellect. And how are these yearnings to have their fulfilment? The Munda sought for a solution, and the solution seems to have come in some such way as the following. A few of the more impressionable amongst the Mundas perhaps had, or thought they had, occasional visions of some shining spirits or 'devas' when in their seasonal dances their whole souls were concentrated on the sublime idea of rhythm and harmony.* Here the Munda saw something more tangible—something to bring him in closer touch with the Supreme Deity. And thus† by degrees came the knowledge of—and belief in—the existence of those heavenly instruments of the Divine will, variously denominated Angels, Devas, Ferishtas, and so forth by different religions. The name which the Mundas gave to these celestial beings was the 'Bongako.‡ The Munda came to recognise that these resplendent aerial beings are not far removed from our human sphere, that they live and work amongst us, and take an active and sympathetic interest in our affairs. They join the Mundas in their dances and in their hunting excursions, and lead them on to success. Finally, as the last link in the chain from Sing Bonga to man, came the spirits of deceased ancestors. These, to the Munda's mind, form the lowest rung in the ladder that leads the soul to the God of gods. The structure of the human mind necessitated some such prop to lift the soul up to the highest Heaven. As Emerson says, "Man can paint, or make, or think nothing but man." If this is true of the cultured man, how much more so must it be with the unlettered and uncivilised Munda? Although the human soul may have occasional flashes of supersensuous sight, and may take momentary flights into the realms of the super-conscious, the reasoning mind of man must needs proceed

* In these dances, one sometimes sees a nervous dancer worked up into a state of *trance* or *ecstasy* in which bodily sensations appear to have been almost lost, the head begins to tremble, the gaze is fixed, and the soul of the dancer appears to be functioning in another plane.

† The Rev. Father J. Hoffman, S. J., in the introduction to his valuable 'Mundari Grammar' (p. vi) suggests that the 'bongas' of the Mundas were the 'local deities worshipped by former aborigines who were partly destroyed, partly crowded out by the Mundas'. Probably the well-known Asur Legend suggested this theory. But we do not find much in the traditions of the Mundas to support this proposition.

‡ The termination *ko* is the plural suffix. The origin of the word 'bonga' is lost in obscurity. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the word 'bonga' is a transformation by *Metathesis* of the word 'bugin', meaning 'good'. And the literal signification of the word is the 'good or beneficent beings'.

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from the known to the unknown. In his endeavours to realise the mental picture of the *bongas* or gods, the vision that would naturally present itself to the uninspired Munda would be that of the disembodied souls of his deceased ancestors, now serenely placed above all earthly cares and sorrows, freed from the frailties and physical limitations of earthly existence, free as the air and strong as the mighty Sun, beaming with beneficence and love more intense and unalloyed than was possible here on Earth. And thus, in course of time the spirits of deceased ancestors too came to have their place in the Munda pantheon. The soul spontaneously went out to them in reverence and in love. And religion was thus wedded to feeling. In the beginning, it would seem, only the more illustrious and heroic amongst the deceased ancestors came to be classed with the gods. It is in honour of these hero-gods of the Mundas that they erected those huge monumental columns of stone one sometimes sees in Munda villages. These are called the 'bid-diriko' and are planted upright on the ground unlike the ordinary *sasandiriko* or slabs of stone that lie flat over the remains of the dead. By degrees the natural tendency of the human mind to exaggerate the virtues and greatness of the dead led to a deification of all the deceased ancestors as a class. And thus arose the cult of ancestor-worship.

Such, then, are the gods whom the Mundas *worship*,—first of all, Sing Bonga or the Supreme Deity, next the shining spirits or *bongas*, who are the ministers of His beneficence to men, and last but not least the deities of the household—the spirits of deceased ancestors. Every village has its *Pahan* or priest to whom is now allotted the duties of public worship of the village gods. And every village has its sacred grove or *sarna* where the village gods are believed to take up their abode, and where the *Pahan* worships them at stated periods. The *orabongako* or household deities, are worshipped by the head of each family in the sacred tabernacle—the *ading* of his own house. Public worship of the Sing Bonga or the Supreme Deity is performed by the *Pahan* only on the occasion of a drought or an epidemic or some such general calamity. Quite distinct from these good *bongas* or gods who alone are entitled to *worship*, there is a class of evil spirits or *bhuts* who require to be *appeased* by the Mundas when these evil entities are roused to mischievous activity. These are the *churins*, the *Muas*, the *Baghouts*, the *Baranda Bonga*,* and a few other

* The Nage Eras are sometimes good angels and, as such, may be worshipped

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bhuts. The appellation by which the Mundas describe them clearly shows that these evil spirits form no part of the Munda's religion proper. Whereas the gods or good *Bongas* spoken of before,—the Buru Bonga, the Ikir Bonga, the Manra Buru Bonga, the Desauli Bonga, the Jaher Bonga, the Bindi Era, the Gorea Bonga, and other general and local Bongas,—are known as *manita bongas*—gods to be *worshipped*, the *bhuts* or evil spirits we are now referring to are called *banita bongus*, evil spirits who have to be *banished* or *pacified* by particular sacrifices. And it is not the *Pahan* or village-priest who has to do this, but quite a different class of people called *naios*, *deonas*, and *matīs*. These are the ghost-finders and the witch-finders of the Mundas and are believed to be conversant with mysterious incantations and sorcery. In cases of continual sickness or frequent deaths in a family, one of these ghost-finders—who need not necessarily be a Munda by birth—is appealed to. And this important personage, when satisfied with the reward promised to him for his services will pray to Sing Bonga—the all-knowing Deity—to reveal the name of the offended spirit,—and will proceed with his lamp and his winnowing fan to divine which particular *bhut* or evil spirit has been creating the mischief complained of, and what sacrifices are required to appease him. Lucrative indeed are the functions of the *mati*, the *deona*, and the *naiō*, who are not only skilled in recognising, but also in exorcising evil spirits. True, the avenging *bonga* and the malignant *bhut* bulk large in the religious consciousness of the average Munda. But, as we said above, amongst a primitive people, the consciousness of the race is greater than the consciousness of any one individual. Such a belief in the existence of evil spirits is not peculiar to backward races alone. We find a similar belief in the pages of the Bible itself. Thus, in the Book of Psalms, we are told of God that “He cast upon them (the incredulous and disobedient) the fierceness of His anger, wrath, indignation and trouble, by sending *evil angels* amongst them.* Again, in several passages of the New Testament, we are told of the power that Jesus possessed

by the *Pahan*. But at times they may turn into ministers of evil when they will cause sores on the body. In such cases it is the *mati* or *najo* who will propitiate them by the sacrifice of a white fowl with red streaks on the back. A small clay-horse is made and covered over with a new piece of cloth, besmeared with turmeric-juice. The horse is taken at night to the village road where the fowl is sacrificed. The *Chandi Bonga*, the god who presides over forests and brings success in hunting, becomes, when enraged, the *baghout bongu* and frightens people in the form of a tiger but does no harm. The sacrifice of a black hen is prescribed for the *baghout bongu*.

* Psalm LXXVIII, verse 49.

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over evil spirits that caused disease, and which power he imparted to his twelve disciples.*

No account, however brief, of the Munda's religious beliefs can be complete without a reference to his ideas about the condition of the human soul after death. From what we have already said about the Munda's cult of ancestor-worship, the reader must have gathered that the Munda believes in the immortality of the soul. It does not appear, however, that he has any definite ideas about a heaven. The soul or spirit—*roa*, as the Munda calls it,—is, after death, carried away by the *Jom-Raja*, the 'devouring King,'* who lives in the South. And this is why a Munda corpse, before cremation and *jang-topa* or bone-burial, is placed in its temporary grave with its head pointing to the south—*bo-kandru*, which literally means the direction to which the head (of a corpse) points. According to the good or bad life led by him while on earth, a Munda is reborn as a man or as a beast, as a bird or as an insect. In the *umbul ader* ceremony by which the shade of a deceased Munda is invited back to the house where he resided during life, the floor of the house is strewn over with ashes. And it is said that the marks of the footsteps left by the shade on the ashes, while entering the house, indicate the nature of his re-birth. If the mark or marks traced on the ashes look like those of human feet he must have been reborn as a man, —if the foot-prints resemble those of a tiger's paws or of the hoofs or feet of some other animal, the deceased must have been reborn in the shape of a tiger or such other animal. Such a belief would lead one to suppose that the Munda believes in a subtle or etherial body which he calls the *umbul* or shade as something altogether distinct from what he calls the *roa* or soul. Whereas the *umbul* or 'shade' is left behind and hovers around those whom the deceased loved during life, the *roa* or spirit passes on to the god of death and is sent back to earth where it is provided with a new body according to its merits or demerits—the *harma* he gathered—in his recent incarnation.

We have now finished our brief survey of the doctrinal side of the Munda's religion. We have seen that the Munda's religion is not a religion of terror and of devil-worship. The Munda, as we

* e.g. in Mark, VI, 7 and 13.

† Apparently this is an idea borrowed from the Hindus. Even in the Rig-Veda we read of 'Yama' as the god of the dead [vide Rig-Veda I 38, 5 "यमा वसन्त नादुव" i.e., nor should he go on Yama's path]. The Munda, however, will refer to the Mundari verb 'Jom,' to eat, for the derivation of the name 'Yama' devourer.

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have seen, believes in a Supreme God who is conceived of as a holy Being, the Creator, the Preserver, and the Judge of all mankind. Omniscience is an attribute of the god-head to which particular stress is laid by the Munda. 'Hani leljainga'—'yonder One sees me'—is a common form of protest one hears from the lips of a Munda who wishes to produce a conviction of his innocence in any matter. The immensity and omnipresence of God is forcibly expressed by the Munda when he describes Sing-Bonga as residing "in the four corners of the world." But, above all, strength and beneficence are the chief characteristics that the Munda sees in the God-head. And in striving for the realisation of this Ideal, the Munda has added to his faith a belief in a number of minor deities and has deified the souls of his own deceased ancestors. For the Supreme God, the Munda does not yet appear to have hit upon any expressions denoting filial feeling or other tender feelings of personal relationship. The temper of worship has hardly yet passed beyond that of a creature to his Creator. But the idea of a Creator implies the idea of paternity, and it is natural to expect that the boundless sweetness and affectionateness of filial feeling towards God, will, in time, further elevate and sweeten the Munda's spirit of adoration. Already with the conception of an order of subordinate *bongas*, or gods as ministers of Sing Bonga's beneficent will, the first step in that direction was taken. The next step towards the introduction of personal feeling, of tenderness, sweetness and devotion into the Munda's ideas of the God-head, was taken when the spirits of deceased ancestors came to be regarded as partaking of the nature of Divinity. First, God as Creator and Benefactor demanding our silent homage and reverence and as Supreme Lord and Master demanding our service, and then as Parent or Child loving us and evoking our love. After *Sānta* and *Dasya*, comes *Vutsalyas*. The stages of *Sukhyam* and *Madhuram*—of the realisation in God of the idea of the dearest Friend and of the sweetest Spouse—will follow in due time. And, last of all, we shall have the stage in which the human soul exclaims *होय*—'He and I are one'—a stage reached but by the few in any generation of men.

When one passes in review the successive stages in the struggle of the Munda's soul for the realisation of the Great Ideal, one involuntarily exclaims with the American poet —

All souls that struggle and aspire,
All hearts of prayer by Thee are lit ;
And, dim or clear, Thy tongues of fire
On dusty tribes and twilight centuries sit.

THE FATE OF THE NANA

Nor bonds, nor clime, nor creed Thou know'st,
Wide as our need Thy favours fall ;
The white wings of the Holy Ghost
Stoop seen or unseen, on the heads of all.

Sarat Chandra Roy

THE FATE OF NANA SAHEB AFTER THE FALL OF TANTIA TOPI

After the fall of his able lieutenant, the last semblance of Nana Dhundupant's power and influence completely vanished. His cause now became extremely hopeless. It is surprising that he succeeded in escaping with a large number of followers, pursued in all directions. His vigilant and implacable enemy had published on the 8th of March 1858 a proclamation to the effect that a reward of Rs. 100,000 (one lakh) would be given to any person who should deliver the Nana ; and in addition to this enormous reward a free pardon was guaranteed to any mutineer, deserter, or rebel (excepting the Nawabs of Furruckabad, Bareilly, Banda and the Raja of Manipore) who should furnish the English with any clue of the Nana Saheb. But even this failed to secure the desired object. The Nana succeeded in finding shelter with his family and retainers in the forests that stand between British territories and Nepal. There he secreted himself in the jungle fort of Chudra, in the last days of December, fondly hoping that there at least he would be safe from the wrath and vengeance of unremitting pursuers. But in this he was mistaken ; the great Jung-Bahadur, the staunch and faithful ally of the English, whose invaluable victories and help recovered Oude to the English, nay in one sense maintained the supremacy of the English in Northern India, was inconvenienced with the presence of barbarous rebel sepoys over whom he had no control and with whom he had no sympathy. The great Nepal Chief, to the utter dismay and profound terror of the Nana and his followers, proclaimed that no protection would be afforded to the rebels in his kingdom.* He followed this proclamation by requesting Lord Canning to hunt these devils out of his dominions by despatching troops to Nepal and its frontiers.† Accordingly, early in 1859, troops were sent after them and they finally succeeded in driving them up to the dense forest of untold depths—which in its hideous and fantastic grandeur fringe the

* *Incidents in the Sepoy War*, p. 327.

† Shadwell's *Life of Lord Clyde*, Vol. II., p. 387.

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region of the snow-topped lofty Himalayas—the favourite haunts of ravenous tigers and rapacious leopards. The English in despair gave up the idea of capturing their arch enemy in this hopeless and dreary solitude.

This was almost the closing scene in the suppression of the great rebellion. Queen Victoria, as a proof of the innate nobility of her heart, had in the meantime issued a proclamation offering amnesty to all except those who had murdered or been directly concerned in the murder of Europeans. This enabled some sepoys to come out of their jungle abode and to go to their homes, while others, deterred by the threats of Bala Saheb, dared not avail themselves of the pardon. A large number of those who by their cruelty and barbarity had irretrievably compromised themselves now expiated their monstrous crimes in the untold and horrible sufferings of jungle life. But these miseries had no effect on the stubborn spirit of the Nana Saheb, who, from his jungle home, emptied the phial of his unavailing wrath and hatred against the English by addressing a most insolent letter to Sir Hope Grant. In that letter, written early in May, he freely abused the Government of the East India Company for establishing their empire in India and for declaring him an out-law.* Thus from his unenviable position, the Nana, not yet chastened by the influence of time and experience, vented his ignoble wrath. His brother Bala Rao also wrote a letter to the English General, declaring he had 'murdered no Europeans and that, if allowed, he could prove his innocence.' He also stated that he had a little English girl about 10 years old, living with his wife at Lucknow.† But no heed was paid to this letter; the guilt of Bala Rao was beyond any doubt and the English would have none of his fooling.

Now, after a series of endless troubles and miseries, Nana Saheb at last found shelter not in any inhabited towns, but in an endless wilderness where, unpitied and unknown, he lorded it over the fowls and brutes and the few retainers he still possessed. There his brother Bala Rao too joined him, and in this self-created banishment he expiated his great crimes. Such was the cheerless position in which the Nana had placed himself by his indiscreet and unjust acts. There, stripped off all pomp and magnificence, he had to pass his weary life receiving obeisance from none else but his own retainers. To such a low pitch of penury the descendant of the Peshwa was reduced that he was compelled to sell at Rs. 10,000 the

* *Incidents in the Sepoy War*, p 331.

† *Ibid*, p. 331.

FATE OF THE NANA

famous ruby which he had hitherto kept with himself as a last resort to commit suicide, if and when needs be. Surrounded by his retainers and attendants, the ex-Peshwa held his mock sovereignty in that deserted region. The Maharaja had for his palace the splendid accommodation afforded by a pair of tents. And though distress and famine's gaunt sphere haunted his forest home, still the followers, the rebels, the mutineers and the comrades who lived with him were glad to guard the Nana by day and night under no other shelter than the spacious and magnificent canopy of the starry heavens. In the company of some of these creatures were still seen some European females, the most beautiful and young of whom had been taken by the Musulman sepoys from the Cawnpore Ghat. Miss Wheeler was also there in the company of her young Mahomedan troopers. As a grand lesson of retributive justice, we take pleasure in recording here the fact that, among those who figured prominently in every species of brutality, the Mussulman troopers of the 2nd cavalry suffered the most. "It is interesting to learn that the most poverty-stricken and dejected of all mutineers were the troopers of the 2nd cavalry."* The unfortunate troopers rebuked one another for their misery and each laid the cause of his own ruin on his comrade's head and said "what a fine example you set the other day. It was you who brought me to this ; but for your advice I should have been well-clad and fed, and my family looked for. Now I am hungry and in rags and no chance of escaping death."† In this way Divine vengeance overtook them all. Internal dissensions, poverty, and famine decimated their ranks and extinguished their miserable existence.

The Nana, though not exactly the author of the Cawnpore atrocities, still justly suffered for his breach of faith towards the English. In the dreary Himalayan solitudes, Nana Saheb daily expiated his faults, crimes and errors, by bathing in that holy river which passed meandering in a low murmur down the heights where his pavilion stood. On such occasions he was attended only by a servant who held an umbrella over his head. As he passed, he received the daily obeisance of his adherents who still regarded him as their true ruler. Bala Saheb was also with him. The family of the Peshwa, with the ladies of the Nana's household, were housed in an adjoining pavilion. These noble ladies, who took so much pains for the preservation of the lives of the English women

* *Trevelyan's Cawnpore*, p. 345.

† *Russell's My Diary in India*, Vol. II, p. 382.

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and children and who had been ready to sacrifice their own lives in case their pious wishes were not complied with, deserved a better fate than to be transported to a terrible and dreary mountainous region. There Nana Saheb, chastened by the influence of these angels, might have ended his life repenting bitterly for the misdeeds which by the lapse of ages have now become classical.

G. L. D

A GLIMPSE INTO THE ANIMAL LIFE AT ALIPORE

THE ZEBRA

We have a couple of zebras of a very fine tribe in the Alipore Gardens. The zebra, like many another animal of special habits, is fast disappearing and is almost threatened with extinction. The Transvaal Boers are particularly hard upon it, killing it mercilessly for its skin which is very highly prized.

South Africa is the habitat of the Zebra. In structure and habits it is more equine than asinine. The bent of the dorsal line, the buttocks, the hoof, the mane, the activity, the sure-footedness, the acute senses of smelling and hearing and the keen eye-sight are all common in both the horse and the zebra. Like the wild horse its ventral region is whitish. The ears of the mountain zebra* (*Equus Zebra Linn*) and those of the horse are nearly equal in shape and size, though not in coloration. Of course it must be frankly admitted that the caudal appendage of the two animals named above differs considerably—that of the horse, as we all know, is bushy and hairy, whereas what the zebra bears is asinine—surmounted from the penultimate part with a tuft of shaggy hair. It herds together in groups. It is rarely domesticated though sometimes broken to saddle and harness. In the land of beasts of prey its checkered skin is perhaps naturally intended as a protection and scare.

I would now proceed to specify the kinds or classes into which this species of the genus *Equus* is divided and give some interesting particulars concerning each of them. They are as follows :—

- (1) Mountain zebra or zebra proper (*Equus Zebra Linn.*)
- (2) Burchell's zebra (*Equus Burchelli.*)
- (3) Grevy's zebra (*Equus Grevyi.*)

* Chambers' *Encyclopædia*.

ANIMAL LIFE AT ALIPORE

(4) Chapman's zebra (*Equus Chapmani*)*

(5) Grant's Zebra (*Equus Granti*)†

(6) The Quagga.

The mountain zebra is shorter in size than the Burchell's. Its height is only 4ft. from the shoulder.‡ Its ears are equine. Its stripes are close set. It has longer ears, a tail scantily covered with hair and a shorter, mane. It is also called the *Wild Puard*. The colour of the body is silver-white with black stripes. It is always found in small groups in the rugged and inaccessible mountains of South Africa and Abyssinia, towards the east as far as the Libomba Mountains between Swaziland and the sea-coast and westwards upon the mountains of Great Namaqualand. In ancient time it was also abundant in Cape Colony.

In the Ezra House at the Alipore Zoological Gardens we have the *Dunw* or Burchell's zebra (*Equus Burchelli*). It is very large and of a strong build and has small ears and a long mane and a tail though not like that of a horse yet more and more hairy from a little less than the lower half than the mountain zebra or *Equus Zebra* of Liunæus. There is a ventral black line running from the fore to the hind part. The outside of the tip of the ear is marked with black and the inside bristles with protective white shaggy hair. The stripes are not close. Down to the hoofs the legs are ribboned. In this respect the descriptions given by the writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* of the Chapmani zebra corresponds with the Burchell's zebra.§ The space between is covered with faded brownish ones. It roams in large herds over the plains to the north of the Orange River. From the features described above it will be seen that the Burchell's zebra is more equine. They bear me out in my conviction that the zebras in general belong to the genus *Equus* rather than to the genus *Asinus*. There is here at Alipore a pair—male and female—of this beautiful animal. The colour of the one is a shade lighter than that—rufous brown—of the other. Both are well-built and have warts just below the hocks in the inside of the fore-legs, which the ass has not. The superintendent says they are very docile. It appears to me, however, that they are not only so but timid. Show them the least cognisable sign of offence and they

* *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

† *Guide to the Zoo*, by B. Bose.

‡ Chambers' *Encyclopædia*.

§ *Encyclopædia Britannica*. But I do not find they are smaller than those of the ass. Nor are they small like those of the horse. In this respect they are asinine.

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will withdraw and shrink, though they have a peculiar way of showing their spite by grinning their teeth at you. One morning an European visitor made a peculiar inarticulate sound in my presence and the horse-zebra grinned in the manner indicated above and wended his way. On my approach the horse-zebra did very often come to me in order to be patted and stroked and otherwise caressed, while the mare-zebra held aloof with dignified feminine indifference. Like all other gramnivora and herbivora, these animals feed on grass. But the peculiarity of their cropping is apparent, as they chew only with their sharp incisors nothing but the sparingly grown grass or the grass already close cropped. One morning I saw the horse making signs to his lady to sit on his hump. She gave him a good kick and went her way. And he yielded. Like horse-flesh, which is eaten in most countries in Europe, its flesh is much relished by the natives of Africa.

A new variety of the mountain zebra has been found in Shoa, north-east Africa. It was presented in 1882 by Menelik, king of Shoa to President Grevy. Hence the name. Its special feature is that the markings are closer and finer. It is very beautiful to look at. South of Abyssinia is the northern-most locality in which the zebra of this species has been traced out. It has a well-defined black dorsal stripe. Whether or not it is distinguishable from the type found in South Africa still remains to be determined by a scientific research into the characters of the various species and those that are met with in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyanza. In this connection it is very interesting to note that those living in the southern-most and northern-most districts are identical, while those living in the intermediate region are a specimen of a quite different kind, which is known to us as the *Equus Burchelli*, which we have at Alipore. According to the colonists and hunters, this latter is almost identical with the Quagga whose peculiar neighing—'quag-ga, quag-ga' or 'quac-ca, quac-ca'—with the last syllable prolonged, is common to all zebras.*

Equus Chapmani is a species found in the interior. From the accounts given by travellers and experts, it may safely be inferred that it is no other than the *Equus Burchelli*, which is also Grevy's zebra. No mention is made of Grant's zebra in the Encyclopædias as alluded to elsewhere. Nor is there any specimen of it at Alipore.

The Quagga or Conagga is an animal of the genus *Equus*. From its peculiar neighing, as has been said above, it has been named as

* Chambers' *Encyclopædia*.

ANIMAL LIFE AT ALIPORE

such. This neighing again, as has also been said above, is common to all the zebras, specially Burchell's, to which it is cousin. The part of South Africa between the Cape Colony and the Vaal River was its original abode. It has now been driven to those parts which have so far been free from the encroachments of man and his vaunted civilization. It is more equine than asinine. But unlike the ass it has warts in the hocks of the forelegs. A reddish brown colour, interspersed with less defined dark brown strikes, is the ground-colour, which deepens at the head and the neck and gradually fades until it totally disappears behind the shoulders. Like the Burchell's Zebra, it has also a broad dark median dorsal stripe. The lower region of the body, the legs and the tail, are whitish and stripeless. It has a high crest surmounted with a standing mane. To harness it has sometimes been broken, but never domesticated. According to some authorities it belongs to the genus *Equus* and, according to others, to the genus *Asinus*.* In 1858, a specimen of it was sent to the London Zoological Garden from the Cape by Sir George Grey. It is more handsome and more strongly built than either the mountain zebra or the Burchell's. It is often seen in company with the white-tailed gnu and not unoften even with the ostriches. Though swift-footed and capable of standing the rigour of a tropical climate, a good horse can win a race over it. It is not to be confounded with the Burchell's zebra, which is altogether a different species.†

The above statements show that there is as yet no unanimity among naturalists as to the genus of this curious animal. In my humble opinion it is half way, so to speak, between the horse and the ass, taking all the kinds into consideration.

NARAYAN CHANDRA BISWAS

A HINDU LESSON

It was a child with curly hair,
And with a clear, perceptive brain
That stood before the teacher's chair,
With a sweet, bright and eager mien.

"Well, then, my boy, I will now tell,"
Said to the child the teacher wise,
"Where our God is, where He doth dwell."
The child looked up with wondering eyes.

* Chambers' *Encyclopedia*.

† *Ibid*.

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" God is in heaven, in heaven high,
Surrounded by His angels mild,
Above the cloud, high up the sky,
You can not see Him now, my child."

" When Death will come and take thee, dear,
You shall go to sleep long, long, long,
Till one bright morn, with trumpets clear,
Ye shall be roused by angels' song."

Try, try to be good, my little boy,
God will be sure to reward thee,
People will praise thee and give thee toy,
'Tis so nice to be good, you see."

The child went home—the school was o'er ;
To mother he flew like a bird,
The moment did he cross the door,
To say the things he heard.

" God is in heaven ;—is it not, ma' ? "

" No, it is not, my darling fair,
He lives in you, in me, in Pa',
He lives in all and everywhere."

" When I shall die, I'll go to sleep,
Is it not so, my mother dear ? "

" No, y'll be born again to reap
The fruits of all your labours here."

Anadi Prasad Das

The Progress of the Indian Empire

PROVINCE BY PROVINCE

UNITED BENGAL

I. EASTERN BENGAL AND ASSAM

Ebassam News Service

Till the reversal or modification of the Partition, the entity of Eastern Bengal and Assam as a separate provincial administration has *got* to be recognized. Indeed, not a day passes now without our being obliged directly or indirectly to have something or other to do with our provincial Government. We may not feel quite drawn to it by any bonds of sympathy ; but that is a quite different matter altogether. As a province E. B. and Assam has some peculiar interests—needs and grievances—of her own deserving of special treatment in the newspaper press. But unless the outlook of things changes immensely, it seems the day when an independent press will be evolved in Ebassam must remain a long way off. Whatever little chance we had of establishing an independent press at Dacca has been further minimised by the recent press legislation, which successfully militates against any enterprise in this direction. Our province will then have to remain without a paper of its own for many a long day. Even were it possible to bring out a paper in such circumstances, it is difficult to say if the local authorities would like—and every thing after all resolves itself into a question of likes and dislikes now-a-days—to put up with any sort of honest criticism, especially when innumerable means of stifling it are so ready at hand. Judged by our past experience, such fears do not appear to be wholly baseless. An asphyxiated press is the only kind we can think of in Ebassam. It thus becomes evident that we must depend on the Calcutta Press for a long time yet for the representation of our interests. But as matters stand now, this representation is most inadequate, and least commensurate with the political importance of the new province. The news-service of Eastern Bengal depends mostly on amateur people who have got in some cases to send composite or multiple messages for the use of a whole host of Calcutta papers—Indian as well as Anglo-Indian. And it is an open secret that what may find board in Colutolla is often a solecism in Raneemoodee Gullee or Mission Row. So the muffussil

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correspondent must look forward and send tame and insipid things, taking care to avoid all ticklish matters about which his different constituents may not be of one mind. Otherwise he may have the pleasure to find his messages considerably boiled down in the central sifting house at Radhabazar where worrieth the very conscience of the telegraphic columns of almost half-a-dozen Calcutta dailies.

Under these circumstances the public cannot expect any better supply of news from the new province. What is specially wanted, however, is not a large number of news-items merely, but a proper marshalling of the facts thus and otherwise obtained from a strictly provincial point of view. This work properly pertains to the editorial departments; but we are afraid there are few journalists in Calcutta who are in direct touch with Dacca and Ebissam and have made any special study of our affairs. And all but puerile inaccuracies and ludicrous misstatements are not altogether an unfamiliar feature of the editorial columns of the Calcutta daily when it comments on a question of Eastern Bengal and Assam.

After all, the much maligned man-on-the-spot is not such an odious creature as he is represented to be; and we believe this deplorable state of things may be considerably improved if the Calcutta papers could see their way to appoint—and, ahem, pay for—special representatives in Eastern Bengal whose duty should be to watch the march of events here and to deal with matters of provincial and local interest in weekly or bi-weekly letters and so prepare them for better editorial treatment. Besides this, they should supplement the existing telegraphic service whenever necessary. They should be a connecting link between the editorial sanctum and the new province—some sort of provincial sub-editors, resident at Dacca, whose only care would be Eastern Bengal. Apart from all patriotic and benevolent considerations, such an experiment is sure to pay its way. Editorial negligence of E. B. affairs is becoming a matter of common complaint, and something ought to be done without any further delay. And in giving this suggestion their best consideration, the Calcutta newspapers, it may be hoped, will bear in mind the large constituency which they have in Eastern Bengal.

While Sir Lancelot Hare is making perhaps his last monsoon tour, people are wondering who his successor would be. At one time it was thought that Mr. Carlyle would come to Eastern Bengal, but his recent appointment to a seat in the Viceroy's Executive Council has

Sir Lancelot Hare
and his successor

PROGRESS OF INDIAN EMPIRE (E.B. & ASSAM)

removed the probability of his succeeding Sir Lancelot. In the meantime, Dame Rumour is busy in circulating the name of Sir Charles Bayley of Hyderabad as the possible 3rd *Chota Lat* of Ebassam. Sir Charles had already a six months' experience of the Government of the new province and proved a most tactful and capable administrator ; if he comes back to us, he will no doubt be received with open arms and may prove the saviour of the situation.

The death of Rai Bahadur Kaliprasanna Ghose, C.I.E., removes from this province its greatest literary man and a very well-known personality. Kaliprasanna Ghose had acted as an editor, a Zemindari Manager and an organiser of literary forces in different periods of his life, but he had for a long time been known more as a scholar and writer than anything else. He had a ponderous and a heavy style and resembled Dr. Johnson more closely than any Bengalee writer of fame : he crammed into his writing a good deal of philosophy and lessons of modern history which made him above the reach of the average reader. It is about a quarter of a century that he wrote most of his well-known works and he outlived his reputation considerably at the time of his death. Already his principal works, the *Provat Chinta* (Morning Reflections) and the *Nivrita Chinta* (Thoughts in Solitude), have passed away to the region of classical literature, and very few students of the present day take them out of the book-shelf to be acquainted with their contents.

It is now definitely settled that of the three Eastern Bengal members of the Imperial Council, no one will attend any of the meetings of the monsoon session of the Council at Simla. Of these three gentlemen, two are Mussulmans ; and Eastern Bengal was promoted into a separate administration only to promote and further Mussulman interests. Here is a province, and the only province in the country, which will go absolutely unrepresented in the Central Council of the Empire at a meeting in which such an important measure as the continuation of the Seditious Meetings Act has been announced to be discussed. We offer this to Lord Morley as a fact *against* the Partition of Bengal.

It is well-known that the sanitary condition and the municipal administration of the capital of the new province is a disgrace to any civilized modern city. Narrow streets, insanitary and old-fashioned conveniences, with an infernal stench prevailing throughout the day and night,

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make up for the amenities of a modern city in the capital of Ebassam. Of course we are speaking of the old town and not of the new city which has been reared up by the touch of the magician's gourd. It is, therefore, a matter of great satisfaction that a City Improvement Scheme is about to be launched on the Bombay lines with a strong executive Committee. The Committee will consist of six official and two non-official members with powers to add to their number. The points to be considered by the Committee are : (1) widening of the streets ; (2) opening of new streets for direct communication with the new town ; and (3) the drainage question. There is a proposal of closing some canals in the town and having one or two navigable ones in their places. A septic installation for Dacca according to American system which has proved highly successful in Europe for the disposal of sewage at a cost of thirteen lakhs is in contemplation. Provisions for these are expected to be made in the next year's budget. All these schemes will be launched before Sir Lancelot Hare retires.

II. BENGAL

Sir Edward Baker is fast proving himself a *strong* ruler—
Prohibition of strong not with the strength of clemency and con-
Boycott Demonstra- sideration but strong with the powers which the
tions in Bengal legislature has conferred upon him as the executive
head of a province. It is good to have a lion's strength at your
back, but not always prudent to use it. Particularly unwise it is to
use your strength against an institution or an organization which is
not in a vigorous condition. The 'boycott' as an organization has
failed to achieve half the success that was confidently expected of
it by its organizers and promoters. Last month we pointed out
how the boycott movement in this country has practically collapsed.
Any man who has his eyes open may look at the facts and satisfy
himself in the matter. Why then this parting kick at this dying
movement ? In the notification issued by the Lieutenant-Governor,
practically prohibiting all boycott demonstrations on the seventh of
August, His Honour unfortunately makes certain statements which
cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged. The notification states :

"In the Lieutenant-Governor's judgment, the boycott movement
has been and must be productive of nothing but harm. This is not
due wholly, or even chiefly, to disturbances of public peace to
which it is liable to give rise, though these have by no means been
absent. A graver evil is that it tends to inflame racial passions, and

PROGRESS OF INDIAN EMPIRE (BENGAL)

to keep alive those feelings of animosity and opposition towards established order which have been so prejudicial to the cause of good government in the past. The Lieutenant-Governor would greatly have preferred that this mischievous movement should be finally abandoned, without direct interposition of the Government, by the common consent of all concerned, and there is evidence in his possession which indicates that this course commends itself to a large proportion of the more responsible sections of the community. Even now he ventures to hope that wiser counsels will prevail, that the influence of those who have weight with their fellow-countrymen will be effectual in averting demonstrations which are incompatible with any idea of genuine co-operation of the Government and inconsistent with those professions of loyalty which have evidenced the true sentiments of the country during the past two months."

Besides the use of very strong language, we regret to notice several very inaccurate and ungenerous statements made in this brief paragraph. Any man who has any intimate acquaintance with Bengali society will feel no hesitation in controverting the suggestion that the boycott propaganda, as a means of industrial or political agitation, has created disturbances or has been subversive of law and order or endangered any racial bitterness or passion. To call the boycott propaganda a 'mischievous movement' is to profess ignorance of the main currents of public life in the country. Anarchism and extremism owe their origin more to the general sense of discontent prevailing in the country and to a feeling of hopelessness and helplessness in the general outlook than to the boycott movement originated not more than five years ago. The 'racial passions' in India are as old as the Ilbert Bill controversy, and no close student of Indian politics would connect them with the boycott movement. The bitter disappointments of the public to get their grievances kindly considered by the powers that be may have occasionally tended to inflame racial passions, but the boycott movement have had precious little to do with the outburst of crime which has been so unfortunate a feature of our public life in recent years. It does not show accurate reading of contemporary events to pronounce such an infructuous movement as the parent of all potent and active mischiefs in the country. Hang a dog if you please, but don't give it a bad name before hanging it.

Bengal has recently celebrated the anniversary of the death of

Isvar Chandra
Vidyasagar and
Kristodas Pal

two of its greatest men—Pundit Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar and Kristodas Pal. Both of these men were contemporaries for a long period and died

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at about the same time. Kristodas devoted himself to politics and Vidyasagar to social reform. Kristodas was the Rupert of debate in his day; for social and political courage and independence Vidyasagar had no equal in his generation. While Kristodas's name is passing more or less into a mere memory, hundreds of young men are availing themselves of the educational institution endowed by Vidyasagar and hundreds of Hindoo child-widows are making their life comfortable and happy by taking umbrage under the Hindoo Widow Marriage Act passed at his instance. Vidyasagar's memory is bound to remain green till a very remote generation, though upto now sufficient efforts have *not* yet been made to build a decent memorial to him. Instead of holding memorial meetings by dozens on the anniversary of his death, why is not an effort made to raise a decent memorial commemorative of the highest achievement of his life? A Widows' Home in Bengal strikes us as the most suitable memorial that could possibly be raised in memory of Pundit Issar Chandra Vidyasagar. We appeal to Bengali leaders to put their heads together and take the initiative in the matter without further loss of time.

Speaking of the memory of Vidyasagar and a Widow's Home, it bleeds our heart to note that a reactionary organization has been set on foot by some of the leaders of the neo-kshatriya cult to arrest the progress of the widow-marriage movement in Bengal. It is an insult and outrage upon the memory of the late Vidyasagar that such a movement should have originated in the province of his own activity. However that be, it is still more painful that such estimable persons as Rai Yatindranath Choudhury and Mr. Hirendranath Dutt should identify themselves with the movement which has for its object the setting back of the hand of social progress in these provinces.

At a meeting held recently in Calcutta of these reactionaries, a resolution was passed of a very peculiar nature. We have in India already large sections of people who are known as the outcasts, the Pariyas and the untouchables. The resolution in question speaks of a class who are hereafter to be known as the 'prohibited' one. The resolution says: "The members of this Conference should have no social connection with those who celebrate widow-marriage in their own family or form social alliance with a family in which there is evidence of such marriage and who continue social intercourse with persons prohibited as above." How absurd and cheeky to propose a thing like this in the twentieth century!

PROGRESS OF INDIAN EMPIRE (BENGAL)

At a Conference recently held at Belvedere by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, a committee was formed to raise subscriptions and to erect a memorial to his late Majesty King Edward VII. A committee was formed and nearly four lakhs of rupees was subscribed on the spot. This is splendid, and speaks volume in favour of the Bengal Permanent Settlement. Of course, when heads of administrations open up subscription lists, men of money and position have no hesitation in opening their purse-strings as wide as possible. In spite of that circumstance, Bombay and Madras, the United Provinces and the Punjab have not been able to get together more than what a single Maharajah has contributed to the Bengal fund. Yet they say the Permanent Settlement is an unmixed evil!

Controversy is raging brisk in the Daily Press of Calcutta as to the particular form this memorial should take. Sir Edward Baker is personally inclined to the building of a mammoth hostel for the students of the metropolitan Schools and Colleges. We regret we can not support the idea of a hostel for students for two reasons. Firstly, we do not believe that the herding together of a large number of impressionist youngmen under the same roof can lead to much healthy or moral benefit. Secondly, as the hostel can not be made large enough to accommodate all moffussil students of the Calcutta Colleges, it would create needless bitterness and heart-burning. We would very much like that the money collected for the Bengal memorial should be devoted either to the building of a well-equipped poly-technic institute in these provinces or to the opening up of a sea-side colony (of course, not like the one at Frasergunge) for the benefit of the weak and the infirm in these provinces.

Mr. Sarada Charan Mitter seems to have achieved the impossible—he has beat his own records. To his many qualifications as a jurist, lawyer, neo-Kshatriya agitator, company promoter, director of joint-stock societies, *eka lipi-bistarist*, and many things besides, he has now added the proud distinction of being an original discoverer. After laborious researches into the history and antiquity of the Bengali people, Mr. Saroda Charan Mitter has discovered the unique fact that Bengali great men have a tendency of being gathered to their fathers in the rainy season. Yes, that is exactly what he said at the Kristodas Pal anniversary meeting in which he inflicted a ponderous and portentous speech upon an unsuspecting audience. We do not know whom to congratulate

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more heartily for this discovery—Mr. Mitter, the province of Bengal, Bengali greatmen or the rainy season. Anyhow, there remains a great discovery, and Drs. Jagadish Chandra Bose and Prafulla Chandra Ray might well look to their laurels.

We are in a position to announce that the Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendra Nath Bose will introduce two important bills in the next Calcutta session of the Imperial Council. One of these bills will deal with the Civil Marriage Act of 1872 and the other with the Press Act of this year. We hope these bills will receive enthusiastic support of his colleagues,—of course barring the official element.

Non-official Member's Bills
An important Resolution on the Calcutta Police Administration for the year 1909 has been published. There was a decrease in political crimes but no diminution of other serious crimes. Referring to juvenile offenders, the Lieutenant-Governor remarks that the conversion of a casual juvenile offender into a habitual criminal is unfortunately only too easy and frequent a process under the existing system; and he is desirous of doing everything in his power to mitigate this evil. He has little doubt that a more extended use might with advantage be made of the existing provisions of the law, but he realises that these do not fully meet the requirements of the case. The Magistracy are naturally reluctant to apply the provisions of the Reformatory Schools Act to offences of a petty character, and section 562 of the Criminal Procedure Code, though it marks a great advance in the methods of dealing with offences, is of little use in the numerous cases in which juvenile offenders are waifs and strays, or come from indigent and undesirable homes. The Lieutenant-Governor has asked the Police Commissioner to consult with the Chief Magistrate on the question of differentiation of treatment of the juvenile and the adult accused.

The Calcutta Police Administration
The Bengal Emigration Report
The Bengal Emigration Report
The Bengal Government Resolution on emigration from Calcutta to British and Foreign Colonies states that, during the last year, four agencies worked for the British and one for the Dutch Colonies. 571 recruiters were licensed and 12,691 emigrants, or 5057 less than in the previous year, were registered. Three thousand nine hundred and forty one emigrants returned from the Colonies during the year, bringing with them savings amounting to Rs. 691,121, the average for each emigrant being Rs. 175-5 as against Rs. 175 in the previous year. On the other hand as many as 1597 of whom 730 were children brought back no savings at all.

PROGRESS OF INDIAN EMPIRE (BENGAL)

The Resolution of the Government of Bengal reviewing the annual report of the Sanitary Commissioner for the Health of Bengal year 1909 notes the marked improvement in the sanitary condition of Bengal. The number of births during the year under review showed an increase over the figure of the preceding year as well as over that of 1907, while the number of deaths was less than in either of the two preceding years, this being the first occasion since 1904 that these two phenomena have occurred together. The number of births registered in the Province (exclusive of Angul) was 1,909, 547 or 37·79 per mille of population in comparison with 1,823, 716, or 36·09 per mille, during 1908. The increase in the birth-rate is attributed to the improved condition of the people, and was shared by all Divisions except Orissa, where circumstances of the previous year had been particularly unfavourable, and their effect continued to be shown. The total number of deaths reported was 1,543,971, or 30·55 per mille against 1,948,513, or 38·56 per mille during the preceding year. In the opinion of the Sanitary Commissioner the satisfactory decrease was due mainly to the reduced mortality from cholera, fever, dysentery and diarrhoea. In comparison with other provinces, Bengal stood third in the order of birth-rate in place of sixth during 1908. These results afford reason for congratulation, and the mortality recorded was the lowest since 1899. Within the province the most unhealthy Division was that of Patna, which showed no increase in the birth-rate and stood first as regards the death rate though the latter figure was less than in 1908. Orissa, which returned the highest mortality last year, shows the lowest this year.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

The Muslim Review

In the seventh instalment of his very interesting series of articles on *Thoughts on the Present Situation*, 'Junius' has some very wise observations to make against the separatist movement of the Mahomedans of India: "It is a distressing fact that in India religion is made the base of the most hostile operations by one community against another. . . . There are more than mere superficial connexions between the two races which mainly divide the Indian population. The largest portion of the Mahomedan population are Hindu converts to Islam. . . . Hinduism and Mahomedanism have acted and re-acted upon each other, influencing social institutions, colouring religious thoughts with their mutual, typical, religious hues. The *Punthi* of Kabir Das, the *Nal Daman* of Faizi are but conspicuous illustrations of the union of the two streams of Hinduism and Islam which, since Muslim conquest, have flowed side by side in India. . . . In mutual help and co-operation lies our hope, in division and dissention our feebleness and death. The Hindu and Mahomedan question is of but recent growth. It was unheard of in the last generation, though both the Hindus and Mahomedans were then much more orthodox than they now are We have called for a separate election. We have got it, but we are not at all sure that it will help the cause, dear to all who are interested in tranquil peace, assured order, and intellectual and material progress of India—the cause of the Hindus and Mahomedans." Mr. Syed Asghar Hussain's account of the life of *Nurwab Bahadur Syed Ameer Hossain* is followed by Mr. M. Ahmad's estimate of the *Influence of Western Education* on Islamic religion in the former having brought the noble precepts of the Prophet out of its seclusion and diffused it to the wide world. Mr. Ghulam Sarwar Khan Gandapoor describes the remarkable career of *Sa'd ullah Khan, the ablest Mughul Premier* during the reign of Emperor Shah Jehan. In supporting *Compulsory Primary Education* for India, "N. H." does well in successfully refuting the queer opinions advanced last month by the editor of this *Review* against the feasibility of introducing free primary education in India. Mr. M. Siddiq, in an article on *Reforms and the Mahomedans*, appeals to the Mahomedans to put their society in

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order and regrets the disunion among the Mahomedans themselves, specially among the Shiah and Shuni sects of the Moslem community. One T. U. A. appeals for a *Daily*—*The Crying National Want of the Moslem*. Prof. J. N. Samaddar relates the abstemious habits of the ancient *Pathan Kings* and the precepts of the Prophet against the evil of intemperance and then fervently appeals to the Mahomedans to fight for the cause of Temperance. We have noticed elsewhere the narration by "A Mussulman" of the grievances of *The Provincial Judicial Service*. The number closes, as usual, with some criticisms and discussions and a monthly survey of the Mahomedan world.

The Modern Review

Under the significant *nom-de-plume*, "Izzat" describes the remarkable career of Mr. Keir Hardie, "*The White Sirdar Coolie*" of the Maharajahdhiraj of Burdwan. Mr. Dwijadas Datta writes an useful article on *Cattle-feeding on Modern Lines*. Mr. Sarat Chandra Ray, who never takes up his pen without writing something interesting, gives an account of the *Early History of the Mundas*. In an eminently interesting article, Prof. Manindra Nath Banerjee proves, by frequent references to original texts in Sanskrit literature, the existence of *Nitre Industry in Ancient India* from a very remote antiquity. The professor proves the knowledge of the manufacture of fire-arms with the aid of nitre in ancient India. Sister Nivedita follows with the 5th instalment of her lucubrations on *The Ancient Abbey of Ajanta*. "Bengalee" discusses *The Possibilities of the Bengali Language* as the *lingua franca of India* which we noticed at length in our last number. Mr. A. K. Maitra proceeds with the second instalment of his article on *The Stones of Varendra*. But how unlike is it to Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*. Prof. Radha Kumud Mookerjee gives more proofs of the existence of *Ships in Ancient India* than what have already been adduced in two previous instalments. There are some stories and a few other articles having no direct bearing on India. The last portion is, as usual, taken up with a large number of comments, criticisms and editorial notes.

The Hindusthan Review

The July number of *The Hindusthan Review* opens with an outline by Mrs. Besant herself of a scheme of her *University of India* which has for its chief objects (1) the making of religion

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and morality an integral part of education, (2) the placing in the first rank of Indian philosophy, history, and literature, and seeking in these, and in the classical languages of India, the chief means of culture. The next article is a *verbatim* reproduction of Dr. D. H. Griswold's learned paper on *The Rig-veda in Relation to the Present Awakening in India*. In an eminently interesting article on *the High Prices and Wages in India*, which we have noticed in another section of this number, the various European theories about the causes and remedies of the present condition of things are carefully discussed. Sirdar Madhava Rao V. Kibe Sahib holds the following causes responsible for the present rate of prices in India : (a) railways, (b) successive famines, (c) exports and (d) currency. As to its effects the writer enumerates them as follows : (a) the distress caused to persons having fixed money income ; (b) Government has redundantly added to its token silver currency, the stability of which depends upon the credit of the Government which in the circumstances of the case is unlimited, and as the value of gold remains appreciated it is being drained out of the country, as is even evidenced by the fact that Government itself has found it very disadvantageous to invest its capital in gold bullion ; (c) nearly three quarters of the population of India being connected with the industry of producing raw materials are being benefited by the current high prices, the Government also benefiting, its revenue being easily and speedily realized. But this advantage of the agricultural producers is counter-acted by the following circumstances : (1) owing to the indebtedness of the agriculturalist, all his profits go to the money lender ; (2) The rigidity of the Government in collecting its revenue and its inelastic policy make it incumbent upon the agriculturist to sell his produce at the bidding of the buyer ; (3) His small holding, absence of a helping agency, want of facilities of storage, the action of large grain-dealers who buy standing crops, leave him but a small profit. As to remedies, the writer suggests : (a) Irrigation —The Canal Colonies of the Punjab show what irrigation can do in such matters ; (b) the stoppage of the building of more costly railways ; (c) the imposition of an export duty on food-stuffs and other raw materials ; (d) India should have a gold currency if it is to stick to the gold standard and (e) improvement of the condition of agriculturists by the spread of primary education among them, the building of elevated granaries by business concerns or the government, the spread of model farms and the distribution of good grain for sowing purposes and the propagation of a good

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species of cattle. *The English in the Court and Camp of Sivaji* is another interesting article which we have noticed at length elsewhere. In a well-written article on *The Modern Spirit in India*, Mr. B. Natesan deals with the progressive forces that are at present at work in moulding the conditions of life in India. Mr. Shah Munir Alam's *A Leaf out of Akbar's Period* is an appreciation of the great Moghul emperor. There are a few other articles of general interest and some reviews, criticisms and discussions close this number.

The Indian Review

The July number of this Madras review opens with *Some Remarks on the Resemblance of the Child to the Father* by Dr. Deussen. In an article on *The New Mind of Asia*, Mr. Saint Nihal Sing elucidates the fact that in all countries of Asia—Japan, China, India, Persia, Siam,—despotism is in the last throes of death. In a paper on *Bravery of Women*, Lady Cooks hopes that the "outlook assures us of sexual equality at no far distant date." Mr. C. V. Pichu Iyer fixes, by astronomical calculations, corroborated by the legends of South India, the *Date of Sunkari's Birth* at the year 805 A. D. Mr. P. Seshadri follows with some verses on *The Pilgrim*. Dewan Bahadur R. Raghunath Rao under the title of *Marriage Reform* supports the marriage of child-widows by citing as many as eighteen instances where this reform has been approved of in Sanskrit Shastras : "that a bride is no member of the bridegroom's family, that is, heir, until the marriage is completed by consummation, and that if the bridegroom dies without consummation the bride may become the bride of another." Mr. Vilandai Gopala Aiyar in an eminently learned paper discusses the origin of *The Sika and Sambat Eras* and the chronology of the Andhrabhritya and Kshatrapa Dynasties. After sifting with rare scholarship a mass of historical literature of the days of yore, Mr. Aiyar concludes that 30 kings of the Audhrabhritya dynasty ruled from 208 B.C. to 249 A.D. and the Kshatrapa dynasty ruled from 57 B.C. to 253 A.D. and the epoch of the Samvat era, namely 57 B. C., marks the consolidation of the tribes of Malwa into one great nation under Chashtana, the founder of the Kshatrapa dynasty. The rest of the number is taken up with reviews of books and criticisms and comments.

The Calcutta Review

The Calcutta Review for the quarter commencing from July opens, as usual, with some notes on the events of the past quarter. Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy writing *On Some Behari Modes of Trial by Ordeal* traces the origin of this method of trial to the "superstitious belief in the possibility of receiving divine aid and secondly, to the absence, among most of the ancients, of a system of jurisprudence prescribing rules for the recording of evidence and a well-defined procedure for enquiring into and adjudicating upon the guilt or innocence of the accused." Mr. Sambhoo Chandra Day takes up 18 pages of this number with his account of the life and career of *Ramaprosad Roy* which is yet to be continued. In the 10th instalment of his paper on the *History of the Press in India*, Mr. S.C. Sanyal spins out to an unconscionable length the story of a correspondence which he might well compress into as many paragraphs without losing any interest of the subject-matter, and he proposes yet to continue. In an interesting account of *the Origin and Traditions of Kathis*, Mr. J. L. Chatterji describes their social customs and modes of life : "The Kathis marry any number of wives, but they generally at most never exceed two. The women are often not brides till 16 or 17 years of age. To become a husband, the Kathi must be a ravisher, and have to fight and force his way into the village of his bride. Kathianees are at liberty to marry again after the decease of their husbands, the younger brother invariably marry the elder brother's widow, whatever may be the age of the parties the Kathis are the worshippers of the sun, as well as of snakes and Hindu gods like Siva, Vishnu, Bheemnath and Somnath, the sun being the chief deity. The upper classes have, however, completely survived their ancient traditions and many scions of aristocratic houses are today receiving education at the Raj Kumar College and in English Universities." Then follows an article from the pen of Mr. K. C. Kanjilal on *The Reform of the Municipal Administration of the City of Calcutta*. The last few pages of this number are taken up with *critical notices* of some books.

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

Mr. J. N. Farquhar has followed up his article on the greatness of Hinduism, which we had very great pleasure in reproducing in extenso in the last number of the *Indian World*, with another in the "Contemporary Review" on *The Religious Future of India*. Last year several writers, including Mr. Farquhar and Lala Lajpat Rai; discussed this question in these pages from various points of view. After a year Mr. Farquhar has returned back to his theme and, after a wide survey of the modern condition of things in India, has arrived at the definite conclusions that Hinduism has broken down under the pressure of western ideas and world-wide competition and that the only other religion that can take its place is the one founded by Jesus Christ.

As this is perhaps the most important question which concerns the future well-being of the Indian people, we shall crave our readers' permission to discuss at length at this place the various issues raised by Mr. Farquhar.

We must begin at the outset by observing that what Mr. Farquhar understands by Hinduism is only one phase of that great faith which has come down to us from the morning of our history. It is very hard to define Hinduism—perhaps not its cleverest exponent at the present day will find it very easy to define it with any accuracy. Without, therefore, going into the impossible task of defining Hinduism, we can tell Mr. Farquhar that there are Hinduisms of various kinds to suit various tastes and cultures. The Hinduism on which Mr. Farquhar has levelled his main attack and which appears to be the Hinduism of the multitude and the marked-place has, no doubt, received a rude shock at the hands of modern science and knowledge and is now moving swiftly to decay. This form of Hinduism, which owes its origin to the Tantric literature of the ages which followed the extinction of Buddhism in India, has lasted into the twentieth century, as Mr. Farquhar himself points out, merely because until recently the isolation of India saved it from the inrush of that modern spirit which is fatal to all religions of the ancient world. This form of Hinduism, we admit, has not been human, universal, spiritual and progressive; nor has it provided India with a full expression of the religious conscious-

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ness of her people. And because this form of Hinduism has failed to provide means for satisfying the religious cravings of the present generation of Indians, Mr. Farquhar seems to think that a void has been created which can only be filled up by the religion of Christ.

Mr. Farquhar examines the claims of the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the programme of Mrs Besant and of the Bharat Dharma Mahamandali, finds them either utterly valueless for the unlettered peasant or too absurd or futile for modern acceptance, and comes to the decision that there is absolutely no chance of any of these movements taking the place of the Hinduism which is getting effete, obsolete and exploded. Q. e. d., the religion of Christ is the only theory of God and His worship which can take up the place of Hinduism in India. The Vedas are to give way to the New Testament, while the greater books of Hinduism 'will form a sort of second Old Testament set like stars around the sun.' "Every Hindu belief," according to Mr. Farquhar, "every rite and institution will be seen to have been a germ and adumbration, the full-blown flower and reality of which came with Christ. Christianity is the evolutionary crown of Hinduism. Hinduism is a rudimentary faith, Christianity its culmination. How can the whole of Hinduism be transfigured to spirituality save in Christ?"

That seems in brief to be the position taken up by Mr. Farquhar. There are two very important things which Mr. Farquhar does not seem to take due notice of. The most important of these is the fact that there is nothing in the teachings of Christ of which the Hindu has not a counter-part in his more serious scriptures. There is nothing in the life of Christ which may come as a revelation to the Hindu mind. There is not a single concept in Christianity of which numerous parallels cannot be found in the teachings of the Upanishads or in the ethics of Buddhism. The second important fact which Mr. Farquhar overlooks is the condition of moral and spiritual life in Christendom. Any Hindu who looks into the history and affairs of Europe, gets disappointed, more often than not, with the results of Christian civilization. Christianity does not appear to the Indians in a better light than as the religion of its white conquerors who, Mr. Farquhar must himself admit, do not always toil for the steady up-lifting of India's suffering humanity. The history of Anglo-Indian conquests and the methods of Anglo-Indian administration do not always commend themselves to the Indian as the result of the highest moral teachings. As to how far Christianity has succeeded in establishing the brotherhood of man in India,

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we quote below the witness of the special correspondent of the *Church Times* :*

"It is simply monstrous that the mere fact of being born in India, whether of European or of native, or of mixed parentage, should be of itself the primary social disqualification. It is simply hideous that it should become a spiritual disqualification. Now there it is that we have arrived. Here is a vast country for which England has done a great work, a wonderful work. Yet, in all concerns of life, political, social, and religious, there lies behind that work the preposterous claim that we who sojourn in India are *alone* the proper claimants of authority and dignity, and that those born here belong to an inferior grade, and always will belong to an inferior grade. That the Communion was celebrated by a Bengalee priest in a church in Calcutta, kept two ladies of my acquaintance ever from being present. . . .

"I have learned to hate the phrase "Native Christian" since I have come to realize its full connotation. Even as it stands, it is an abominable differentiation between those who ought to be of the most precious Brotherhood which the world has ever seen or known. But bit by bit as I have seen more deeply into the meaning of the phrase, as I have learned that business organizations divide their staff in their registries into classes of which "Native Christian" is the least respected, as I have found out that there is a barrier set up in the very House of God between European and Indian, my hatred for the term has grown more cordial. I am quite prepared for the club-room contempt of the "Native Christian"; it has a thoughtless attitude of man-of-the-world-ism, which makes vast inductions from precious few instances. But when I find in missionary circles a definite shrinking from those not English-born, when I find saintly men and women declaring that what they call the "barrier of race" is too much for them, when I know from many Christian natives whom I have met in India, men of culture and leading, that hardly a day passes but the shaft of contempt from a fellow-Christian enters into their souls, then I begin to wonder if we English have learned anything at all from St. Paul.

"Too commonly this race distinction, as I will call it, though it is not really a race distinction at all, draws its black streak across our Christianity in India. I protest, too, and it is bitter pain to do so, that again and again I have found the hideous mark across the life of our own Church. This article is written in Calcutta, and on a Sunday

* *The Church Times* (London) April, 1, 1910.

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afternoon. Before it was begun, the question of church-going was discussed. "I am surprised at Mr.—going to such a church. It is really a church for *natives*," said a lady, of the depth and reality of whose faith I have not a shadow of doubt. In an hour's time we shall hear our beautiful choir of St. Paul's sing the song of Our Lady. We shall hear that "all generations shall call me blessed"; we shall hear of "the Light to lighten the Gentiles." Is it all a pitiable mockery? Is it all a travesty of Catholicism? With shrinking feet, hundreds of our fellow-Christians come and join in our worship this night. God help us, exclusive English, if the while that we condemn social caste, with all its horrors, we rear up a doctrine of caste which is to touch the very threshold of the sanctuary. "At our church," says a leading church official, "the natives always communicate last. *It saves unpleasantness.*" So they drink the very Blood of the Lord with the black streak between them."

We would very much like Mr. Farquhar to look forward to the Christianisation of Christendom, of the Christian and the domiciled community in India and of the Anglo-Indian administration before hoping for the Christianisation of the Indian people. India—educated and new India—have often and often compared the teachings of Christ with the life and practices of his followers and seem to be repelled by the comparison. The masses, unable to compare the teachings of Christ with the life of his followers, find Christ anticipated by Sri Christna. Even the doctrine of Bhakti, which is believed by men like Dr. Grierson to be originally a Christian concept, has no charm of novelty to a devout Indian. Why should, under these circumstances, India consider Christ as the crown of Hinduism appears to us to be an insoluble problem.

Mr. Farquhar does not consider the reign of Christ in India a problematical or an academic question, but one that has already entered into the region of practical politics. Christ, according to Mr. Farquhar, "has already won for himself an influence in Indian life far surpassing every other religious force at present active in the peninsula. The present extraordinary religious ferment in all the religions, with its vigorous life and many "revivals," is almost entirely His work; every aspect of social reform is purely Christian; the new fresh philanthropy, especially the movement to help the depressed classes, is confessedly Christian in source; and the methods in use in all the new organisations are copied from Christian Missions. Add to these the effect that Christian teaching has had in filling educated India with ideals of human equality, personal dignity, national honour, national righteousness, purity of motive, public

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service. The National Movement, so far as it is moral, has been inspired by Christ. On the other hand, the growth of the Christian Church, while not nearly so rapid as Christians would wish it to be, has this striking characteristic that men are being won from every race, class and religion : Christ has already won for Himself a people which represents the people of India better than any other community. Lastly, the Bible holds a place in India which no other Book holds, for it is read by many men of all religions, especially by educated Hindus, as the best of all books of devotion. Christ has already begun His reign in India."

To an educated Indian or to an unbiassed non-Christian observer, all these claims put forward by Mr. Farquhar will appear ridiculous ; and we are really surprised to find that his enthusiasm has carried him so far away as to make impossible claims on behalf of his religion. Instead of admitting all or any of these claims, we are of opinion that Christ's religion is getting more and more discredited all the world over as time advances and our vision widens.

Having disposed of Mr. Farquhar's claims on behalf of Christianity, the important question remains to be answered as to what is to be the future religion of India. It is difficult to solve such a prodigious problem, and Mr. Farquhar is no more competent to attempt it than any educated Indian of today. We admit with Mr. Farquhar that the beautiful teachings of the Upanishads will always remain a philosophy and shall not be able to take the place of religion for the millions of India. At the same time, Mr. Farquhar ought to know that the highest concepts of God are not totally unknown 'to the Indian peasants, coolies and *lascars*, to Santals, Gonds and Oraons' and that their religion does not confine itself to a mere worship of many gods and the use of idols. There is more of spiritual culture among the masses of the Indian people than Mr. Farquhar and his co-workers can rightly gauge or are prepared to admit. Only unfortunately these spiritual ideas are obscured by a world of superstition, rituals and ceremonies.

In his anxiety to prove that Christianity is a much superior religion to Hinduism, Mr. Farquhar goes to the length of saying that Hinduism 'never succeeded in conceiving the Universal Person.' How true is this statement will be found by any body who possess even a very cursory acquaintance with the *Bhagavad Gita* and the *Brahmans* of the Upanishads. Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra, in his paper to be read before the Berlin Congress of Free Christianity and Religious Progress, not only conclusively shows how the 'Universal Person' was conceived by the makers

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of Hinduism, but how far they made that Person the source of abiding peace and bliss. The *Chundogyoponishad* says : "The Infinite is bliss : There is no bliss in anything finite." The *Ishopanishad* says : "All things are overspread by God." Do not these indicate the 'Universal Person?' Even the fatherhood of God is insisted in several remarkable and sublime passages in the *Gita* and the cry पिता नोऽसि (Thou art our Father) comes down to us from the hoary past when our ancestors chanted the hymns of the Vedas on the banks of the Indus.

But there is no good discussing these matters. The question of the future religion of India, or for the matter of that of the whole world, is not merely a theological question. It is a much wider problem than any theology or established Church can conceive of. It is a question of reconciliation of science with religious theory and ideas of devotion. No religion, which is antagonistic and not reconcilable to reason, is likely to survive the ravages of Time or the inrush of the modern spirit.

The religion that will succeed in winnowing the chaff from the wheat, in removing the atmosphere of superstition from the spiritualistic teachings of the Indian people, in inducing them to base their character and conduct upon morality, in eschewing all sham and humbug, in doing away with all sorts of formula, miracles and revelations, in depending no more upon theologies and theophanies and, above all, in removing the fetters that bind men to the ideas of a dead past—that religion is to be not only the future religion of India but also of the whole world.

The world is fast passing from the region of Faith to that of Reason. Faith cannot stand without theology to back it, or philosophy to support it ; Reason needs no props of any kind to stand on its own legs. Whatever may have been the past history of the world so far as religion is concerned, the future is for Reason. When Reason is able to establish her position in the world, theology and philosophy will be swept away from the region of faith. And as soon as Reason takes the place of Faith, the problem of the future religion of India and of the world will become easy of solution. Reason will stand no miracles, no humbug, no special incantations or exclusive revelations. It will elbow out of existence all creeds and formulae of worship, and admit nothing which can not be demonstrated, if not practically to the eye, at least to the intelligence of man. With the aid of morality and the most approved principles of ethics, Reason will establish the future religion of India. And in this ideal religion, there will undoubtedly be more of the ideals and

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traditions of Hinduism than of Christianity. Christianity divested of miracles has no legs to stand upon. Hinduism divested of its obscurities and idolatry, of its stimulants to worship and emotion, has a large fund of reason to fall back upon. Its highest form is more rationalistic and intellectual than any other great religion of the world,—excepting, of course, Buddhism. It has withstood, like the Himalayas, the inrush of many centuries and is likely to remain unaffected by any other invasion in the coming ages.

When old faiths are crumbling to pieces, when miracles are losing their hold upon the modern mind, when forms of worship are more or less becoming excrescences of religion which more often impede man's direct communion with his Creator and Father, when the belief in the supernatural and the transcendental is getting into discount and when the element of mystery, which was once believed to be so indispensable a factor of religion,* is disappearing from the region of Thought and Culture, it is impossible to expect that anything else but Reason will lay hold of the heart of India in the future, whatever hope Mr. Farquhar and his friends may entertain to the contrary.

* "Religion by its very nature contains, and must ever contain, an element of mystery." Principal Caird.

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DIARY FOR JULY, 1910

Date

1. A memorandum is issued by the Finance Department of the Government of India announcing the formal amalgamation from to-day of the Civil and the Public Works Accounts and the creation of the new post of Accountant-General of Railways with a view to re-organize railway accounts.

It is notified today (1) that in the calendar year 1911 not more than 31,440 chests of Bengal opium will be offered for sale and not more than 2,620 chests in each month of the year ; (2) that of the quantities to be offered for sale each month not more than 1,360 chests will be Benares opium and not more than 1,260 chests Patna opium, and (3) that no reduction will be made in these quantities without 3 months' previous notice.

A resolution of the Government of India announces that from the 1st January, 1911, the system of deposits in Post Office Savings Banks, subject to 6 months' notice of withdrawal at 3½ per cent., should be abolished and the rate of interest on deposits at call will remain at 3 per cent., but the maximum limit of actual cash deposits will be raised from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500.

The conductors of the Calcutta Tramways Company strike work, their grievances being a very low scale of pay and the imposition of heavy fines on slightest grounds.

The Shahajanpur Arya Samaj has decided to endow a scholarship in the name of King Edward VII for deserving students to prosecute their studies in the United Provinces on ancient Vedic lines.

2. The Secretary, Bengal Muslim League, submits a memorial to the Government of India drawing their attention to the "wide-spread feeling of discontent and irritation caused in India by the recent deportation of Indians from the Transvaal" and pointing out that "representations and remonstrances having failed, the time has come for the adoption of rigorous measures of retaliation by the Government of India."

3. The Steamer *Trieste* reaches safe at Bombay harbour after meeting with serious reverses during her outward voyage to India. She was towed into harbour by the British Steamer *Lowther Range*.

4. A serious flood takes place near Khurda on the B. N. Ry. causing delay to several trains including the Madras Mail on the way to Howrah.

Moulavi Mohimuddin, Sub-Inspector of Police, and two constables each are sentenced to 3 and 2 years' rigorous imprisonment respectively by the Sessions Judge of Midnapur for torturing an accused in a murder case to extort confession.

5. The Marine Court publishes the results of its enquiry into the causes of the burning of the steamer *Aka* near Khulna, and holds that the fire was caused by the sudden grounding of the steamer owing to

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sounding not being taken while going at a full speed the shock of which brought a portion of the jute, which was not covered and protected, into contact with a lighted lamp.

Sir Charles Hardinge, the Viceroy-Designate of India, is raised to the English Peerage.

6. To-day's *Calcutta Gazette* publishes a resolution reviewing the Police Administration in Calcutta for the year 1909, and notes the decrease in political crimes and admits the necessity of differential treatment in respect of juvenile offenders.

The Bengal Government Resolution on emigration from Calcutta to British and Foreign Colonies notes a decrease of 5,057 emigrants during 1909.

The Report of Public Instruction in Bengal for 1909 shows that there were 46,385 schools with 1,421,389 pupils of which 1,109,234 were Hindus and 236,205 Mahomedans.

The Calcutta Health Officer's report on beri-beri in Calcutta during 1909 puts the number of deaths from this disease at the figure 433, of which no less than 283 occurred among women.

At the monthly opium sale in the Customs House in Calcutta this morning, 330 lots of Behar and 330 lots of Benares opium were sold.

A resolution is published announcing the intention of the Government of India to borrow 150 lakhs of rupees for the public service by issuing Promissory Notes for the same amount to which will apply all the conditions applying to Notes of 3½ per cent. of 1900-01.

7. In the appeal of Mr. Nand Gopal, the editor of the now-defunct *Swaraya* of Allahabad, the High Court reduces the sentence from 10 years to 5 years' transportation.

8. Replying to a question by Mr. John Jardine, Mr. Montague says that, after careful consideration, the Secretary of State in Council has come to the conclusion that the establishment of a Chartered High Court in Burma was not required in the interests of the province.

Lord Gladstone in a speech during his first official visit to Johannesburg recognised that the Mahomedans and British Indians had a claim to his attention and he could not forget His Majesty's Imperial responsibilities or ignore his own.

The Hongkong Chamber of Commerce sends a message to the Legation at Peking stating that the opium trade has been absolutely demoralized by the Canton monopoly-tax and that prompt action is necessary. The Consul-General at Canton has again called the attention of the Chinese Viceroy at Canton to the persistent violation of the Chefoo Convention, adding that it may lead to Great Britain revising the terms of the Opium Agreement.

9. The Government of India have agreed to allow the importation of Jaffna tobacco of Ceylon into Travancore under the old conditions, provided tobacco is intended for Travancore only and not for re-exportation.

By a notification issued to-day, the Government of India abolish the system of bearing post cards of private manufacture and requiring henceforth the payment of postage on inland post cards of private manufacture, and unless they are prepaid they are liable to be destroyed by the Post-Master General.

By a Resolution issued today, the Government of India announce a general increase of the pay in all grades of the clerks of the India Secretariat and abolish the system of competitive examination for ministerial offices.

At the annual Indian Civil Service Dinner held at London, Sir William Lee-Warner presiding, Lord Curzon recommends "as serious symptoms" to the attention of Government the fact that "whereas a few years ago, at least half the men who took the highest places at Civil Service Examinations chose an Indian career, the proportion now is less than one third."

A Conference of some high officials of Ebassam meets at Shillong to discuss the river police scheme of the Province.

10. It is reported today that Suleman Khel and Koch, two Afgan dealers in arms, headed by a well-known arms dealer, Nurakal Khan, have submitted a petition to the Amir strongly pressing him to make representations to the British Government on the subject of capture of arms and ammunition by British authorities in the Persian Gulf, and declare that the business of the petitioners have seriously suffered during the last few months and warned His Majesty that the continuance of British activities in the Gulf might lead to scarcity of arms in Afganistan.

11. Debendra Nath Bhattacharya, Police Sub-Inspector of Raipura in Naraingunge, Dacca, is sentenced to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment for taking Rs. 12,000, as bribe in a murder case and the Head Constable implicated in the transaction gets one year.

Returns published today for the first quarter of the current official year show an excess of 58'44 lakhs of rupees over the second quarter of last year, the first quarter usually yielding less than quarter of the revenue for the whole year.

12. The Government of Madras issues a notification permitting Government servants to make investments in all central Co-operative Banks in the Presidency.

With a view to curtail the exodus expenditure it is reported today that the offices of the Director-General of Post Offices will remain in Calcutta while some of the offices will winter at Simla.

Prohash Chandra Deb and Phonibhusan Ghosal are arrested in Calcutta as suspected printers of the *Yugantar* leaflets that are being issued from time to time without the police having any trace of the places of its publication. A printing press, and two bundles of vernacular types with some documents alleged to be of incriminating character and some copies of the *Yugantar* similar in substance to those issued previously, are seized by the Police at 72, Sikdarbagan Street, the residence of Phanibhusan Ghosal.

The erosion of the Indus assumes a serious shape, completely inundating the town of Dera Ghazi Khan, felling strong-built houses, mosques, shrines and temples, making hundreds of people homeless, the loss of property amounting to several lakhs of rupees.

13. Dr. Lueders, the distinguished Berlin authority on Sanskrit, has succeeded in deciphering the Sanskrit manuscripts discovered at Turfan in Central Asia by Lecoq. They consist of scenes from plays, some being 2,500 years old.

Paris telegrams state that owing to French newspaper protests against the surrender of Savarkar, the French Government has issued a statement explaining the charges against Savarkar, and stating that the British authorities requested the Government to have the S. S. *Morea* watched at Marseilles lest his compatriots should attempt to assist Savarkar's escape.

The Government of Bombay issues a resolution giving details of a scheme for the experiment of rubber cultivation in several select places in the Presidency.

On an appeal preferred by Mr. Lal Chand Falak against the order of sentence of 2½ years passed upon him by the lower court for publishing the book, *Sarkari Mulsazmat* or "Government Service," Mr. Justice Ryves of the Punjab Chief Court reduces the sentence to 6 months.

14. Constantinople telegrams state that the Porte has expressed its regret to Mr. Lowther at the failure to observe the capitulatory rights in the case of two British Indians arrested and imprisoned at Damascus, and subsequently released. The Porte has promised to instruct the Valis to prevent a recurrence of the incident.

Hongkong telegrams state that the Chinese authorities have admitted the illegality of the tax imposed upon Indian opium at Canton

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and have instructed the Chinese Viceroy at Canton to withdraw the same.

A voluminous blue-book on Tibet is published today, the principal feature being a strong despatch from Sir Edward Grey insisting that China shall observe her treaties and trade agreements, intimating that England is prepared to protect her interests in Nepal, Sikhim and Bhutan, and warning China of the inadvisability of increasing her troops in the vicinity of those States.

The Mail Tonga in the Tochi Valley in the Frontier Province is attacked by a gang of outlaws from Dour: the mail is looted and two passengers are carried off who are, however, eventually rescued and the mail recovered.

15. Mr. Debiprosanna Ray Chaudhury, the editor of the *Nabya Bharat* and the proprietor of the Nabyabharat Press, is arrested by the Calcutta Police on the charge of printing a seditious publication named *Anulprabha*, written by one of the name of Mahomed Shiraji.

A passenger train leaving Sealdah for Diamond Harbour is stoned with a heavy shower of brick-bats.

A disastrous fire, which resulted in the death of nine persons and in ten more being more or less severely injured, broke out at Wadgadi in Bombay causing damage estimated to be Rs. 40,000 which is covered by insurance.

A resolution is published by the Government of India abolishing the present system of recruitment of officers of the Indian Army for the Military Accounts Department and stating that in future Civilians will be appointed for the Department.

The administration report of Bombay Jails for 1909 shows an increase of jail population over the last year, the expenditure incurred being Rs. 873,164, the cost per head being Rs. 98-2-4.

The Mahomedans of Radhanpore submit a memorial to the Bombay Government protesting against the order of the late Nawab of Radhanpore, a Mahomedan ruler, prohibiting slaughter of cows in the State, as a result of which, it has been ascertained, the number of cows has now increased from 10,566 in 1906 to 17,137 in 1910.

16. A Resolution on the report of the Sanitary Commissioner, Bengal, for the year 1909, is published today by the Bengal Government showing "marked improvement" in the health of Bengal, there being appreciable increase in the number of births and decrease in the number of deaths as compared with the figures for 1907 and 1908.

The Police raid a Hindu Temple at Rajahmundry to-night, stopping the *Bajana* that was going on, forcibly carrying away the musical instruments to the Police Station, extinguishing the lights before the image in the Temple, in spite of the protests of the worshippers and of so well-known a person as Mr. Ramachandra Rao, a mill-owner, and the proprietor and Dharmakarta of the Institution, and 15 persons with Mr. Ramachandra are bound over on the spot to appear before the Magistrate to answer charges of their being members of an unlawful assembly.

18. Nearly hundred weavers of Ramjibanpore in Midnapore are placed under Police custody for their having woven cloths with seditious songs on their border.

Returns published today show that, from the beginning of the year up to date, Bengal opium has fetched Rs. 1,36,93,290 better than the estimate, and Bombay opium 122,400 better than the estimate, making the total revenue better than the estimate by Rs. 1,38,15,690.

An attempt to wreck the Khulna Mail train near Dattapukur Station on E. B. S. Ry. was made by placing three iron fish-plates across the metals. The danger was, however, averted by the timely precaution taken by the driver.

Five Hindus are arrested opposite to the Railway Station in Ahmedabad with three bombs and other materials.

The first issue of the organ of the Bombay Moslem League, entitled *The Moslem*, is published today at Poona.

19. Worms in betel leaves are reported to have been discovered in several East Bengal districts, several deaths being reported from Dacca, Comilla and Mymensing.

As a result of numerous memorials, the Government of India have agreed to confer the privilege of Gasetted rank on all Upper Subordinates of the P.W.D. of the rank of Sub-Engineers.

Bharat Chandra Dey is arrested at Mymensing for attempting to sacrifice his grand-child to the goddess *Kali*.

A meeting of the Hindu Distress Relief Committee of Lahore, of which Sir P. C. Chatterjee is the president, is held today to concert measures for giving relief to the Hindu sufferers at Dehra-Ghazi-Khan. The Committee has at its disposal Rs. 37,000 handed over to it by Lala Lajpat Rai after meeting the expenses of the famine relief operations of 1908.

Owing to the unsatisfactory condition of the wheat crop in America and the rapid fluctuation of prices there, wheat prices in the Punjab are reported to have considerably gone up.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Montagu replying to Lord Ronaldsday, denies any intention at present to strengthen the provisions of the Seditious Meetings Act and states that its further extension on its expiration on the 31st October is *not* due to any increase of agitation.

A Conference of leading men of Bengal is held at Belvedere, Sir Edward Baker presiding, to consider the proposal of erecting a King Edward Memorial in Bengal. An Executive Committee with the Chief Justice as its president, and a General Committee with the L.-G. as its Chairman, are formed.

In reply to questions by Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Montagu justifies the recent Proclamation by the Punjab Government of the Rohtak district under the Seditious Meetings Act and observes that in India religious meetings very often become political.

At the instance of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, a Committee has been organised in Marwar with Rao Shukdeb Prasad Bahadur, C.I.E., Prime Minister of the State as President, with a view to collect materials for the purpose of the conservation of the bardic chronicles of India.

In reply to a letter from the Bombay Government intimating the Government's desire to resume the rights of reclaiming Back Bay, the Trustees of the City Improvement Trust send a letter assuring the Government that the Trust intend to carry out the reclamation in the Back Bay so soon as they find a contractor to undertake work on his own capital, on reasonable terms, and that as Trustees they can not legally consent to being divested of any of their rights without adequate compensation.

Persian advices state that Safi Amha Parshad and Ajit Singh are now living in Shiraz under the protection of Ibrahim Mijtahid and have started a paper called *Hyat* in which the Persians are instigated against the English, Russians and Christians in general. The attempt of the British Consul to get them arrested through the Persian authorities is reported to have been frustrated owing to Mustahid's attitude.

Paris telegrams state that as a result of an official enquiry into the attempted escape of Savarkar at Marseilles, while being brought to India for his trial on the charge of his complicity in the Nasik outrage, the French Government, in view of the fact that he actually landed on French soil, have requested the

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British Government to suspend the trial till full reports of the case are received. It is further stated that according to international law it may be necessary to bring back Savarkar to France and apply for his extradition.

20. A London telegram states that the Socialist deputy, Jaures, was largely responsible for the French action with regard to the proposed extradition of Savarkar.

The Wesleyan Conference at Bradford passes a resolution appealing to the Government to suppress the opium traffic in India.

Mr. Duval, Additional Magistrate, Howrah, after a protracted enquiry, commits about 50 accused in the Howrah Political Dacoity case to the Special Tribunal of the Calcutta High Court.

21. The U. P. Government publishes a resolution dealing with dairy farming in the province.

The Gaekwar of Baroda pays a ceremonial visit to Lord Morley.

22. The Census Bill is referred to a Select Committee, the Indian Immigration Bill is passed, and the Criminal Tribes Bill is introduced today at a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held at Simla.

The 3rd Provincial Conference of Co-operative Credit Societies in Bengal opens today at Calcutta under the presidency of the Hon. Mr. Slacke and discusses the question of village banks, unions and local finance.

23. The annual report on the cash balances and resource operations of the treasuries for 1909-10 published today shows that the year opened with a very low treasury balance, 3.92 crores less than that of the previous year, but closed with 3.09 crores more, this improvement of 7 crores being attributed to the recovery from the agricultural and trade depressions characterising the year 1908-9.

The Secretary of State has sanctioned the revised estimate for the Dhassan irrigation project in U. P. amounting to Rs. 4,516,227.

Reports published today show that 7,017,076 cwt. of wheat has been exported from the port of Karachi from January 1 to July 18 as compared with 6,472,207 cwt. for the corresponding period of 1909.

24. Returns published today show that the total approximate gross earnings of State and Guaranteed Railways from April 1 to July 9, 1910, show a gain of Rs. 39,79,924 and Rs. 12,71,105, as compared with the corresponding figures for 1909-1910 and 1908-1909 respectively.

A Statement is issued by the Madras Government on the Chincona cultivation in the Southern Presidency.

The review published today by the Madras Board of Revenue of the statements from Collectors showing the allotment and expenditure under the Loans Acts during the two months ending 31st May 1910 shows that the total amount disbursed amounted to Rs. 48,633 or 7.2 p.c. of the allotment.

It is reported today that the Burma Government has sanctioned the order to the effect that river dues in Rangoon will be raised from the 1st of August from 1½ annas to 4 as. per ton of goods.

25. At the Co-operative Credit Conference today, Mr. Buchan, Director of Agriculture, Bengal, says: "We are now enabled to picture Bengal with a village life invigorated, rural credit established, indebtedness a minor evil, agriculture and industry revived. In six years 600 societies have been established, with a capital of 8 lakhs."

A Note on Stamp returns for the N.-W. Frontier Provinces for 1909-10 shows gross receipts of Rs. 5,14,119 being Rs. 34,097 more than the record figures of the previous year.

26. The Indian budget is discussed today in the House of Commons. Mr. Montagu announces the appointment of Mr. Clark as Commerce and Industry Member and the creation of a new Member for education and the appointment of Mr. Butler thereto.

The L.-G. of Bengal publishes a notification prohibiting any demonstration on the next 7th of August, the anniversary day of the boycott movement in Bengal.

27. Mr. Montagu, replying to Mr. Keir Hardie, said : Lord Morley was enquiring into the reported refusal of the Local Government to sanction a resolution of the members of the Lahore Municipality making education free in the Municipality's primary schools.

A meeting to concert measures to perpetuate the memory of the late King Edward in Mysore is held at Bangalore.

Incessant rains at Darjeeling cause the collapse of a certain part of the Bhutia Basti, resulting in the death of 7 men.

The first report of the Simla Municipality since the withdrawal of the elective element from the same, published today for 1909-10, shows a decrease in the attendance of members as compared with previous years and that the income shows a decline of Rs. 11,000 compared with the previous year.

The Annual Resolution on the Administration of the Income-tax in Bengal for 1909-10 published in today's *Gazette* shows a decrease of the revenue by 1 p. c. as compared with an increase of 8.9 p. c. in 1908-09, the net revenue for 1909-10 being Rs. 54,24,798.

The Resolution by the Board of Revenue on the administration of the Stamp Department in Bengal shows the revenue to have amounted to Rs. 1,51,40,941 against Rs. 1,57,29,226 in the preceding year.

The 48th Annual Report of the Government chinchona plantation and factory in Bengal for 1909-10 shows that the sale of Quinine Sulphate rose from 18,585 lbs. 15½ oz. in 1908-9 to 23,899¼ lbs. in 1909-10, the total receipts amounting to Rs. 247,550.

28. Mr. I. M. Shiraji, the alleged author of *Anaīprabha*, is placed before Mr. Swinhoe, Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta, for trial under Sec. 124 A.

The Quinquennial Review of the Mineral Products of India during the years 1904 to 1908 published today show the increase of production of coal, petroleum, manganese, iron, salt and several other minerals, and the decrease of gold, rubies, graphite and amber.

In reply to a deputation of the International Cotton Federation, urging on Lord Morley the desirability of assisting to the utmost the increase of cotton growing in India and the improvement of quality, Lord Morley, while sympathising with the deputation and promising to lay the facts before the Agricultural Department in India, points out that the Government of India could not develop the cotton industry at the expense of other agricultural products such as wheat, and that the agriculturalists in India were most conservative and it was impossible to coerce them to take to a new industry and points out the enormous increase in cotton production in India during recent years.

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29. A Press communique issued today announces the decision of the Government of India, in view of the unrest in Tibet, to collect supplies on the Tibet Frontier and to admit of the speedy relief of the British Trade Agencies at Gyantse and in Chumbi in case they should be attacked.

4 Indians deported from South Africa and 2 Indians not permitted to land in that country come back and land at Bombay today.

30. A meeting of the General Committee of the All-India Memorial Fund for the late King Emperor is held at the Viceregal Lodge at Simla, with the Viceroy in the Chair.

It is reported today that the Cochin Durbar is throwing open 15,000 acres of land in Sholagar Valley, suitable for para rubber cultivation at a variable price.

An influential meeting of the representatives of the Native States of the Punjab and all districts is held at Lahore, Sir Louis Dane presiding, to consider measures for building a memorial to Edward VII.

31. It is reported today that the drawings of the Secretary of State, excluding sums drawn against paper currency reserve, exceed by £ 157,000, the estimated amount up to date. About £ 9,000,000 remains to be drawn.

The Tandula Irrigation project in C. P. for which the cost of one crore of rupees has been sanctioned is reported to be well in hand and likely to be completed in about 8 years.

The Burma Government announce revised rules for ascertaining and determining what spirit imported into Burma shall be deemed to have been effectually and permanently rendered unfit for human consumption and for causing imported spirit to be so rendered by officers of the Customs Department.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

Dearth of Men for the Police in Rangoon

Great difficulty, it is stated, is now being experienced in obtaining Sikhs for the Rangoon Police. It is difficult to find satisfactory Indian recruits. The Lieutenant-Governor of Burma thinks the main cause is to be found in large areas of the Punjab being thrown to cultivation. Increase of pay to soldiers is another deterrent.

Temperate Khonds

The Khonds, an aboriginal tribe in Bengal, requested the local authorities not to grant license to any liquor shops near about them. The Lieutenant-Governor accordingly decided to close outstills for selling country liquor in the Khond Mahals in Orissa, of which 25 were originally licensed for the current year.

A Medical College at Lucknow

The Secretary of State has sanctioned the construction of a Medical College and Hospital at Lucknow. The estimated cost is Rs. 3,269,950. The foundation-stone was laid by the present King-Emperor in December, 1905. The complete work will now be put in hand. The site for the hospital and other buildings has been admirably chosen.

A Gold Girdle

An enormous gold salwe, or girdle, weighing 18 viss and valued at Rs. 65,500, is to be put on the image of Buddha which is enshrined at the Arakan pagoda. The girdle has a large white sapphire in the centre, a pendant of gold and jade, two medallions studded with rubies, jade sapphires and diamonds, and two pairs of "nadaungs" set with precious stones. And this in the 20th century !

Anglo-Japanese Alliance

The Indian factor necessarily played a very large part, says the *Times* (London), in the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which was to an appreciable degree dominated on the British side by considerations affecting the defence of India. Those considerations are not so vital since the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian Agreement, which may itself be regarded as an indirect result of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, but they have not entirely disappeared.

Prohibition of Slaughter of Cows by a Nawab

The late Nawab of Radhanpore, a Mahomedan ruler, had prohibited slaughter of cows in his State. The result was that the number of cows which in 1906 was 10,566 has now increased to 17,137. Mahomedans of Radhanpore have now memorialized to the Bombay Government protesting against the late Nawab's order, alleging that His Highness was not in a sound state of mind when the order was issued, as it was against the tenets of Islam.

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Pension to the Widows of Assassinated Anglo-Indians

Mrs. Jackson, the widow of the murdered Collector of Nasik, has been granted a pension of £490 per year with £200 annually for the late Collector's mother. Among the widows of assassinated Anglo-Indians are the Dowager Countess of Mayo, relict of the Viceroy Mayo who was murdered in the Andamans in 1872. Her ladyship was given a lump sum of £20,000 by the Indian Government and £1000 a year for life. The widow of Sir Louis Cavagnari, who was assassinated in Kabul in 1879 while leading a Mission to the Ameer, received a pension of £500 per annum and was granted a residence in Hampton Court Palace for life. Both these ladies are still living and have drawn their pensions for over thirty years.

Causes of Beri Beri

The accuracy of the theory, generally known as the American theory, that Beri Beri is due to the removal of the phosphatic layer in rice caused by over-milling it, in order to give it its popular whiteness of colour, is being questioned in certain medical quarters. The critics point out that in greater part of Bengal, rice is so prepared by the merchants as to be without the phosphatic layer and even in the case of the rice that possesses traces of it, even after being milled, the method of cooking it entirely removes it. They prefer the theory that the disease is due to a fungus on the rice grains. In support of this they point out that families eating rice stored in damp go-downs suffer from Beri-Beri, especially during the rainy season. The practice of mixing lime with rice, adopted by the Calcutta rice merchants, also removes the possibility of any phosphates remaining.

Malaria in the United Provinces

The birth rate in the United Provinces during last year was 33·32 against 41·35, the quinquennial average, while the figures as to death rate were 37·34 and 42·79, respectively. The fall in the death rate, according to the Sanitary Commissioner, was due to a healthy year following one in which malaria played terrible havoc. The decrease in the birth rate is unquestionably due to the same cause. The type of malarial fever that prevailed during 1909 was amenable to treatment by quinine and relapses were infrequent. On the other hand, hospital statistics reveal a particularly bad situation, as the following will show :

1904	...	...	...	649,933
1905	...	...	...	574,475
1906	...	...	...	681,026
1907	...	...	...	598,109
1908	...	...	...	1,369,583
1909	...	...	...	1,492,487

A Curious Story

The following story, taken from a Purulia paper, has the true flavour of the immortal Arabian Nights : " A child was born to a Brahmin in village Shapur six months ago, and since the very date of birth a serpent has been a constant attendant on the babe. One day the reptile was caught and thrown in the river. At night the Brahmin heard the serpent say to him in a dream : ' If you kill me,

I shall completely destroy your family. If you do not, I shall not harm you, but, on the contrary, do you good.' Since this oracle from the serpent, the Brahmin and the members of his family have let it alone. When the child is on the ground asleep or awake, the serpent spreads its hood over its head like an umbrella. When the child is on the bed the reptile quietly lays itself down under the cot. Once the child's mother took the child to the house of a relation living close by. The father was following her with an umbrella under his arm. On opening the umbrella he saw that the serpent was inside it. He threw it away. But it forthwith returned to his house. The serpent is still there. The Brahmin gives milk twice a day, which the reptile drinks."

Free Primary Education

The correspondence between Local Governments and the Government of India on the subject of free primary education in India, which has been published as a Blue Book, is disappointing. In the first place the correspondence is rather ancient history, the conditions of the present day being not those of the days of Sir Andrew Fraser. We are now a great deal in advance of the administrative traditions of even four years ago and Indian problems, educational and other, have to be viewed in a light other than that which prevailed in official circles before the Reform Scheme came into operation. The weight of official opinion is against a system of free primary education, a result which we cannot but regard as unfortunate. A few of the Local Governments are lukewarm in the matter, more are antagonistic, and none enthusiastic. The Government of Madras preserves a noncommittal attitude but is prepared to contribute to free education if the Imperial Government will assist. The Governments of Bengal and Eastern Bengal take place among the dubious ones. Sir Edward Baker is personally against the scheme, while Sir Lancelot Hare admits that experts are not unanimous on the subject. The Governments of the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Bombay and Burma are pronouncedly hostile, Sir John Hewett having thrown in the weight of his great experience of India as Home Secretary and Lieutenant-Governor against the idea of the abolition of fees in primary schools. The question seems to have been decided on the ground that there can be no free education where there is no compulsory education and that free primary education would not be appreciated by the masses.

Buddhistic Relics

Huvishka, of the line of Kanishka, was a great patron of Buddhism. A Buddhist convent at Mathura (Mutra), which once occupied the site of the Kachahri, was founded by him and bore his name. Under his patronage, the Buddhist school of sculpture, which flourished at Mathura, reached its zenith. The reign of Vasudeva, the last of the great Kushan kings, marks a decline in art. From his name it may be assumed that by this time, the Indo-Scythian rulers had become thoroughly Hinduised. The latest known inscription of Kanishka is dated in the year 10, the earliest of Huvishka in the year 33. Notwithstanding the intermediate gap of several years, it has been generally supposed that Huvishka was the immediate successor of

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Kanishka. An inscription which quite recently has come to light at Mathura proves this view to be erroneous. It supplies the name of a new king of the name of *Vasishka* who evidently belonged to the Kushan dynasty and whose reign must have intervened between those of *Kanishka* and *Huvishka*. For the record is dated in the year 24. The discovery of this important record is due to Pandit Radha Krishna who, as Honorary Assistant Curator of the Mathura Museum, has enriched the collection in his charge with numerous sculptures and inscriptions. The record in question is engraved on a stone pillar, more than 19 feet high, which the Pandit discovered in the village of Isapur of Hans Ganj on the left bank of the Jumna opposite the city of Mathura. The place was named after Mirza Isa Tarakhan, Governor of Mathura, in the first year of Shah Jahan's reign. As appears from the inscription, the pillar served the purpose of a sacrificial post (Sanskrit *jupa*) and was set up by a Brahmin of the *Bharadvaja* gotra named *Dronala*, the son of *Rudrila*, while performing a sacrifice of twelve days. Whereas nearly all the inscriptions hereto found at Mathura are either Buddhist or Jain, the present epigraph is of interest as being Brahmanical and composed in pure Sanskrit. It is one of the earliest epigraphical records in that language known to exist. For it should be remembered that the earliest Indian inscriptions, *e. g.*, those of *Asoka*, are written in the local dialects known as *Prakrit*. The inscribed pillar has now been removed to the Mathura Museum through the care of Pandit Radha Krishna.

Japan and India

No review of the relations between Japan and Great Britain can afford to exclude a brief examination of the effect of Japanese expansion upon the oversea Dominions of the British Empire. Japan has come into intimate contact with India, Australia, and Canada in the last two decades, and the full effect of her growing interests in these directions is not yet visible. The indirect relations between Japan and India are almost as old as recorded history. Professor Chamberlain says:—"In a sense Japan may be said to owe everything to India, for from India came Buddhism, and Buddhism brought civilization—Chinese civilization, but then China had been far more deeply tinged with the Indian dye than is generally admitted." After many centuries the process has been reversed, says the *Times*, and the revolution of modern Japan has exercised an extraordinary and not always wholesome influence upon Indian thought. Even before the war, Indians had begun to turn their eyes towards Japan. When Professor Sharp went to Japan at the time of the war to study Japanese education for the benefit of the Indian Government he found a number of Indian students and, oddly enough, several Nepalese. The victories of Japan over Russia aroused intense excitement in India, particularly among the imaginative Bengalis, and they were undoubtedly a contributory cause of the ensuing unrest. When the battle of Liao-yang was fought, a prominent Indian prince said significantly to a political officer:—"It is you English who will have to pay for this." Indian politicians have never realized, or if they have done so they successfully conceal, the fundamental differences between the Indian peoples and the Japanese. Indians do not possess the community of race and creed and thought, the instinct of self-sacrifice, the devotion to country, which are among the

secrets of Japanese success. To some extent the triumphs of Japan have been a stimulus to India, but their principal effect has been to foster vague aspirations which Indians are still incapable of carrying into their lives.

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

Mineral Production of India

The Quinquennial Review of the Mineral Production of India during the years 1904 to 1908, by Sir Thomas Holland, K. C. I. E., and Mr. Leigh Fermor, publishes the following table which shows the total value of Minerals for which Returns of Production are available for the years 1904 to 1908

Minerals.	1903.	1908.	Average 1904-1908.
	£	£	£
Gold ...	2,302,493	2,177,847	2,266,307
Coal ...	1,299,716	3,356,209	2,139,249
Manganese ore ...	188,509	517,166	631,760
Petroleum ...	354,365	702,009	592,887
Salt ...	336,147	522,794	451,339
Saltpetre ...	288,487	292,758	268,012
Mica ...	86,277	139,513	170,126
Ruby, Sapphire and Spinel ...	98,575	47,954	84,406
Jadestone ...	47,676	74,402	61,353
Graphite ...	16,970	14,365	12,879
Iron-ore ...	14,963	15,149	13,769
Tin-ore ...	9,153	11,015	10,992
Chromite ...	327	6,338	9,110
Diamonds ..	2,579	910	2,799
Magnesite ..	550	2,009	680
Amber ..	414	364	648
Total ...	5,047,201	7,880,832	6,716,325

Industries in Behar

The people of Behar made a record progress in new industries during recent years. A successful experiment has been made in fruit-canning in Mozafferpore. Great improvement has been made in the methods of manufacturing buttons in Behar. Ebon work from Monghyr continues to maintain its standard of excellence. Carpet industry also is in a flourishing condition. For the first time articles made of German silver were manufactured in Patna city, and considerable progress has been made in the manufacture of cutlery in Patna and Muzafferpore. The competition between two iron factories at Patna and Dinapore has given a stimulus to iron manufacturing industry.

Patents in India

The total number of applications for patents in India in 1909 was 615, or 64 more than in 1908. Of these, 47 were refused or abandoned, and 117 were undecided at the end of the year. Only

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63 of the applications were made by natives of India, 135 were made by Europeans and others resident in India, while 417 came from outside India, of which 217 were from the United Kingdom. The range of inventions for which protection was sought was, as usual, very wide, and, as in previous years, those relating to railways, electrical contrivances, chemical appliances and preparations, and textile industries predominated. Applications for the registration of designs numbered 51, of which 37 were allowed.

Date Cultivation in the Punjab

The sanction of Government has been obtained to the employment of an experienced date-grower from Bassorah for 3 years with a view to the introduction of improved methods of date cultivation in the south-west Punjab. At the same time, suckers of the best Persian Gulf varieties will be imported and planted in the Multan and Muzaffargarh districts, at the Multan Central Jail, and in the Muzaffargarh District Board garden. The best varieties obtainable locally will also be collected in those gardens. Enquiries made last autumn show that there are some distinctly superior qualities in private gardens. But these appear to be jealously guarded. The climate of the south-west Punjab, with a very light monsoon rainfall of $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 inches, is very suitable for date cultivation, but, as a rule, although the date crop is of great economic value to the tract, forming the main food of the people for a season, the date trees are allowed to grow absolutely wild. With care in planting good varieties, in propagating from suckers instead of from seeds, in fertilising the flowers of the female plants artificially, in general cultivation and in preserving the fruits, it should be possible to greatly improve the quality of the produce and to make the date crop a very valuable asset to the Province.

The Manganese Industry

The Indian manganese industry, in which a good deal of capital is invested, more particularly perhaps in Southern India, is doing fairly well just now, and may do a great deal better a little later on as the iron and steel trades, in which manganese is largely used, expands still further, as it promises to do at an early date. During the past month, according to the *Pioneer*, India shipped 1,184,045 cwts of manganese valued at Rs. 8,49,854—not at all a bad month's turn-over, all things considered. At present we have only five customers for the produce of our manganese mines, and to these we sent the following quantities during May: United Kingdom, 433,020 cwts.; United States, 397,600; Belgium, 236,000; France, 93,425 and Holland 24,000 cwts. Bombay still holds the lead in this trade and last month shipped 722,620 cwts. against 323,000 cwts. from Madras and 138,423 cwts. from Bengal. These figures show that Madras has greatly improved her position, which means, of course, that her manganese mines have been coming in for a fresh spell of activity.

Joint Stock Companies in India

Reviewing the normal and material progress and condition of India during 1908-9, the India Office states that there were 289 new companies registered in India under the Companies Act

during the year, with a paid-up capital of about £462,000, while 151, with a capital of £509,000, ceased to work. The aggregate paid-up capital of 695 companies was increased by £4,625,000, whilst 86 companies reduced their paid-up capital by £73,000. The net result was that at the end of the year there were in operation 3,061 companies, with a paid-up capital of £33,876,000. There has been an increase of 57 per cent. in the paid-up capital during the last ten years. The companies are most important in the Provinces of Bengal and Bombay, which possess 40 and 38 per cent. respectively of all the paid-up capital, whilst the share of Madras, which comes next, was less than 9 per cent. of the whole. The average of paid-up capital is highest in Bengal, where it amounts to £26,600, while in Bombay it is £25,800. The distribution of paid-up capital among registered companies of the different classes was as follows :—

Banking, loan and insurance	...	...	£4,595,000
Trading and shipping	...	...	6,694,000
Mining and quarrying	...	...	2,826,000
Mills and presses	...	...	15,667,000
Tea and planting	...	...	2,404,000
Other industries	...	...	1,690,000

These figures represent share capital only, but in addition there are debentures issued amounting to £4,567,000. Nearly a third of the capital of trading companies is invested in railways and tramways. The capital invested in coal companies has more than doubled in the last ten years. There are so far as is known, 227 companies which carry on work with sterling capital exclusively, or almost exclusively, in India, but which are registered elsewhere and their paid-up capital amounts to £73,872,404, besides £37,862,898 debentures. The railways represent £42,657,510 paid-up capital and £34,040,600 debentures. Of the rest, the sterling share capital invested in the tea industry is £13,495,600, in jute mills £2,308,900, in cotton mills £798,500, in rice mills £852,000 and in goldfields £2,744,000. Thus, while the railway, gold and tea concerns are nearly financed from abroad, the great bulk of the mill and press companies are registered in India.

Improvements in Indian Agriculture

There is some useful information to be gleaned from the annual report of the India Office, concerning the work of the agricultural departments and colleges of the Provinces. In the Punjab, we read, agricultural machinery is growing in popularity in consequence of a labour scarcity, and one commercial firm has introduced itself conveniently into the trade by relieving the local department of the work of distributing mechanical reapers and certain other implements. A Glasgow firm, we understand, has produced a reaper, under the instructions of a Government officer, which should be a general favourite with farmers in the Punjab. Progress in scientific well-boring is also noticeable in this part of India, thanks to the guidance of the Agricultural Department. In the Central Provinces and Berar much attention has been paid to the demonstration of improved implements, and certain simpler descriptions, especially turnwrest ploughs, corn-shellers, winnowers, and chain pumps, are gradually obtaining a sale. Leaflets were issued on the

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use of turnwrest ploughs, on the cultivation of cotton and ground-nuts, and on cattle diseases. The satisfactory increase in the number of oil engines and pumps used for irrigation in Madras is credited to the efforts of the local officers. A great demand for well-boring appliances is also reported from Madras. The new mechanical and engineering branch of the Bombay Agricultural Department was chiefly engaged last year with well-boring in Gujerat, and with trials of oil engines for water-lifting and cane crushing in the Deccan.

Jute in Bengal

The most valuable product so far as India's oversea trade is concerned is jute. In 1908-9, raw jute the equivalent of £13,233,037 in value was exported, whilst jute goods—cloth, bags, rope, twine, etc.—worth £10,482,046 were also shipped from Bengal. These totals united compare very favourably with the figures of some of Great Britain's leading exports, and quite eclipse anything that the British Colonies can show for a single agricultural product. The jute mills are concentrated in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. Their prosperity, until quite recently, has been uninterrupted and their growth phenomenal. During the last twenty years the total number of looms have increased from about 10,000 to close upon 50,000. So long as the world's demands for gunnies have continued to expand, so long have the Calcutta mills flourished amazingly. Now, alas, production has overtaken consumption, and as prices of the manufactured goods are now at a point that leaves practically no profit, the outlook is the reverse of bright. Production during the year is generally curtailed owing to insufficient labour, but, when the villagers return from their fields, the possibilities of output will be greater than ever. No surprise can be felt that an arrangement for working short time has been arrived at by the various mill interests. It is understood that short-time working will extend from September 1st to the following March 31st.

Co-operative Credit Societies

A resolution by the Revenue and Agriculture Department, dealing with the progress made by co-operative credit societies, gives some encouraging particulars. The resolution sets forth the statistics for the years 1906-07, 1907-08, and 1908-09, showing that the number of societies in the three years has risen from 843 with 90,844 members, to 2,008 with 184,889 members. The capital in the same period has increased from £160,000 to about £540,000; while the figures for expenditure, which, it should be said, covers loans repaid to private persons, loans issued to members, the purchase of raw material and stores and profits, show an increase of from close on £200,000 to well over £560,000 the profits rising from about £6,500 to over £20,000. The resolution proceeds: "The expansion of business indicated by these figures is remarkable, but the reports from many provinces show that even more striking results would have been attained if the registrars had been able to deal with all the applications for registration received. In Madras more than 300 applications were pending disposal at the end of the year and the registrar of Burma reports that though the number of societies had more than doubled during the year, many applications could not be dealt with, and

the number of applications would have been even greater had they not been discouraged. Other provinces have experienced the same difficulty, and the future of the movement is still dependent upon the successful solution of the two connected problems of finance and supervision. As regards the former, considerable progress was made during the year, though the aggregate capital of the societies increased largely. The amount of State aid remained almost stationary, and now represents only one-twelfth of the capital.

The Jubilee of Cinchona Culture in India

In the beginning of February 1860 cinchona-seeds were first brought from South America and sown in Southern India. The public benefactor who was instrumental in this was Sir Clements R. Markham, who solved the problem of acclimatisation by going personally to Peru and Bolivia to select cinchona plants and seeds, "enduring hornet stings and braving jaguars and snakes." So long as quinine salts were derivable almost entirely from cinchona bark produced in the plantations of the western hemisphere, prices ruled at figures which drained the pockets of the poor, inconvenienced controllers of medical institutions, and induced adulteration of a most pernicious nature. Frequently during the sixties the price of sulphate of quinine bordered on 20s. an ounce, and the purchasing public had to pay at a far higher rate for small quantities. But the enterprise of Sir Clements R. Markham and his helpers has subsequently so reduced the market price of this article that cinchona bark has frequently been at less than a fortieth of its price of fifty years ago. In his recent report on the trade and commerce of Java for 1909, Mr. Consul J. W. Stewart states, for example, that the average prices of sulphate of quinine sold at Batavia during 1907, 1908, and 1909 were respectively 6½d., 6¾d., and 5¾d., per ounce. From a statement forwarded by the Board of Revenue, Madras, to the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence, regarding the cultivation of cinchona last year, the *Madras Mail* learns that 2,292,86 mature and 708,770 immature cinchona trees were growing on 1,148 acres on the Government's Nilgiri Plantations, and that the yield of bark therefrom amounted to 255,371 lbs. There were also some 521,320 mature and 157,220 immature cinchona trees growing over 555 acres on private plantations in the Coimbatore, Malabar and Nilgiri Districts, which yielded 295,000 lbs. of bark. In the Travancore State 588,302 mature and 160,485 immature trees were growing over 672½ acres and the yield therefrom amounted to 40,100 lbs.

SELECTIONS

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INDIAN UNREST

1. *A General Survey*

That there is a lull in the storm of unrest which has lately swept over India is happily beyond doubt. Does this lull indicate a gradual and steady return to more normal and peaceful conditions? Or, as in other cyclonic disturbances in tropical climes, does it merely presage fiercer outbursts yet to come? Has the blended policy of repression and concession adopted by Lord Morley and Lord Minto really cowed the forces of criminal disorder and rallied the representatives of moderate opinion to the cause of sober and constitutional progress? Or has it come too late either permanently to arrest the former or to restore confidence and courage to the latter?

These are the two questions which the present situation in India most frequently and obviously suggests, but it may be doubted whether they by any means cover the whole field of potential developments. They are based apparently upon the assumption that Indian unrest, even in its most extreme forms, is merely the expression of certain political aspirations towards various degrees of emancipation from British tutelage, ranging from a larger share in the present system of administration to a complete revolution in the existing relations between Great Britain and India, and that the issues thus raised being essentially political, they can be met by compromise on purely political lines. This assumption ignores, I fear, certain factors of very great importance, social, religious, and economic, which profoundly affect, if they do not altogether overshadow, the political problem. The question to which I propose to address myself in these articles is whether Indian unrest represents merely, as we are prone to imagine, the human and not unnatural impatience of subject races fretting under an alien rule which, however well intentioned, must often be irksome and must sometimes appear to be harsh and arbitrary; or whether to-day, in its more extreme forms at any rate, it does not represent an irreconcilable reaction against all that not only British rule but Western civilization stands for.

CONTRIBUTORY CAUSES

I will not stop at present to discuss how far the lamentable deficiencies of the system of education which we have ourselves introduced into India have contributed to the Indian unrest. That that system has been productive of much good few will deny, but few also can be so blind as to ignore the fact that it tends on the one hand to create a semi-educated proletariat, unemployed and largely unemployable, and on the other hand, even where failure is less complete, to produce dangerous hybrids, more or less superficially imbued with Western ideas, and at the same time more or less completely divorced from the realities of Indian life. Many other circumstances also which have helped the promoters of

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disaffection I must reserve for subsequent discussion. Some of them are economic, such as the remarkable rise in prices during the last decade. This has seriously enhanced the cost of living in India and has specially affected the very classes amongst whom disaffection is most widespread. The clerk, the teacher, the petty Government official, whose exiguous salaries have remained the same, find themselves to-day relatively, and in many cases actually, worse off than the artisan or even the labourer, whose wages have in many cases risen in proportion to the increased cost of living. Plague, which in the course of the last 14 years has carried off over 5,000,000 people, and two terrible visitations of famine have caused in different parts of the country untold misery and consequent bitterness. On the other hand, the growth of commerce and industry and the growing interest taken by all classes in commercial and industrial questions have led to a corresponding resentment of the fiscal restraints placed upon India by the Imperial Government for the selfish benefit, as it is contended, of the British manufacturer and trader. Much bad blood has undoubtedly been created by the treatment of British Indians in South Africa and the attitude adopted in British colonies generally towards Asiatic immigrants. The social relations between the two races in India itself—always a problem of infinite difficulty—have certainly not been improved by the large influx of a lower class of Europeans which the development of railways and telegraphs and other industries requiring technical knowledge have brought in their train. Nor can it be denied that the growing pressure of office work as well as the increased facilities of home leave and frequent transfers from one post to another have inevitably to some extent lessened the contact between the Anglo-Indian official and the native population. Of more remote influences which have indirectly reacted upon the Indian mind, it may suffice for the present to mention the South African War, which lowered the prestige of our arms, and the Russo-Japanese War, which was regarded as the first blow dealt to the ascendancy of Europe over Asia. Each of the above points has its own importance and deserves to be closely studied, for upon the way in which we shall in the future handle some of the delicate questions which they raise will largely depend our failure or our success in coping with Indian unrest—that is, in preventing its invasion of other classes than those to which it has been hitherto confined. But the clue to the real spirit which informs Indian unrest must be sought elsewhere.

TWO COMMON MISCONCEPTIONS

Two misconceptions appear to prevail very widely at home with regard to the nature of the unrest. The first is that disaffection of a virulent and articulate character is a new phenomenon in India; the second is that the existing disaffection represents a genuine, if precocious and misdirected, response on the part of the Eastern educated classes to the democratic ideals of the modern Western world which our system of education has imparted into India. It is easy to account for the prevalence of both these misconceptions. We are a people of notoriously short memory, and when a series of sensational and dastardly crimes, following on a tumultuous agitation in Bengal and a campaign of incredible violence in the Press, at last aroused and alarmed the British public, the vast

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majority of Englishmen were under the impression that since the black days of the Mutiny law and order had never been seriously assailed in India, and they therefore rushed to the conclusion that, if the *pax Britannica* had been so rudely and suddenly shaken, the only possible explanation lay in some novel wave of sentiment or some grievous administrative blunder which had abruptly disturbed the harmonious relations between the rulers and the ruled. People had forgotten that disaffection in varying forms and degrees of intensity has existed at all times amongst certain sections of the population, and under the conditions of our rule can hardly be expected to disappear altogether. Whether British statesmanship has always sufficiently reckoned with its existence is another question. More than 30 years ago, for instance, the Government of India had to pass a Bill dealing with the aggressive violence of the vernacular Press on precisely the same grounds that were alleged in support of this year's Press Bill, and with scarcely less justification, whilst just 13 years ago two British officials fell victims at Poona to a murderous conspiracy, prompted by a campaign of criminal virulence in the Press, closely resembling those which have more recently robbed India of many valuable lives.

To imagine that Indian unrest has been a sudden growth because its outward manifestations have assumed new and startling forms of violence is a dangerous delusion ; and no less misleading is the assumption that it is merely the outcome of Western education or the echo of Western democratic aspirations because it occasionally, and chiefly for purposes of political expediency, adopts the language of Western demagogues. Whatever its modes of expression, its mainspring is a deep-rooted antagonism to all the principles upon which Western society, especially in a democratic country like England, has been built up. It is in that antagonism—in the increasing violence of that antagonism—which is a conspicuous feature of the unrest, that the gravest danger lies.

THE STRENGTH OF OUR POSITION

But if in this respect the problems with which we are confronted appear to me more serious and complex than official optimism is sometimes disposed to admit, I have no hesitation in saying that there is no cause for despondency if we will only realize how strong our position in India still is, and use our strength wisely and sympathetically, but, at the same time, with firmness and consistency. It is important to note at the outset that the more dangerous forms of unrest are practically confined to the Hindus and amongst them to a numerically small proportion of the vast Hindu community. Not a single Mahomedan has been implicated in, though some have fallen victims to, the criminal conspiracies of the last few years. Not a single Mahomedan of any account is to be found in the ranks of disaffected politicians. For reasons, in fact, which I shall set forth later on, it may be confidently asserted that never before have the Mahomedans of India as a whole identified their interests and their aspirations so closely as at the present day with the consolidation and permanence of British rule. It is almost a misnomer to speak of Indian unrest ; Hindu unrest would be a far more accurate term, connoting with far greater precision the forces underlying it, though to use it without reservation would be to do a grave injustice to the vast numbers of Hindus who are as yet untainted with disaffection.

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These include all or almost all the Hindu ruling chiefs and landed aristocracy, as well as the great mass of the agricultural classes which form in all parts of India the overwhelming majority of the population. Very large areas, moreover, are still entirely free from unrest, which, except for a few sporadic outbreaks in other districts, has been hitherto mainly confined to three distinct areas—the Mahratta Deccan, which comprises a great part of the Bombay Presidency and several districts of the Central Provinces, Bengal, with the new province of Eastern Bengal, and the Punjab. In those regions it is the large cities that have been the real hot-beds of unrest, and, great as is their influence, it must not be forgotten that in India scarcely one-tenth of the population lives in cities or even in small townships, and villages with more than 5,000 inhabitants. Whereas in England one-third of the population is gathered together in crowded cities of 100,000 inhabitants and over, there are but twenty-eight cities of that size in the whole of India, with an aggregate population of less than 7,000,000 out of a total of almost 300,000,000.

THE MAINSPRINGS OF DISAFFECTION

That a movement confined to a mere fraction of the population of India has no title to be called a "national" movement would scarcely need to be argued, even if the variegated jumble of races and peoples, castes and creeds that make up the population of India were not in itself an antithesis to all that the word "national" implies. Nevertheless it would be equally foolish to undertake the forces which underlies this movement, for they have one common *nexus*, and a very vital one. They are the dominant forces of Hinduism—forces which go to the very root of a social and religious system than which none in the history of the human race has shown greater vitality and stability. Based upon caste, the most rigid of all social classifications, Hinduism has secured for some 3,000 years or more to the higher castes, and especially to the Brahmans, the highest of all castes, a social supremacy for which there is no parallel elsewhere. At the same time, inflexibly as they have dominated Hinduism, these higher castes have themselves preserved a flexibility of mind and temper which has enabled them to adapt themselves with singular success to the vicissitudes of changing times without any substantial sacrifice of their inherited traditions and aspirations. Thus it is amongst high-caste Hindus that for the last three-quarters of a century English education has chiefly spread, and, indeed, been most eagerly welcomed; it is amongst them that British administration has recruited the great majority of its native servants in every branch of the public service; it is amongst them also that are chiefly recruited the liberal professions, the Press, the school-masters—in fact all those agencies through which public opinion and the mind of the rising generation are most easily moulded and directed. That it is amongst them also that the spirit of revolt against British ascendancy is chiefly and almost exclusively rife constitutes the most ominous feature of Indian unrest.

II. A Political Common Denominator

Before proceeding to describe the methods by which Indian unrest has been fomented and to study as far as possible its

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psychology, it may be well to set forth succinctly the political purpose to which it is directed, as far as there is any unity of direction. One of the chief difficulties one encounters in attempting to define its aims is the vagueness that generally characterizes the pronouncements of Indian politicians. There is, indeed, one section that makes no disguise either of its aspirations or of the way in which it proposes to secure their fulfilment. Its doctrines are frankly revolutionary, and it openly preaches propaganda by deed—*i.e.*, by armed revolt, if and when it becomes practicable, and, in the meantime, by assassination, dynamite outrages, dacoities, and all the other methods of terrorism dear to anarchists all over the world. But that section is not very numerous, nor would it in itself be very dangerous, if it did not exercise so fatal a fascination upon the immature mind of youth. The real difficulty begins when one comes to that much larger section of "advanced" politicians who are scarcely less bitterly opposed to the maintenance of British rule, but, either from prudential motives or lest they should prematurely alarm and alienate the representatives of what is called "moderate" opinion, shrink from the violent assertion of India's claim to complete political independence and, whilst helping to create the atmosphere that breeds outrages, profess to deprecate them.

The difficulty is further enhanced by the reluctance of many of the "moderates" to break with their "advanced" friends by proclaiming, once and for all, their own conviction that within no measurable time can India in her own interests afford to forgo the guarantees of internal peace and order and external security which the British Raj alone can afford. Hence the desire on both sides to find some common denominator in a nebulous formula which each can interpret as to time and manner according to its own desires and aims. That formula seems to have been discovered in Colonial self-government for India, and it offers the additional advantage of presenting the political aspirations of Indian "Nationalism" in the form least likely to alarm Englishmen, especially those who do not care or wish to look below the surface and whose sympathies are readily won by any catchword that appeals to sentimental Liberalism.

WHAT COLONIAL SELF-GOVERNMENT MEANS

If Colonial self-government represents the *minimum* that would satisfy the promoters of Indian unrest, it is important to know exactly what in their view it really means. Fortunately on this point we have some *data* of indisputable authority. They are furnished in the speeches of an "advanced" leader, who certainly does not rank amongst the revolutionary extremists and who has never, I believe, advocated methods of violence, though, as a journalist, the seditious tendency of his writings brought him in 1907 within the scope of the Indian Criminal Code. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, a high-caste Hindu and a man of great intellectual force and high character, has not only received a Western education, but has travelled a great deal in Europe and in America, and is almost as much at home in London as in Calcutta. A little more than two years ago he delivered in Madras a series of lectures on the New Spirit, which have been republished in many editions and may be regarded as the most authoritative programme of

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"advanced" political thought in India. What adds greatly to the significance of those speeches is that Mr. Pal borrowed their keynote from the Presidential address delivered in the preceding year by the veteran leader of the "moderates," Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, at the annual Session of the Indian National Congress. The rights of India, Mr. Naoroji had said, "can be comprised in one word—self-government or *Swaraj*, like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies." It was reserved for Mr. Pal to define precisely how such *Swaraj* could be peacefully obtained, and what it must ultimately lead to. He began by brushing away the notion that any political concessions compatible with the present dependency of India upon Great Britain could help India to *Swaraj*. I will quote his own words, which already foreshadowed the contemptuous reception given by "advanced" politicians to the reforms embodied in last year's Indian Councils Act :—

"You may get a High Court judgeship here, membership of the Legislative Council there, possibly an Executive Membership of the Council. Or do you want an expansion of the Legislative Councils? Do you want that a few Indians shall sit as your representatives in the House of Commons? Do you want a large number of Indians in the Civil Service? Let us see whether 50, 100, 200, or 300 civilians will make the Government our own. . . . The whole Civil Service might be Indian, but the Civil servants have to carry out orders—they cannot direct, they cannot dictate the policy. One swallow does not make the summer. One civilian, 100 or 1,000 civilians in the service of the British Government, will not make that Government Indian. There are traditions, there are laws, there are policies to which every civilian, be he black or brown or white, must submit, and as long as these traditions have not been altered, as long as these principles have not been amended, as long as that policy has not been radically changed, the supplanting of European by Indian agency will not make for self-government in this country."

Nor is it from the British Government that Mr. Pal hopes for *Swaraj* :—

"If the Government were to come and tell me to-day 'Take *Swaraj*,' I would say thank you for the gift, but I will not have that which I cannot acquire by my own hand. . . . Our programme is that we shall so work in the country, so combine the resources of the people, so organize the forces of the nation, so develop the instincts of freedom in the community, that by this means we shall—*shall* in the imperative—compel the submission to our will of any power that may set itself against us."

HOW "SWARAJ" IS TO BE OBTAINED

Equally definite is Mr. Pal as to the methods by which *Swaraj* is to be made "imperative." They consist of *Swadeshi* in the economic domain, *i.e.*, the encouragement of native industries reinforced by the boycott of imported goods which will kill British commerce, and, in the political domain, passive resistance reinforced by the boycott of Government service.

"They say :—Can you boycott all the Government offices? Whoever said that we would? Whoever said that there would not be found a single Indian to serve the Government or the European community here? But what we can do is this. We can make the

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Government impossible without entirely making it impossible for them to find people to serve them. The administration may be made impossible in a variety of ways. It is not actually that every deputy magistrate should say: I won't serve in it. It is not that when one man resigns nobody will be found to take his place. But if you create this spirit in the country the Government service will gradually imbibe this spirit, and a whole office may go on strike. That does not put an end to the administration, but it creates endless complications in the work of administration, and if these complications are created in every part of the country the administration will have been brought to a deadlock and made none the less impossible, for the primary thing is the prestige of the Government, and the boycott strikes at the root of that prestige. . . . We can reduce every Indian in Government service to the position of a man who has fallen from the dignity of Indian citizenship. . . . No man shall receive social honours because he is a Hakim or a Munsiff or a Huzur Sheristadar. . . . No law can compel one to give a chair to a man who comes to his house. He may give it to an ordinary shopkeeper; he may refuse it to the Deputy Magistrate or the subordinate Judge. He may give his daughter in marriage to a poor beggar, he may refuse her to the son of a Deputy Magistrate, because it is absolutely within legal bounds."

"Passive resistance is recognized as legitimate in England. It is legitimate in theory even in India, and if it is made illegal by new legislation, these laws will infringe on the primary rights of personal freedom and will tread on dangerous grounds. Therefore it seems to me that by means of the boycott we shall be able to do the negative work that will have to be done for the attainment of *Swaraj*. Positive work will have to be done. Without positive training no self-government will come to the boycotter. It will (come) through the organization of our village life; of our talukas and districts. Let our programme include the setting up of machinery for popular administration, and running parallel to, but independent of, the existing administration of the Government. . . . In the Providence of God we shall then be made rulers over many things. This is our programme."

"SWARAJ" AND BRITISH OVER-LORDSHIP

But Mr. Pal himself admits that even if this programme can be fulfilled, this *Swaraj*, this absolute autonomy which he asks for, is fundamentally incompatible with the maintenance of the British connexion. (Here follows a long extract from one of Mr. Pal's speeches.)

I have quoted Mr. Pal's utterances at some length, because they are the fullest and the most frank exposition available of what lies beneath the claim to colonial self-government as it is understood by "advanced" politicians. Few "Moderate" politicians have openly repudiated it, though many of them realize its dangers, whilst the Extremists want a much shorter cut to the same goal. It may therefore be regarded as the mean term of Indian unrest in its political aspects.

III. The Press

I have shown in the preceding article from the speeches of one of the most distinguished leaders of the "advanced" party how the question of self-government presents itself to the mind of a highly

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educated Hindu. However incompatible with the maintenance of British rule may be the propositions set forth by Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, they contain no incitement to violence, no virulent diatribes against Englishmen. As a journalist he has not always shown the same moderation, and it is in the Press rather than on the platform that Indian politicians, whether "extreme" or merely "advanced," are apt to let themselves go. They write down to the level of their larger audiences. So little has hitherto been done to enlighten public opinion at home as to the gravity of the evil which the recent Indian Press law has at last, though very tardily, done something to repress that many Englishmen are still apparently disposed to regard that measure as an oppressive, or at least dubious, concession to bureaucratic impatience of criticism none the less healthy for being sometimes excessive. The wells of Indian public opinion have been persistently poisoned for years past, and instances are not rare which illustrate one of the most unpleasantly characteristic features of the literature of Indian unrest—namely, its insidious appeals to the Hindu scriptures and Hindu deities, and its deliberate vilification of every thing English. Calumny and abuse, combined with a wealth of sacred imagery, supply the place of any serious process of reasoning such as is displayed in Mr. Pal's programme with all its uncompromising hostility.*

Quotations could be multiplied *ad infinitum* and *ad nauseam* from the same papers—I have given only one from each—and from scores of others. These will suffice to show what the freedom of the Press stood for in India, in a country where there is an almost superstitious reverence for, and faith in, the printed word, where the influence of the Press is in proportion to the ignorance of the vast majority of its readers, and where, unfortunately, the more violent and scurrilous a newspaper becomes, the more its popularity grows among the very classes that boast of their education. Can any Englishman, however fervent his faith in liberty, regret that some at least of these papers have now disappeared either as the result of prosecutions under the Indian Criminal Code or from the operation of the new Press law? The mischief they have done still lives and will not be easily eradicated. Nor do such extracts as I have given by any means represent the lengths to which Indian "extremism" can go. They represent merely the literature of unrest which has been openly circulated in India. There is another and still more poisonous form which is smuggled into India from abroad and surreptitiously circulated. I shall deal with it on another occasion.

* Here follow extracts from (1) *The Hind Swarajya*, (2) *The Yugantar*, (3) *The Gujrat*, (4) *The Kal*, (5) *The Shakti*, (6) *The Dharma*, (7) *The Dacca Gazette*, (8) *The Barisal Hitaisi*, (9) *The Khulnawasi*, (10) *The Bedari* of Lahore, (11) *The Prem* of Ferozepur, (12) *The Sakaik* of Lahore, (13) *The Rangpur Barabaha*, (14) *The Jhang Sial*, (15) *The Akash* of Delhi, (16) *The Kesari* of Poona and (17) *The Karnatic Bibhida*, which, under the Press Act, we are precluded from reproducing. Perhaps these were the very extracts which were placed before members of the Select Committee of the Press Act of February last as justification of the measure. (Ed. J. W.)

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IV. A Hindu Revival

Thirty years ago, when I first visited India, the young Western-educated Hindu was apt to be, at least intellectually, *plus royaliste que le roi*. He plucked with both hands at the fruits of the tree of Western knowledge. Some were enthusiastic students of English literature, and especially of English poetry. They had their Wordsworth and their Browning Societies. Others steeped themselves in English history and loved to draw their political inspiration from Milton and Burke and John Stuart Mill. Others again were the humble disciples of Kant and Schlegel, of Herbert Spencer and Darwin. But whatever their special bent might be, the vast majority professed allegiance to Western ideals, and if they had not altogether—and often far too hastily—abjured, or learned secretly to despise, the beliefs and customs of their forefathers, they were at any rate anxious to modify and bring them into harmony with those of their Western teachers.

They may often have disliked the Englishman, but they respected and admired him; if they resented his frequent assumption of unqualified superiority, they were disposed to admit that it was not without justification. The enthusiasm kindled in the first half of the last century by the great missionaries, like Carey and Duff, who had made distinguished converts among the highest classes of Hindu society, had begun to wane:—but if educated Hindus had grown more reluctant to accept the dogmas of Christianity, they were still ready to acknowledge the superiority of Western ethics, and the Brahmo Samaj in Bengal, the Prathana Samaj in Bombay, the Social Reform movement which found eloquent advocates all over India, and not least in Madras, and other agencies of a similar character for purging Hindu life of its more barbarous and superstitious associations, bore witness to the ascendancy which Western standards of morality exercised over the Hindu mind. Keshub Chunder Sen was not perhaps cast in so fine a mould as Ram Mohan Roy or the more conservatives Dr. Tagore, but his ideals were the same, and his life-dream was to find a common denominator for Hinduism and Christianity which should secure a thorough reform of Hindu society without denationalizing it.

Nor were the milder forms of political activity promoted by the founders of the Indian National Congress inconsistent with the acceptance of British rule or with the recognition of the great benefits which it has conferred upon India, and least of all with a genuine admiration for Western civilization. For many of them, at least the political boons which they craved from their rulers, were merely the logical corollaries of the moral and intellectual as well as of the material boons which they had already received. The fierce political agitation of later years denies the benefits of British rule and even the superiority of the civilization for which it stands. It has invented the legend of a golden age when all the virtues flourished and India was a land flowing with milk and honey until British lust of conquest brought it to ruin. No doubt even to-day there are many eminent Hindus who would still rely upon the older methods, and who have sufficiently assimilated the education they have received at the hands of Englishmen to share whole-heartedly the faith and pride of the latter in British ideals.

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of liberty and self-government, and to be honestly convinced that those ideals might be more fully realized in the government of their own country if British administrators would only repose greater confidence in the natives of India and give them a larger share in the conduct of public affairs. But men of this type are now to be found chiefly amongst the older generation.

THE ESTRANGEMENT OF THE RISING GENERATION

No one who has studied, however scantily, the social and religious system which for the sake of convenience we call Hinduism will deny the loftiness of the philosophic conceptions which underlie even the extravagances of its creed or the marvellous stability of the complex fabric based upon its social code. It may seem to us to present to many of its aspects an almost unthinkable combination of spiritualistic idealism and of gross materialism, of asceticism and of sensuousness, of arrogant optimism when it identifies the human self with the universal self, and merges man in the Divinity and the Divinity in man, and of despondent pessimism when it preaches that life itself is but a painful illusion, and that the sovereign remedy and end of all evils is non-existence. Its mythology is often as revolting as the rigidity of its caste laws, which condemn millions of human beings to such social abasement that their very touch—the very shadow thrown by their body—is held to pollute the privileged mortals who are born into the higher castes. Nevertheless, Hinduism has for more than thirty centuries responded to the social and religious aspirations of a considerable fraction of the human race. It represents a great and ancient civilization, and that the Hindus should cling to it is not surprising. Nor is it surprising that after the first attraction exerted by the impact of an alien civilization equipped with all the panoply of organized force and scientific achievements had worn off, a certain reaction should have ensued. In the same way it was inevitable that, after the novelty of British rule, of the law and order and security for life and property which it had established, had gradually worn away, those who had never experienced the evils from which it had freed India should begin to repine under the restraints which it imposed. What is disheartening and alarming is the lengths to which this reaction has been carried. For among the younger generation of Hindus there has unquestionably grown up a deep-seated and bitter hostility not only to British rule and to British methods of administration, but to all the influences of Western civilization, and the rehabilitation of Hindu customs and beliefs has proceeded *pari passu* with the growth of political disaffection.

REACTIONARY TENDENCIES

Practices which an educated Hindu would have been at pains to explain away, if he had not frankly repudiated them thirty years ago, now find zealous apologists. Polytheism is not merely extolled as the poetic expression of eternal verities, but the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon are being invested with fresh sanctity. The Brahmo Samaj is steadily losing vitality, and though its literary output is still considerable, its membership is shrinking. The Prathana Samaj is dead. The fashion of the day is for religious "revivals," in which the worship of Kali, the san-

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guinary goddess of destruction, or the cult of Shivaji-Maharaj, the Mahratta chieftain who humbled in his day the pride of the alien conquerors of Hindustan, plays an appropriately conspicuous part. The Arya-Samaj, which is spreading all over the Punjab and in the United Provinces, represents in one of its aspects a revolt against Hindu orthodoxy, but in another it represents equally a revolt against Western ideals, for, in the teaching of its founder, Dayanand, it has found an aggressive gospel which bases the claims of Aryan, *i.e.*, Hindu, supremacy on the Vedas as the one ultimate source of human and divine wisdom. The exalted character of Vedantic philosophy has been as widely recognized amongst European students as the subtle beauty of many of the Upanishads, in which the cryptic teachings of the Vedas has been developed along different and often conflicting lines of thought to suit the eclecticism of the Hindu mind. But the Arya-Samaj has not been content to assert the ethical perfection of the Vedas. In its zeal to proclaim the immanent superiority of Aryan civilization—it repudiates the term Hindu as savouring of an alien origin—over Western civilization, it claims to have discovered in the Vedas the germs of all the discoveries of modern science even of such things as telegraphy and aeroplanes.

THE WESTERN ALLIES OF HINDUISM

Just as the political agitation in India has derived invaluable encouragement from a handful of British members of Parliament and other sympathizers in Europe and America, so this Hindu revival has been largely stimulated and to some extent prompted by Europeans and Americans. Not only the writings of English and German scholars, like Max-Muller and Deutsch, helped enormously to revive the interest of educated Hindus in their ancient literature and earlier forms of religion, but it was in the polemical tracts of European writers that the first protagonists of Hindu reaction against Christian influences found their readiest weapons of attack.

The campaign was started in 1887 by the Hindu Tract Society of Madras, which set itself first to inflame popular fanaticism against the missionaries who, especially in the south of India, had been the pioneers of Western education. Bradlaugh's text-books and the pamphlets of many lesser writers belonging to the same school of thought were eagerly translated into the vernacular, and those that achieved the greatest popularity were books like "The Evil of Continence," in which not only Christian theology, but Christian morality was held up to scorn and ridicule. The advent of the theosophists, heralded by Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott, gave a fresh impetus to the revival, and certainly no Hindu has done so much to organize and consolidate the movement as Mrs. Annie Besant, who, in her Central Hindu College at Benares and her Theosophical Institution at Adyar, near Madras, has openly proclaimed her faith in the superiority of the whole Hindu system to the vaunted civilization of the West. Is it surprising that Hindus should turn their backs upon our civilization when a European of highly-trained intellectual power and with an extraordinary gift of eloquence comes and tells them that it is they who possess and have from all times possessed the key to supreme wisdom; that their gods, their philosophy, their morality are on a higher plane

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of thought than the West has ever reached? Is it surprising that with such encouragement Hinduism should no longer remain on the defensive, but, discarding in this respect all its own traditions as a non-proselytizing creed, send out missionaries to preach the message of Hindu enlightenment to those still groping in the darkness of the West? The mission of Swami Vivekananda to the Chicago Congress of Religions is in itself one of the most striking incidents in the history of Hindu revivalism, but it is perhaps less wonderful than the triumph he achieved when he returned to India accompanied by a chosen band of eager disciples from the West.

REVIVALISM AND CRIME

There are, indeed, endless forms to this revival of Hinduism—as endless as to Hinduism itself—but what it is perhaps most important for us to note is that wherever political agitation assumes the most virulent character there the Hindu revival also assumes the most extravagant shapes. Secret societies place their murderous activities under the special patronage of one or other of the chief popular deities. Their vows are taken “on the sacred water of the Ganges,” or “holding the sacred Tulsi plant,” or “in the presence of Mahadevi”—the great goddess who delights in bloody sacrifices. Charms and amulets, incantations and imprecations, play an important part in the ceremonies of initiation. In some quarters there has been some recrudescence of the *Shakti* cultus, with its often obscene and horrible rites, and the unnatural depravity which was so marked a feature in the case of the band of young Brahmans who conspired to murder Mr. Jackson at Nasik represents a form of erotomania which is certainly much more common amongst Hindu political fanatics than amongst Hindus in general.

By no means all, however, are of this degenerate type, and the *Bhagavat Gita* has been impressed into the service of sedition by men who would have been as incapable of dabbling in political as in any other form of crime, had they not been able to invest it with a religious sanction. There is no more beautiful book in the sacred literature of the Hindus; there is none in which the more enlightened find greater spiritual comfort; yet it is in the *Bhagavat Gita* that, by a strange perversion, the Hindu conspirator has sought and claims to have found texts that justify murder as a divinely inspired deed when it is committed in the sacred cause of Hinduism. Nor is it only the extremists who appeal in this fashion to Hindu religious emotionalism. It is often just as difficult to appraise the subtle differences which separate the “moderate” from the advanced politician and the “advanced” politician from the “extremist” as it is to distinguish between the various forms and gradations of the Hindu revival in its religious and social aspects. But it was in the courtyard of the great temple of Kali at Calcutta in the presence of “the terrible goddess” that the “leaders of the Bengali nation,” men who, like Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, have always professed to be “moderates,” held their chief demonstrations against “partition” and administered the *Swadeshi* oath to their followers. Equally noteworthy is the part played by the revival of Ganapati celebrations in honour of Ganesh, the elephant-headed god, perhaps the most popular of all Hindu deities, in stimulating political disaffection in the Deccan.

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THE STIRRING OF THE WATERS

Hand in hand with this campaign for the glorification of Hinduism at the expense of Western civilization there has been carried on another and far more invidious campaign for the vilification of everything British. The individual Englishman is denounced as a blood-sucker and a tyrant ; his methods of administration are alleged to be wilfully directed to the impoverishment, and even to the depopulation, of India ; his social customs are traduced as depraved and corrupt ; even his womenfolk are accused of common wantonness. Certainly the most significant features of the literature of Indian unrest are its appeals to the Hindu scriptures and to the Hindu duties and its exploitation of the religious sentiment for the promotion of racial hatred. *Swadeshi* and *Swaraj* are the battle cries of this new Hindu "nationalism," but they mean far more than a mere claim to fiscal or even political independence. They mean an organized uplifting of the old Hindu traditions, social and religious, intellectual and moral against the imported ideals of an alien race and an alien civilization.

This is a grave phenomenon not to be contemptuously dismissed as the folly of ill-digested knowledge or summarily judged and condemned, in a spirit of self-righteousness, as an additional proof of the innate depravity and ingratitude of the East. It undoubtedly represents a deep stirring of the waters amongst a people endowed with no mean gifts of head and heart, and if it has thrown up much scum, it affords glimpses of nobler elements which time may purify and bring to the surface. Nor if our rule and our civilization are to prevail must we be unmindful of our own responsibility or forget that our presence and the influences we brought with us first stirred the waters.

V. The Influence of Brahmanism

The part played by Brahmanism in Indian unrest connotes perhaps more than anything else the reactionary side of that unrest. Though there have been and still are many enlightened Brahmans, who have cordially responded to the best influences of Western education, and have worked with admirable zeal and courage to bridge the gulf between Indian and European civilization, Brahmanism as a system represents the antipodes of all that British rule must stand for in India, and Brahmanism has from times immemorial dominated Hindu society.

A PRIESTLY ARISTOCRACY

The Brahmans are the sacerdotal caste of India. They are at the same time the proudest and the closest aristocracy that the world has ever seen, for they form not merely an aristocracy of birth in the strictest sense of the term, but one of divine origin. Of the Brahman it may be said as of no other privileged mortal except perhaps the Levite of the Old Testament : *Nascitur non fit*. No king, however powerful, can make or unmake a Brahman ; no genius, however transcendent, no service, however conspicuous, no virtues, however pre-eminent, can avail to raise a Hindu from a lower caste to the Brahman's estate. Not even the Brahmans themselves can raise to their own equal one who is not born of their caste, though by the exercise of the castely authority

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they can in specific cases outcaste a fellow-Brahman who has offended against the immutable laws of caste, and, except for minor transgressions which allow of atonement and reinstatement, when once outcasted he and his descendants cease for ever to be Brahmans. The Brahmans date back to the remote ages of the Vedas, when they constituted themselves the only authorized intermediaries between mankind and the gods. In them became vested the monopoly of the ancient language in which all religious rites are performed, and with a monopoly of the knowledge of Sanskrit they retained a monopoly of learning long after Sanskrit itself had become a dead language. Like the priests who wielded a Latin pen in the Middle Ages in Europe, they sat as advisers and conscience-keepers in the councils of every Hindu ruler. To the present day they alone can expound the Hindu scriptures, they alone can approach the gods in their temples, they alone can minister to the spiritual needs of such of the lower castes as are credited with sufficient human dignity to be in any way worthy of their ministrations.

In the course of ages differences and distinctions have gradually grown up amongst them, and they have split up into innumerable septs and sub-castes. As they multiplied from generation to generation, an increasing proportion were compelled to supplement the avocations originally sacred to their caste by other and lowlier means of livelihood. There are to-day over 14 million Brahmans in India, and a very large majority of them have been compelled to adopt agricultural, military, and mercantile pursuits which, as we know from the Code of Manu, were already regarded as, in certain circumstances, legitimate or excusable for a Brahman even in the days of that ancient law-giver. In regard to all other castes, however, the Brahman, however humble his worldly *status*, retains an undisputed pre-eminence which he never forgets or allows to be forgotten, though it may only be a pale reflection of the prestige and authority of his more exalted caste-men—a prestige and authority, be it added, which have often been justified by individual achievements. How far the influence of Brahmanism as a system has been socially a good or an evil influence I am not concerned to discuss, but, however antagonistic it may be at the present moment to the influence of Western civilization, it would be unfair to deny that it has shown itself and still shows itself capable of producing a very high type both of intellect and of character. Nor could it otherwise have survived as it has the vicissitudes of centuries.

THE SUPPLENESS OF THE BRAHMAN

Neither the triumph of Buddhism, which lasted for nearly 500 years, nor successive waves of Mahomedan conquest availed to destroy the power of Brahmanism, nor has it been broken by British supremacy. Inflexibly as he dominates a social system in all essentials more rigid than any other, the Brahman has not only recognized the need of a certain plasticity in its construction which allows for constant expansion, but he has himself shown unfailing adaptability in all non-essentials to varying circumstances. To the requirements of their new Western masters the Brahmans adapted themselves from the first with admirable suppleness, and when a Western system of education was introduced into India in the first half of the last century, they were quicker than any other class to

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realize how it could be used to fortify their own position. The main original object of the introduction of Western education into India was the training of a sufficient number of young Indians to fill the subordinate posts in the public offices with English-speaking natives. The Brahmans responded freely to the call, and they soon acquired almost the same monopoly of the new Western learning as they had enjoyed of Hindu lore through the centuries. With the development of the great administrative services, with the substitution of English for the vernacular tongues as the only official language, with the remodelling of judicial administration and procedure on British lines, with the growth of the liberal professions and of the Press, their influence constantly found new fields of activity, whilst through the old traditional channels it continued to permeate those strata of Hindu society with which the West had established little or no contact.

THE INVASION OF WESTERN IDEAS AND HABITS

Nevertheless the spread of Western ideas and habits was bound to loosen to some extent the Brahmans' hold upon Hindu society, for that hold is chiefly rooted in the immemorial sanctity of custom, which new habits and methods imported from the West necessarily tended to undermine. Scrupulous—and, according to many earnest Englishmen, over scrupulous—as we were to respect religious beliefs and prejudices, the influence of Western civilization could not fail to clash directly or indirectly with many of the ordinances of Hindu orthodoxy. In non-essentials Brahmanism soon found it expedient to relax the rigour of caste obligations, as for instance to meet the hard case of young Hindus who could not travel across the “black water” to Europe for their studies without breaking caste, or indeed travel even in their own country in railways and river steamers without incurring the pollution of bodily contact with the “untouchable” castes. Penances were at first imposed which had gradually to be lightened until they came to be merely nominal. Graver issues were raised when such ancient customs as infant marriage and the degradation of child widows were challenged. The ferment of new ideas was spreading amongst the Brahmans themselves. Some had openly discarded their ancestral faith, and many more were moved to search their own scriptures for some interpretation of the law less inconsistent with Western standards. It seemed at one moment as if, under the inspiration of men like Ranade in the Deccan and Tagore in Bengal, Brahmanism itself was about to take the lead in purging Hinduism of its most baneful superstitions and bringing it into line with the philosophy and ethics of the West. But the liberal movement failed to prevail against the forces of popular superstition and orthodox bigotry, combined with the bitterness too frequently resulting from the failure of Western education to secure material success or even an adequate livelihood for those who had departed from the old ways. Though there have been and still are many admirable exceptions Brahmanism remained the stronghold of reaction against the Western invasion. All over India educated Brahmans have figured prominently in the social and religious revival of Hinduism which I described in my last letter, and they have figured no less prominently, whether in the ranks of the extremists or amongst the moderate and advanced politicians, in the political movement which has accompanied that revival.

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THE BRAHMANS OF THE DECCAN

Fundamental as the antagonism has proved to be between the civilization represented by the British *raj* and the essential spirit of Brahmanism, it was bound to be more acute in the Deccan than in any other part of India, for nowhere had Brahmanism wielded such absolute power within times which may still be called recent. Less than one hundred years ago Poona was the capital of a theocratic state in which, behind the throne of the Peishwas, both spiritual and secular authority were concentrated in the hands of the Brahmins. Such memories are slow to die and least of all in ancient and conservative country like India, and there was one sept of Brahmins, at any rate, who were determined not to let them die. Attention has already been drawn in *The Times* to the part played by the Chitpawan Brahmins in the Mahratta government of the Deccan under the Peishwas as well as to the part which they have recently played in the anti-British movement down to and including the Nasik conspiracy. From the time of the downfall of the Peishwa dominion to the present day there has probably been amongst the Brahmins of the Deccan, and especially amongst the Chitpawan Brahmins, an unbroken tradition of hatred towards British rule, an undying hope that it might some day be subverted and their own ascendancy restored. Not to mention other and earlier indications, it was in Poona that the native Press, mainly conducted by Brahmins, first assumed that tone of virulent hostility towards British rule and British rulers which led to the Press Act of 1879, and some of the worst extracts quoted at that time by the Government of India in support of that measure are taken from Poona newspapers.

TWO CONFLICTING CURRENTS

But if there were already then wild and irreconcilable spirits bent on fomenting disaffection there were amongst the Deccani Brahmins themselves a small intellectual *elite* who, though by no means servile apologists of British rule, fully realized that their primary duty was not to stir up popular passion against alien rulers but to bring Hindu society into closer communion with the higher civilization which those rulers, whatever their shortcomings, undoubtedly represented. Conspicuous amongst such men was Mahadeo Govind Ranade. Equally conspicuous in the opposite camp was a man of a very different stamp, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who was destined to become one of the most dangerous pioneers of disaffection. It was a Hindu gentleman and a Brahmin who told me that if I wanted to study the psychology of Indian unrest I should begin by studying Tilak's career. "Tilak's onslaught in Poona upon Ranade, his alliance with the bigots of orthodoxy, his appeals to popular superstitions in the new Ganpati celebrations, to racial fanaticism in the 'Anti-Cow-killing Movement,' to Mahratta sentiment in the cult which he introduced of Shivaji, his active propaganda amongst schoolboys and students, his gymnastic societies, his preaching in favour of physical training, and last but not least his control of the Press and the note of personal violence which he imparted to newspaper polemics, represent the progressive stages of a highly-organized campaign which has served as a model to the apostles of unrest all over India."

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VI. Tilak's First Campaign in the Deccan

If any one amongst the Brahmans of the Deccan can claim to be truly the father of Indian unrest, it is Bal Gangadhar Tilak. The story of his initial campaign is well worth studying, for it illustrates clearly the close connexion that exists between the forces of political disaffection and those of social and religious reaction, whilst the methods which he employed and the results which attended his activity have been reproduced with singular fidelity in subsequent phases of the movement.

REFORM OR REACTION

When Tilak entered upon public life in the early eighties, the Brahmans of the Deccan were divided into two camps, one of which, headed by Mr. Justice Ranade, consisted of a small intellectual *elite*, who held, without foregoing their right to criticize British administrators or to promote political reforms by constitutional methods, that Indians of all creeds, including the Hindus, should begin by reforming their own social institutions, and bring them into greater harmony with Western standards. Tilak, a Chitpawan Brahman of considerable erudition, who had graduated with honours at Bombay, had, however, inherited his full share of the hostility to British ascendancy which so many Brahmans of the Deccan, and especially Chitpawan Brahmans, have cherished ever since the downfall of their Peishwa kingdom. He was also by temperament and ambition impatient of all restraint, and jealous of the commanding authority which a man like Ranade owed quite as much to the nobility of his character as to his social position and force of intellect. In opposition to Ranade, with whom he had at first co-operated as an educationist, Tilak drifted rapidly into the reactionary camp. The battle was first engaged over the control of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha and the Education Society, two progressive associations which, though mainly composed of Brahmans, included a sprinkling of Mahomedans and of non-Brahman Hindus. Tilak had thrown himself into journalism, and after the repeal of the Indian Press Law, on the return of a Liberal Administration to office at home in 1881, he had been amongst the first to revive the incendiary methods which it had temporarily and very successfully checked. His first onslaught upon Ranade's position, however, failed, and instead of supplanting him, it was he who was compelled in 1890 to sever his connexion with the Education Society.

Tilak's defeat was short lived. The introduction of the Age of Consent Bill, in 1890, to mitigate the evils of Hindu child marriage gave him a fresh opening. In the columns of the *Kesari*, of which he had become sole proprietor, he denounced Ranade and others who supported the measure as renegades and traitors to the cause of Hinduism, and thus won the support of conservative orthodoxy, which had hitherto viewed with alarm some of his literary excursions into the field of Vedantic exegesis. With the help of the brothers Natu, who were the recognized leaders of Hindu orthodoxy, he carried his propaganda into the schools and colleges in the teeth of the Moderate party, and, proclaiming that unless they learnt to employ force the Hindus must expect to be impotent witnesses of the gradual downfall of all their ancient institutions, he proceeded to organize gymnastic societies in which

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physical training and the use of more or less primitive weapons were taught in order to develop the martial instincts of the rising generation.

THE ANTI-MAHOMEDAN AGITATION

If amongst the Brahmins of Maharashtra hatred of the British is the dominant passion, amongst the Mahratta population at large, whatever there is of racial and religious jealousy is mainly directed against the Mahomedans. It is partly, no doubt, a legacy of the old days of Mahomedan supremacy. In 1893 some riots of a rather more severe character than usual gave Tilak an opportunity of broadening the new movement by enlisting in its support the old anti-Mahomedan feeling of the people. He not only convoked popular meetings in which his fiery eloquence denounced the Mahomedans as the sworn foes of Hinduism, but he started an organization known as the "Anti Cow-Killing Society," which was intended and regarded as a direct provocation to the Mahomedans who, like ourselves, think it no sacrilege to eat beef. In vain did Ranade and other liberal Hindus appeal to him to desist from these inflammatory methods. Their appeals had no effect upon him, and merely served his purpose by undermining the little authority they still possessed. Government had forbidden Hindu processions to play music whilst passing in front of Mahomedan mosques, and this was a fertile cause of riotous affrays. Tilak not only himself protested against this "interference with the liberties of the people," but insisted that the Sarvajanik Sabha should identify itself with the "national" cause and memorialize Government for the removal of a prohibition so offensive to Hindu sentiment. The Moderates hesitated, but were overawed by popular clamour and the threats of the Tilak press. The Mahomedans and a few other members repudiated the memorial and resigned, and Tilak, though not yet in absolute control of the Sabha, became already practically its master.

A RELIGIOUS "REVIVAL"

Tilak's propaganda had at the same time steadily assumed a more and more anti-British character, and it was always as the allies and the tools of Government, in its machinations against Hinduism, that the Hindu reformers and the Mahomedans had in turn been denounced. In order to invest it with a more definitely religious sanction, Tilak placed it under the special patronage of the most popular deity in India. Though Ganesh, the elephant-headed god, is the god of learning whom Hindu writers delight to invoke on the title-page of their books, there is scarcely a village or a frequented roadside in India that does not show some rude representation of his familiar features, usually smeared over with red ochre. Tilak could not have devised a more popular move than when he set himself to organize annual festivals in honour of Ganesh known as Ganpati celebrations, and to found in all the chief centres of the Deccan Ganpati societies, each with its *mela* or choir recruited amongst his youthful bands of gymnasts. These festivals gave occasion for theatrical performances and religious songs in which the legends of Hindu mythology were skilfully exploited to stir up hatred of the "foreigner"—and *mleccha*, the term employed for "foreigner," applied equally to Europeans and to Mahomedans—as well as for tumultuous processions only too well

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calculated to provoke affrays with the Mahomedans and with the police, which in turn led to judicial proceedings that served as a fresh excuse for noisy protests and inflammatory pleadings. With the Ganpati celebrations the area of Tilak's propaganda was widely increased.

THE APOTHEOSIS OF SHIVAJI

But the movement had yet to be given a form which should directly appeal to the fighting instincts of the Mahrattas and stimulate active disaffection by reviving memories of olden times when, under Shivaji's leadership, they had rolled back the tide of Musulman conquest and created a Mahratta Empire of their own. The legends of Shivaji's prowess still lingered in Maharashtra, where the battlemented strongholds which he built crown many a precipitous crag of the Deccan highlands. In a valley below Pratabgaurh the spot is still shown where Shivaji induced the Mahomedan general, Afzul Khan, to meet him in peaceful conference half-way between the contending armies, and, as he bent down to greet his guest, plunged into his bowels the famous "tiger's claw," a hooked gauntlet of steel, while the Mahratta forces sprang out of ambush and cut the Mahomedan army to pieces. But if Shivaji's memory still lived, it belonged to a past which was practically dead and gone. Only a few years before, an Englishman who had visited Shivaji's tomb had written to a local newspaper calling attention to the ruinous condition into which the people of Maharashtra had allowed the last resting-place of their national hero to fall. Some say it was this letter which first inspired Tilak with the idea of reviving Shivaji's memory and converting it into a living force. Originally it was upon the great days of the Poona Peishwas that Tilak had laid the chief stress, and he may possibly have discovered that theirs were not after all names to conjure with amongst non-Brahman Mahrattas, who had suffered heavily enough at their hands. At any rate, Tilak brought Shivaji to the forefront and set in motion a great "national" propaganda which culminated in 1895 in the celebration at all the chief centres of Brahman activity in the Deccan of Shivaji's reputed birthday, the principal commemoration being held under Tilak's own presidency at Raigad, where the Mahratta chieftain had himself been crowned.*

THE INEVITABLE SEQUEL

In the reflected blaze of this apotheosis of Shivaji, Tilak stood forth as the appointed leader of the "nation." He was the triumphant champion of Hindu orthodoxy, the high-priest of Ganesh, the inspired prophet of a new "nationalism," which in the name of Shivaji would cast out the hated *mlecchas* and restore the glories of Mahratta history. The Government feared him, for people could put no other construction on the official confirmation of his election when he was returned in 1895 as a member of the Bombay Legislative Council—above all, when inside the Council room he continued with the same audacity and the same impunity his campaign of calumny and insult. His activity was unceasing. He disclaimed none of the arts which make for popularity. His house

* Here we have omitted three extracts made by Mr. Chisolm from the speeches of Mr. Tilak and two other Mahratta Brahmins in justification of Shivaji's conduct and policy.—Ed., *Z. W.*

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was always open to those who sought in the right spirit for assistance or advice. He had absolute control of the Sabha and ruled the municipality of Poona. In private and in public, through his speeches and through his newspapers, he worked upon the prejudices and passions of both the educated and the uneducated, and especially upon the crude enthusiasm of the young. Towards the end of 1896 the Deccan was threatened with famine. Hungry stomachs are prompt to violence, and Tilak started a "no-rent" campaign. Outrages such as the mutilation of the Queen's statue at Bombay, the attempt to fire the Church Mission Hall, the assaults upon moderate Hindus who refused to toe the line, became ominously frequent. Worse was to follow when the plague appeared. The measure at first adopted by Government to check the spread of this new visitation doubtless offended in many ways against the customs and prejudices of the people, especially the searching and disinfection of houses, and the forcible removal of plaguepatients, even when they happened to be Brahmans. What Tilak could do by secret agitation and by a rabid campaign in the Press to raise popular resentment to a white heat he did. The *Kesari* published incitements to violence which were put into the mouth of Shivaji himself. The inevitable consequences ensued. On June 27, 1897, on their way back from an official reception in celebration of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, Mr. Rand, an Indian civilian, who was President of the Poona Plague Committee, and Lieutenant Ayerst, of the Commissariat Department, were shot down by a young Brahman on the Ganeshkind Road. No direct connexion has been established between that crime and Tilak. But, like the murderer of Mr. Jackson at Nasik last winter, the murderer of Rand and Ayerst declared that it was the doctrines expounded in Tilak's newspapers that had driven him to the deed. The murderer and some others who had merely given effect to the teachings of Tilak were sentenced to death, but Tilak himself, who was prosecuted for a seditious article published a few days before the murder, received only a short term of imprisonment, and was released before the completion of his term under certain pledges of good behaviour which he broke as soon as it suited him to break them.

Thus ended the first campaign of Indian unrest, which, even in its details, has served as an incitement and a model to all those who have conducted subsequent operations in the same field.

VII. *The Second Campaign in the Deccan.*

The murder of Rand and Ayerst at Poona on the day of Queen Victoria's second Jubilee sent a thrill of horror throughout India and caused a momentary sensation even in England. But though Government was not wholly blind to the warning, it could not decide what ought to be done, and, beyond strengthening one or two articles of the Criminal Code bearing on Press offences, it did nothing until history had repeated itself on a much larger scale. Tilak was generously released from prison before the expiration of his sentence, but his release was construed in the Deccan as a fresh triumph, and he was acclaimed by his followers as a "national" martyr and hero. After a short "rest-cure" in a sanatorium, Tilak returned to the *Kesari*, which, in the hands of

his coadjutors, two other Chitpawan Brahmans, Mr. Kelkar and Mr. Khadilkar, had lost nothing of its vitriolic pungency in his absence. The celebration with renewed pomp in 1900 of Shivaji's "birthday" at Raigad marked the resumption of Tilak's operations. I will not weary your readers by recounting all the incidents of this second campaign in the Deccan in which Ganapati celebrations, Shivaji festivals, gymnastic societies, &c., played exactly the same part as in the first campaign described in the preceding article. For three or four years the Tai Maharaj case, in which, as executor of one of his friends, Shri Baba Maharaja, a Sirdar of Poona, Tilak was attacked by the widow and indicted on charges of forgery, perjury, and corruption, absorbed a great deal of his time, but his final acquittal after long and wearisome proceedings was greeted as another triumph for him, and not unnaturally won him much sympathy, even amongst those who were politically opposed to him. But throughout this trying ordeal, Tilak never relaxed his political activity either in the Press or in the manifold organizations which he controlled.

TILAK AND THE NATIONAL CONGRESS

His influence, moreover, was rapidly extending far beyond Poona and the Deccan. He had at an early date associated himself with the Indian National Congress, and he was secretary of the Standing Committee for the Deccan. His Congress work had brought him into contact with the politicians of other provinces, and upon none did his teachings and his example produce so deep an impression as upon the emotional Bengalees. He had not the gift of sonorous eloquence which they possess, and he never figured conspicuously as an orator at the annual sessions of the Congress. But his calculating resourcefulness and his indomitable energy, even his masterfulness, impressed them all the more and in the two memorable sessions held at Benares in 1905 and at Calcutta in 1906, when the agitation over the Partition of Bengal was at its height, his was the dominant personality, not at the tribune, but in the lobbies. He had been one of the first champions of *Swadeshi* as an economic weapon in the struggle against British rule, and he saw in the adoption of the boycott, with all the lawlessness which it involved, an unprecedented opportunity of stimulating the active forces of disaffection. As far as Bengal was concerned, an "advanced" Press which had borrowed its tone from Tilak's *Kesari* had already done its work, and Tilak could rely upon the enthusiastic support of men like Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal and Mr. Arabindo Ghose, who were politically his disciples, though their religious and social standpoints were in many respects different. Tilak's main object was to pledge the rest of India, as represented in the Congress, to the violent course upon which Bengal was embarking. Amongst the Moderate section outside Bengal there was a disposition to confine its action to platonic expressions of sympathy with the Bengalees and with the principle of *Swadeshi*—in itself perfectly legitimate—as a movement for the encouragement of native industries. At Benares, in 1905, the Congress had adopted a resolution which only conditionally endorsed the boycott, and the increasing disorders which had subsequently accompanied its enforcement had tended to enhance rather than to diminish the reluctance of the Moderate

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party to see the Congress definitely pledged to it when it met at the end of 1906 in Calcutta. The "advanced" party led by Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal had put forward Tilak's candidature to the presidency, and a split which seemed imminent was only avoided by a compromise which saved appearances. The veteran Mr. Naoroji, to whom none could venture openly to object, was elected into the chair, and a resolution as amended by Tilak was adopted which, without mentioning the word boycott, pledged the Congress to encourage its practice. There was nevertheless considerable heart-burning, and the Moderates were suspected of contemplating some retrograde move at the following annual session. Tilak was determined to frustrate any such scheme, and before the Congress assembled at Surat he elaborated at a "nationalist" conference, with Mr. Arabindo Ghose in the chair, a plan of campaign which was to defeat the Moderates by demanding before the election of the president, an undertaking that the resolutions of the Calcutta Congress should be upheld. The plan however was only half successful. The first day's proceedings produced a violent scene in which the howling down of Mr. Surendranath Banerjea by the "advanced" wing revealed the personal jealousies that had grown up between the old Bengali leader on the one hand and Tilak and his younger followers in Bengal on the other. The second day's proceedings ended in still wilder confusion, and after something like a free fight the Congress broke up after an irreparable rupture, from which its prestige has never recovered.

AT THE ZENITH OF HIS POWER

Tilak's own prestige, however, with the "advanced" party never stood higher, either in the Deccan or outside of it. In the Deccan he not only maintained all his old activities, but had extended their field. Besides the *Kal*, edited by another Chitpawan Brahman, and the *Rashtramata* at Poona which went to even greater lengths than Tilak's own *Kesari*, lesser papers obeying his inspiration had been established in many of the smaller centres. A movement had been set on foot for the creation of "national" schools, entirely independent of State support, and therefore of State supervision, in which disaffection could, without let or hindrance, be made part and parcel of the curriculum. Such were the schools closed down last year in the Central Provinces and this year at Telegaon. The great development of the cotton industry during the last ten years, especially in Bombay itself—which has led to vast agglomerations of labour under conditions unfamiliar in India—had given Tilak an opportunity of establishing contact with a class of the population hitherto outside the purview of Indian politics. The conditions of labour in India are by no means wholly satisfactory and amongst other evils have favoured the growth of intemperance. It would have been all to his honour that Tilak hastened to take up the cause of labour and temperance had he not perverted it as he perverted everything he touched to the promotion of race hatred. His primary motives may have been excellent, and it is unnecessary to question the genuineness of his philanthropy, but he subordinated all to his ruling anti-British passion. He must have had a considerable command of funds for the purposes of his propaganda, and though he doubtless had not a few powerful and generous supporters, many subscribed from

fear of the lash which he knew how to apply through the Press to the tepid and the recalcitrant, just as his gymnastic societies sometimes resolved themselves into juvenile bands of dacoities to swell the coffers of *Swaraj*. Not even Mr. Gokhale with all his moral and intellectual force could stem the flowing tide of Tilak's popularity in the Deccan any more than Ranade had been able to do so 10 or 15 years before ; and in order not to be swept under, he was perhaps often compelled like many other Moderates to go further than his own judgment can have approved. Tilak commanded the allegiance of barristers and pleaders, school-masters and professors, clerks in Government offices—in fact, of the large majority of the so-called educated classes, largely recruited amongst his own and other Brahman castes ; and his propaganda had begun to filter down not only to the coolies in the cities, but even to the rayats, or at least the head-men in the villages.

More than that. From the Deccan, as we have already seen in his relations with the Indian National Congress, his influence was projected far and wide. His house was a place of pilgrimage for the disaffected from all parts of India. His prestige as a Brahman of the Brahmins and a pillar of orthodoxy, in spite of the latitude of the views which he sometimes expressed in regard to the depressed castes, his reputation for profound learning in the philosophies both of the West and of the East, his trenchant style, his indefatigable activity, the glamour of his philanthropy, his accessibility to high and low, his many acts of genuine kindness, the personal magnetism which, without any great physical advantages, he exerted upon most of those who came in contact with him, and especially upon the young, combined to equip him more fully than any other Indian politician for the leadership of a revolutionary movement.

The appeal which Tilak made to the Hindus was twofold. He taught them, on the one hand, that India, and especially Maharashtra, the land of the Mahrattas, had been happier and better and more prosperous under a Hindu *raj* than it had ever been or could ever be under the rule of alien "demons" ; and that if the British *raj* had at one time served some useful purpose in introducing India to the scientific achievements of Western civilization, it had done so at ruinous cost, both material and moral, to the Indians whose wealth it had drained and whose social and religious institutions it had undermined ; and on the other hand he held out to them the prospect that, if power were once restored to the Brahmins, who had already learnt all that there was of good to be learnt from the English, the golden age would return for gods and men. That Tilak himself hardly believed in the possibility of overthrowing British rule is more than probable, but what some Indians who knew him well tell me he did believe was that the British could be driven or wearied by a ceaseless and menacing agitation into gradually surrendering to the Brahmins the reality of power, as did the later Peishwas, and remaining content with a more or less nominal sovereignty.

THE PROSECUTION OF TILAK

Such was the position, when on June 24, 1908, Tilak was arrested in Bombay on charges connected with the publication in the *Kesari* of articles containing inflammatory comments on the Muzafferpur outrage, in which Mrs. and Miss Kennedy had been

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killed by a bomb—the first of a long list of similar outrages in Bengal. Not in the moment of first excitement but weeks afterwards the *Kesari* had commented on this crime in terms which fell but little short of an actual justification of the use of the bomb as a political weapon. The bomb was “a kind of witchcraft, a charm, an amulet,” and the *Kesari* delighted in showing that neither the “supervision of the police” nor “swarms of detectives” could stop “these simple playful sports of science.” Whilst professing to deprecate such methods, it threw the responsibility upon Government, which allowed “keen disappointment to overtake thousands of intelligent persons who have been awakened to the necessity of securing the rights of *Swami*.” Tilak spoke four whole days in his own defence—21½ hours altogether—but the jury returned a verdict of “Guilty,” and he was sentenced to six years’ transportation, afterwards commuted on account of his age and health to simple imprisonment at Mandalay.

The prosecution of a man of Tilak’s popularity and influence at a time when neither the Imperial Government nor the Government of India had realized the full danger of the situation was undoubtedly a grave measure of which a weaker Government than that of Bombay under Sir George Clarke might well have shirked the responsibility. There were serious riots during and after the trial, but they merely served to show the extent and the character of the nefarious influence which Tilak had already acquired over some of the turbulent classes, chiefly mill-hands, in the city. By a happy combination of sympathy and firmness Sir George Clarke had won the respect of the vast majority of the community, and though he failed to secure the active support which he might have expected from the Moderates, there were few of them who did not secretly approve and even welcome his action. Its effects were great and enduring, for Tilak’s conviction was a heavy blow—perhaps the heaviest which has been dealt—to the forces of unrest, at least in the Deccan ; and some months later, one of the organs of his party, the *Rashtramat*, reviewing the occurrences of the year, was fain to admit that “the sudden removal of Mr. Tilak’s towering personality threw the whole province into dismay and unnerved the other leaders.”

The agitation in the Deccan did not die out with Tilak’s disappearance, for he left his stamp upon a new generation which he had educated and trained. The Kohlapur plot, the murder of Mr. Jackson at Nasik, and the ramifications of the conspiracy which the judicial investigation subsequently disclosed, and many other incidents of a less dramatic character, have afforded fresh evidence of the dangerous spirit which his doctrines had aroused. But in spite of these spasmodic outbreaks, of which we may not even yet have seen the end, the aggressive disloyalty in the Deccan has been at least temporarily set back. The firmer attitude adopted by the Government of India and such repressive measures as the Press Act, combined with judicious reforms, have done much ; but it was by the prosecution of Tilak that the forces of unrest in the Deccan lost their ablest and boldest leader—perhaps the only one who might have concentrated their direction, not only in the Deccan, but in the whole of India, in his own hands and given to the movement, with all its varied and often conflicting tendencies, an organization and unity which it still happily seems to lack. (Mr. Valentine Chirol in the *Times*.)

LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

LORD CURZON ON BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

Lorn Curzon has apparently grown sick of the 'misconceptions' that have of late arisen in connection with the estimate of the advantages derived both to England and to India from their existing relations with each other. His Lordship points out that India very often assumes that the advantage of the connection is mainly or wholly on the side of England, and England also thinks that India is the chief gainer. It is to clear these misconceptions and to help both parties to arrive at an unbiased judgment that Lord Curzon has contributed an article on *British Rule in India* to a recent number of the *North American Review*, in the first instalment of which he states what India gives to Great Britain and the Empire, proposing to discuss in the next what she takes from Britain and the Empire. Referring to the material and political advantage derived by England from her connection with India, his Lordship observes :

"From her abounding population she has supplied England with labour for the exploitation of Empire lands in all parts of the globe. After the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, had it not been for the supply of Indian labour, many of the islands must have fallen out of cultivation, and would probably long before now have been transferred by cession or secession to another flag. In Trinidad there are now 86,000 East Indians and in Jamaica 10,000. With the opening of the Panama Canal, these islands will gain enormously in material and strategic value, and their continued possession will be an Imperial asset of the first importance. But for a similar relief Mauritius, where there are 206,000 East Indians, would probably have fallen to France, and British supremacy in the Indian Ocean would have been in grave peril. We should never have been able to exploit our South American colony of British Guiana without Indian labour ; the Indian population there is now 105,000 out of a total of 278,000. We have even been able to spare surplus labour for other Powers, the French in Reunion, and the Dutch in Dutch Guiana. Indian coolies have penetrated to the remote Pacific ; and the Fiji Islands contain 17,000. Africa, which from its proximity to India, supplies a natural field for Indian labour, can tell a similar tale. The planters of Natal would not have been able to develop that colony had it not been for an Indian

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population, which is now 115,000 strong and exceeds in numbers the European inhabitants of the State. The Uganda Railway was constructed by more than 20,000 Indian coolies, and Indian labour was more than once sought of me by the late Cecil Rhodes. Every year an emigrant force of from 15,000 to 20,000 coolies leaves the ports of India for these distant fields. There is another side to the question also. The benefit is reciprocal, both in relief to the congestion of India and in occupation and wages to large numbers of poor men. . . . To South Africa I sent out in the Boer campaign 13,200 British officers and men from the British Army in India, and 9,000 natives, principally followers. To China we despatched from India 1,300 British officers and men, 20,000 native troops and 17,500 native followers. Nor were these mercenary forces employed against their will to fight the battles of a distant Government. Not a war can take place in any part of the British Empire in which the Indian Princes do not come forward with voluntary offers of armed assistance; and the fact that the native army was not allowed to stand by the side of the British in repelling the Boer invasion of Natal in 1899 was actually made the subject of attacks upon the Government in India—so keenly was the popular sentiment in favour of Indian participation aroused. I was in India throughout the South African and Chinese wars. Though not far short of 30,000 troops, British and Indian, were at one time away from the country, perfect tranquillity prevailed; and while the inveterate foes of England may have sneered at the early reverses to our arms, there could be no question of the genuineness of the rejoicings when the tide turned and the news of victory was flashed along the wires."

Lord Curzon then proceeds to deal with the question of our business relations. "India," he says, "has become the largest producer of food and raw material in the Empire and the principal granary of Great Britain, the imports into the United Kingdom of wheat, meal, and flour from India exceeding those of Canada and being double those of Australia. At the same time, India is the largest purchaser of British produce and manufactures, and notably of cotton goods. Moreover it must be remembered that under the existing system, English cotton manufactures imported into India pay a duty only of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., a countervailing excise duty of equivalent amount being at the same time levied on Indian manufactures."

To Lord Curzon, however, "it is less in its material than in its moral and educative aspects that India has always appeared to confer so incomparable a boon upon the British race. No

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one now taunts the British aristocracy with treating India as a playground for its sons. There is not much play there for the Government official at any time, and, such as he is, he is drawn from all classes of the British community. Just as the Indian Army is to the young subaltern the finest available school of manhood and arms, so also the Indian Civil Service is a training ground for British character that is not without its effect both upon the Empire and the race. The former service is demonstrated by the constant drain upon India for irrigation officers and engineers, for postal and telegraph and forest officers, for financiers and administrators all over the world. The men whom she has trained are to be encountered in regions as far apart as Nigeria and China, the Cape and Siam. They are among the administrative pioneers of the Empire. To those officers of the Civil Service who never leave the country no such field of adventure opens. But India develops in them the sense of duty and a spirit of self-sacrifice, as well as faculties of administration and command which are among the greatest glories of the British race. Acting and not talking, working and not boasting, they pursue their silent and often unknown careers, bequeathing a tradition to their families which is sometimes perpetuated for generations and leaving a permanent and wholesome imprint on the national character."

But although Lord Curzon is never tired of describing India as the "brightest jewel in the British Empire," he does it for no better object than to prefer an appeal to the Imperialistic instincts of Britain to rise equal to the necessity of keeping India as a perpetual dependency of England and with that end in view to tighten her grip over India more firmly than ever. This policy he elucidated in an admirable way in course of his recent speech at the annual Indian Civil Service Dinner, held in London last month. Lord Curzon, as a strenuous advocate of personal rule as the best form of administration suited to the East, sneers at any attempt to make the Government of India or its agents responsible in any way to the people of whose interests they profess to be the guardians and blames the recent reforms which seek to place the administrators under the vigilant eye of the representatives of the Indian people. After paying a high tribute to the Indian Civil Service, Lord Curzon defends them against the charge of want of sympathy with the people in the following words :—

"It is the fault of the system which he serves, of the Government under which he works, of the Secretary of State who is always calling upon him to answer questions, and of the House of Com-

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mons which is always bullying the Secretary of State into making those inquiries.....The conditions in India are changing very much and that the position of the civilian is not now what it was.....In the first place it is a matter of common knowledge that there is not the same scope in India that there used to be for independent initiative and action.....A civilian constantly referring for orders along the wire to his superior and the superior still more constantly sending down orders to him—you can quite understand that the old world of independent initiative, origination, and action has to a certain extent and inevitably passed away. But there is a second point of difference. As government in India becomes more complex, so also it becomes less personal, and to that extent perhaps less humane and less feeling. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the extent to which the modern standards of administration, particularly in such departments as sanitation, education, and the like have increased the burdens and to that degree encroached upon the leisure of the civilian in India. In the old days he used to be riding about the country ; he is now much more often writing than riding. In the old days you used to hear of him sitting outside his tent dispensing patriarchal justice to those who sought him ; now-a-days he is more likely to be inside the tent writing up his reports. I shudder to think of the gallons of ink—futile and unnecessary ink—that are poured forth in India every year."

His lordship then holds the recent reforms in the Indian Legislative Councils responsible for putting greater burdens upon the Civil Service for the following reasons :—

"Hitherto they have had to satisfy the curiosity of the British Parliament, which, from a remote distance, has shown a certain parental interest in their welfare ; now they will have to satisfy the demands of a number of local Parliaments, whose interest will be even keener and will not perhaps be equally parental. They will no doubt be subject to a scrutiny of their official acts and conduct even closer than that to which they have been accustomed, and I dare say they will be exposed to an invective even coarser than that with which they have hitherto been assailed."

The ex-Viceroy of India then proceeds to express his regret at "the apparent falling off in the attractiveness of the Indian career, in recent years, to the best products of our older English universities"—a fact over which he seems to wax very warm :—

"Figures seem to show that whereas a few years ago—eight or ten years ago—at least half of the men who took the highest places in examinations opted for the Indian career, now the proportion of

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those who do so is less than one-third. I have also seen in the Indian papers cases in which civilians have retired from the country as soon as they reached the *minimum* period of service and sometimes before they have qualified for their pension. These, I think, are serious symptoms. They are symptoms to which we cannot be indifferent, symptoms which ought to be recommended to the careful attention of any Government and any Secretary of State.....While our rule in India depends upon many things, as we are often told, upon sympathy, kindness, and conciliation, perhaps also to an equal degree, upon courage and strength, yet it also depends in a higher degree than any upon our possession, our continued possession, in India of a capable, a contented, and an efficient Civil Service. You can only maintain British rule in India if the instruments by which you do it are the best which this country can produce. You can only have good government in India for the peoples of India—and, after all, that is the object for which we are in the country—if your administration is efficient.....The one hope, or at any rate, the main hope, of the poor millions of India, does not lie in the House of Commons, or the Secretary of State, or even in the Government of India, but it lies in the individual Englishman, the member of the Civil Service, who is responsible for the charge of the district in which they live. They are much more likely to look to him for their patronage and protection than they are even to the voluble speaker of their own race, who cuts a big figure on the platform. Therefore I say never take your eyes away from the standard of the Civil Service in India, because as long as that standard remains high your rule in India will be popular and successful, whereas, if the standard of the Civil Service declines, the power and prestige of your rule will decline in the same proportion. I should like to submit to you what may at first sight seem a paradox, but what I believe to be profoundly true—namely, that the more posts you open to Indians in the country the greater the need for maintaining the high standard in the Civil Service. I say so for this reason—if I may adopt a military metaphor—the smaller the garrison with which you occupy a country, the greater need that it should consist of picked men.”

But our ex-Viceroy “firmly hopes” that the recent anarchical developments are “merely a transient symptom of Indian politics” and he does not believe that “if the fear of enteric or other cognate complaints has never deterred the young British soldier from going to India, the fear of the weapon of the misguided assassin would keep away a single high-minded, high-spirited young English gentleman from

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going to India." He attributes the cause of the falling off of attractiveness for the Indian Civil Service to Englishmen to the following changes in the Indian situation :

" There is the rise in prices in India, the increasing cost of house rents, the augmented charges for education—all of which make it rather more difficult than in former days for the civilian to make both ends meet. Then, in proportion as more places are found for natives of India in the Administration—and I am the last person to complain of that because that seems to me to be not only an inevitable, but a just, concomitant of our rule—but in proportion as more places are found for Indians so fewer opportunities will be left open to the European. Sometimes, too, circumstances have occurred in recent years—in which there has been a temporary block in promotion.....I do not know whether it is a combination of these various causes—I hope, if it be so, it is a temporary and accidental combination—that has led to the apparent falling off in the attractiveness of the Indian career, in recent years, to the best products of our older English Universities."

Lord Curzon has some words of advice to this 'heaven-born' Service as well as its masters :—

" Do not ever let the idea get into the Civil Service in India that it does not much matter what they are doing, that the tide is setting against British administration in India, that it is turning against any exhibition of courage or independence or strength, that, on the whole, it is better for them to swim with the tide rather than against it, and to clear out when their work is done. I say that is a pernicious, a fatal, a disastrous idea. If you have a listless or an apathetic Civil Service in India you will have an incompetent Civil Service. If you take away the ideals of the service you will take away its character at the same time. I hope that anybody in authority who ever speaks or writes about India will continue to impress upon the Civil Service of that country that they are engaged now, as they have been for a hundred years, in doing the greatest, the biggest, the noblest, and the grandest task in the world, and that, in proportion as they discharge this duty, not with mere perfunctory correctness, but with living enthusiasm, so will they be judged and rewarded by the Government which they serve. Now, the second point is this, I think the Civil Service, and every member of the Civil Service, ought to feel that, while the Government exercises a close scrutiny over his acts, punishing him or censuring him for anything that he does wrong, at the same time it will support him to the uttermost in everything that he does

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for the best and that he will not at any time, in deference to considerations, either of Parliamentary expediency or of local popularity, be thrown to the wolves. As long as a civilian is doing good work for Britain, I say that the arm of Britain ought to be behind him. I say, therefore, that it rests with Government—with the provincial Governments in the first place, with the Government of India in India, and with the Government and the Secretary of State at home, to keep up the standard and to invigorate the hearts of their Civil servants in that country. It is all very well to claim that they should have confidence in the Government. That is true, and that is all right, but let the Government have confidence in them."

NOTES ON SELF-RULE IN THE EAST

The learned editor of *The Modern Review* makes some well-chosen selections of authoritative opinions as evidence of the existence of self-government in ancient Asia, with special reference to India. After proving the existence in ancient Turkey and Afganistan of a form of republican government which he chooses to call 'self-rule,' the writer deals with the system of government that prevailed here and there in ancient India. Mr. Chatterjee quotes the following extract from an article by Dr. R. G. Bhandarker, who, the writer aptly observes, is not a political agitator :

"The Indian Aryans had, like their European brethren, the rudiments of free political institutions. When Kshatriya tribes settled in a province, the name of the tribe in the place became the name of the province, and the Panchalas, Angas, Vangas, Vrijis, etc., collectively became identified with the countries in which they lived. And actually the existence of aristocratic republics is alluded to in Buddhist Pali books. But the rudiments of free political institutions did not grow in India ; and no passion for national unity strong enough to trample under foot the germs of caste was developed, while the latter had a very luxuriant growth, with the results that we at present see. Why did the instinct of political freedom and a passion for national unity not grow in India while they did among the Aryan races of Europe ? Probably the cause is to be sought in the rigidly despotic and tyrannical manner in which the conquering Aryas treated the subject races. *One section of a community, especially if it be small, cannot continue to enjoy freedom if it rigidly denies it to the other and larger section, and cannot have the desire to be united with it by the national tie if it invariably*

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despises the other as an inferior race, and denies it the ordinary rights of man."

Mr. Chatterji does well in confining himself to not only Indian authorities but goes to the length of quoting several observations of European historians on the subject. Dr. Hoernle said in course of a speech in 1898 :

"Vaisali, the modern Besarh, about 27 miles north of Patna, had a curious political constitution ; it was an oligarchic republic ; its government was vested in a Senate, composed of the heads of the resident Kshatriya clans, presided over by an officer who had the title of king and was assisted by a Viceroy and a Commander-in-chief."

Mr. Vincent A. Smith observes on the subject in his *Early History of India* :

"The settled country between the Himalaya mountains and the Narbada river was divided into a multitude of independent states, some monarchies, and some tribal republics, owning no allegiance to any paramount power, secluded from the outer world, and free to fight among themselves....." The Panjab, Eastern Rajputana, and Malwa for the most part were in possession of tribes or clans living under republican institutions. The Yaudheya tribe occupied both banks of the Sutlaj, while the Madrakas held the central parts of the Panjab. In Alexander's time these regions were similarly occupied by autonomous tribes, then called the Malloi, Kathaioi, and so forth."

Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids says on the subject in his *Budhist India* :—

"The administrative and judicial business of the (Sakya) clan was carried out in public assembly, at which young and old were alike present, in their common Mote Hall (*Santhagara*) at Kapilavastu. It was at such a parliament or palavar, that King Pasenadi's proposition was discussed. When Ambattha goes to Kapilavastu on business, he goes to the Mote Hall where the Sakiyas were then in session. And it is to the Mote Hall of the Mallas that Ananda goes to announce the death of the Buddha, they being then in session there to consider that very matter. A new Mote Hall, built at Kapilavastu, was finished whilst the Buddha was staying at the Nigrodharama (the pleasance under the Banyan Grove) in the Great Wood (the Mahavana) near by. This jungle [Mahavana] was infested from time to time by robbers, some times runaway slaves. But we hear of no crime, and there was not probably very much, in the villages themselves—each of them a tiny self-governed republic.

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.....A late tradition tells us how the criminal law was administered in the adjoining powerful confederate clan of the Vajjians, by a succession of regularly appointed officers—"justices, lawyers, rehearsers of the law maxims, the council of representatives of the eight clans, the general, the vice-consul, and the consul himself."

Summing up the above authoritative opinions, Mr. Chatterji concludes :

"The extracts from various authors given above show that republics existed in India, that they existed at least as early as the days of Buddha and Mahavira (sixth century B.C.) and as late as the reign of Samudragupta (fourth century A.D.), and that they were situated in the extensive tract of country stretching from the Panjab to Bihar and from Nepal to the southern borders of the Central Provinces. So the republican form of government in ancient India had a duration of at least one thousand years. We know of no other country, ancient or modern, where democracy has prevailed for a longer period. In ancient Italy the republic of Rome lasted for five hundred years. In ancient Greece the republic of Athens lasted for a little more than three hundred years. And these countries, which in ancient times were dotted over with small republics, are certainly not as extensive as the part of India which in olden days could boast of many republics. As for achievements, the history of these Indian republics is too little known to enable us to say anything positive on the subject. But we suppose the fact that they gave to the world a Buddha and a Mahavira will not even in these jingo and materialistic days be considered unworthy of being blazoned in letters of gold in the pages of history."

SOME BIHARI MODES OF TRIAL BY ORDEAL

Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra relates *Some interesting Bihari Modes of Trial by Ordeal* in the July number of the *Calcutta Review*. Mr. Mitra traces the origin of belief in such trials to two facts :

"Firstly, to the superstitious belief in the possibility of receiving Divine aid and, secondly, to the absence, among most of the ancients, of a system of jurisprudence prescribing rules for the recording of evidence and a well-defined procedure for enquiring into and adjudicating upon the guilt or innocence of the accused."

The writer then shows by citing instances from history that such trials existed in more or less absurd forms in England and other European countries in olden times. But in India it received sanction of so great a Hindu lawgiver as Yajnavalkya, who lays down

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several modes of trials by ordeals in his *Dharmasastra* some of which are still in vogue in some parts of Behar. Some of these the writer describes in this article as follows :—

(a) Red-hot Iron Ordeal :— $2\frac{1}{2}$ *pipal* leaves are placed on the hand of the person undergoing the ordeal, which are tied on with *kachchi* (unspun) thread ; and on the leaves so tied is placed a red-hot *ramma* (or rod of iron). With the red-hot iron so placed on his hand, the accused has to walk 7 paces. If his hand should not get burnt after walking 7 paces, he will be regarded as speaking the truth.

(b) Water Ordeal :—The person undergoing the ordeal has to dive under water and remain under it ; while another man should start from a place (where a flag has been planted) and run 80 paces to the goal-point where a flag has been planted. pluck the goal-flag, run back to the starting-point and pluck the flag at the last-mentioned place. If the accused should remain under water until the 80 paces have been covered, he will have proved his innocence.

(c) A third Bihari mode of trial by ordeal is that of the brass bowl. In this method, the accused persons place their hands upon a brass bowl, over which incantations are then pronounced by a priest. Then the brass bowl is said to move and stop just in front of the man who is really guilty.

Closely akin to the Bihari mode of trial by the brass bowl is the ordeal by the teapot which is in vogue in Kashmir. In this latter mode of trial, a teapot is held loosely suspended ; and the persons suspected of having committed the offence have to put their fingers under the rim thereof. The name of each suspected person is written on a piece of paper which, being rolled up into a scroll, is inserted into the spout of the teapot. When the paper inscribed with the name of the real culprit is inserted into the vessel, it is said that the latter immediately gives a sign, *i.e.*, makes a movement.

(d) There is a fourth Bihari ordeal. It is chiefly resorted to by the Mahamadans of Bihar. The names of the suspected persons are written out on bits of paper which are rolled up and thrown into a small *chatty*. Just as the inscribed papers are thrown in, two of the suspected men hold the neck or brim of the vessel with the tips of their fingers, amid the chanting of *suras* or passages from the *Koran*. It is said that, if the slip of paper inscribed with the name of the real culprit is thrown into the *chatty*, the vessel immediately will swerve round, which movement gives a clue to the detection of the actual offender.

(e) A fifth Bihari ordeal is known as the *charyari*. It derives its

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name from the square Muhammadan silver coin called *charyari rupiya*, which is said to be inscribed with the names of the four friends of Muhammad. Rice is weighed out with this coin ; and a rupee's weight of the same is given to each of the suspected persons who are called upon to swallow the same. It is said that the real culprit finds it difficult to chew and gulp down the rice inasmuch as his tongue, becoming dry out of sheer funk, fails to secrete the quantity of saliva required for mastication. The guilty man is "spotted" from these indications. This ordeal, Mr. Mitra thinks, is based upon a shrewd knowledge of human nature and of physiological laws.

"It is very difficult to explain," Mr. Mitra observes, "the origin of the Bihari ordeal by the brass-bowl unless we accept the tentative hypothesis that there must be some occult power in the priest's incantations which causes the vessel to move and stop just in front of the guilty person."

In the red-hot iron ordeal why, of all other trees, the leaves of the Pipal Tree are selected is explained by the writer in the following manner :

"Since the Sutra Period, the Hindus have ascribed sanctity to this tree. In the *Gobhila Grihya Sutra*, the *Ashwattha* or the Pipal is described as a tree presided over by *Aditya*, who is identified by Yaska with Vishnu. In later times, therefore, the *Ashwattha* came to be regarded as a tree specially sacred to Vishnu, and so Krishna declares himself in the *Bhagavat Gita* to be the *Ashwattha* amongst all trees. To plant an *Ashwattha* tree is regarded as an act of piety, and to destroy one by cutting a great sin. The latter-day Hindus consider the Pipal (*Ficus religiosa*) and the *Bar* or *Banyan* (*F. indica*) to be the favourite dwelling-places of their gods, who are supposed to delight to sit among their leaves and listen to the music of their rustling, and therefore consider them to be sacred."

MODERN BURMA

Mr. John Law contributes an article on the above subject to the August number of the *Modern Review*, giving some glimpses into the inner life of Burma as it now is and as it was in its pre-British days. He describes how rapidly the country is being absorbed by the Kalas (foreigners,) and how fast the proud, lazy Burman population is succumbing to Chinese merchants, Indian coolies and English tradesmen ; and there is a good deal of pathos

in the writer's observations that "some great painter should visit Burma and preserve for coming generations the Burman type before it is lost to the world ; for the type is so pretty, light-hearted and childlike."

Mr. John Law considers it "one of the accepted fallacies about Burma that its inhabitants are wealthy." He observes :

"Few are destitute and many are comfortably off, but none are rich in the sense that Indian princes and English noblemen count riches. And, since Europeans exported rice and teak from Burma, prices there have risen considerably, and today many a Burman has to forego his canoe and tries to borrow money from Indian Chetties. In fact laws have been made to prevent the land of Burma from passing rapidly into the hands of foreigners."

The writer, however, accounts for the absence of the acuteness of poverty in Burma in the following manner :

"The truth is that any destitute man, woman or child, in fact a whole family, can in time of need go to the nearest monastery for food, and in some cases for shelter, too. The Buddhist monks have always enough and to spare, and as each Burman boy must be received into a monastery at the age of twelve and spend at least a few days there, the monastery is a place with which all are familiar. Moreover the destitute ones, during happier and more prosperous days, gave food to the monks and will do so again when the sun once more shines on them ; so the monastic rice and curry is devoid of the bitterness that is attached to so much of this world's so-called charity."

Mr. John Law holds the system of competitive examinations responsible for one of the causes of the ruin of Burma, and observes :

"Competition entered Burma with competitive examinations, and competition is spoiling Burma, because the Burman character cannot adapt itself to competitive methods."

But much of poverty and misery the writer traces to their indolent habits and some peculiar traits of character which he relates in the following terms :—

"The Burman does not hoard his money. If he has one hundred rupees, he gives away eighty and spends twenty on himself. But his generosity is selfish. He builds and gilds a pagoda or feeds Buddhist priests in order to gain merit ; and he will not combine with others in building and giving because he wants to have all the merit for himself. He believes that his presents to Buddha and Buddhist monks will ensure for him a better and happier life during his next incarnation and pave his way to Nirvana, so he will

not combine with his neighbours for charitable purposes ; and when he is asked to assist a public hospital or something of that sort, he says : "The Government takes a great deal of money from me in taxes. Let the Government pay for these things....." The Burman character has, no doubt, been moulded by the religion of Buddha. The Burman is petulant and hasty—like a child—but his religion teaches him to kill neither man nor animal, so he cannot be a soldier, a hunter, a butcher or a fisherman. Some Burmans are fishermen ; but it is understood that they will re-incarnate as animals and spend a weary time before entering Nirvana. As the Burman may not kill, he "lifts" fishes out of the water and leaves them to dry on land, and when the fishes become putrid, he makes a kind of paste, called Ng'pee, which causes sores to appear on his body and brings to him a variety of illnesses. Now-a-days many Burmans eat meat ; but they will not kill a chicken, much less a sheep, and in the market they turn away from fish that is alive and buy dead fish.....There is among Buddhist none of the "missionary" spirit that induces men to look after the future of others. A Buddhist thinks of himself, he is kind and charitable in order to help himself, and we find in him little desire to benefit his fellow-men and no ambition to serve his country. There is no denying that a non-meat diet makes men less combative than a diet largely composed of the flesh and blood of animals ; and when to this sort of diet is added the constant use of strong tobacco—and in Burma it is no uncommon thing to see a mother thrust a cigar into the mouth of an unweaned child if it cries—the result is likely to be a somewhat lethargic and indolent temperament. Burmans are proverbially lazy. Moreover they despise and refuse to do manual work unless it is connected with agriculture. In the days of the Burman Kings, it was usual for the King to plough a furrow once a year and for his Ministers to follow his example, but no King of Burma ever worked in a mill or helped to make machinery and steamboats ; so when Europeans opened mills and factories in Burma, Indians had to go there in thousands and hundreds of thousands to do coolie-work. Each Burman boy becomes a monk, if only for a few days, and during that time he has a boy-attendant who kneels to receive his orders, and he does no work at all, unless a morning stroll with a begging-bowl that is quickly filled can be called work. The life of a monk is held up to Buddhist boys as the highest life that a man can lead in this world, so if a boy does not care for work, he can become a Phongyi, which means "Great Glory," and live in a

monastery where the hours pass in eating, sleeping, chewing betel and meditating."

Referring to the daily life of the monks and nuns in Burman monasteries, Mr. Law observes :

"In the monastery the nuns, who have no chance of entering Nirvana during their incarnation as women, beg food for the monks, cook for them, and act as their servants. Their heads are shaved, they wear apricot-coloured robes, they say their beads, and often they are mistaken by tourists for monks ; indeed there is little difference between the appearance of a monk and a nun, only the former has a begging bowl attached to his waist and the latter carries the same bowl on her head. The Burman woman is modest, and it is safe to say that the priesthood leads a celibate life and the monasteries are free from moral taint. The chief fault of a Buddhist monk is imposed on him by his religion ; and that fault is laziness. He will spend an hour chewing betel, a second teasing a spider, a third sleeping, and a fourth eating, and he will believe, and the laity will believe, too, that he is on the road to Nirvana. And if an Englishman asks him what is meant by Nirvana, he says : 'The word means something that cannot be explained in English !' And if the enquiring Englishman goes to one of the Europeans who has put on the Yellow Robe and asks the same question, he is told that Nirvana is explained in Pali books and these books have not been translated yet."

Regarding the monastic system of primary education for boys and girls, our writer observes :—

"Each boy goes to a monastery school and learns to read and write in the vernacular. But the teaching given by the monks is mechanical, the boys learn like parrots and forget all they have learnt after leaving school. The monastic school is still the backbone of education in Burma ; but it is changing rapidly under English influences, and before long it will be so modernised that none will recognise it. Still in some jungle villages, the monastery school may be found untouched, by Western progress, and there may be seen fifty boys, perhaps, lying on the floor, face downwards, busy with small black-boards and soapstone pencils. A monk sits at a little distance, with closed eyes, having set the tasks ; the boys repeat their tasks aloud, in shrill voices. Having studied "The Great Basket of Learning," heard many Birth stories (stories concerning the lives of Gautama before he became a Buddha), a little grammar and a little arithmetic, the boy leaves school ; and soon he forgets all he has learnt, except prayers to be said before

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images of Buddha. But he will have learnt to be gentle, kind and polite, for Buddhist monks are the best teachers of good manners in the world."

But Mr. Law points with hope to the attempt of the Government to rationalise the system of education and observes :

"For the last twenty years the Government of Burma has been introducing into the country the system of education in vogue in British India—inspectors, examinations, grants-in-aid and text-books. Burman boys go to the Rangoon College, which is affiliated to the Calcutta University, also to the American Baptist College, which is conducted on up-to-date lines. Burman women received no education until missionaries went to Burma about one hundred years ago ; and only of recent years has the Government of Burma taken any trouble about female education."

Describing the status of womankind in Burmese Society and their uncommonly flexible marriage customs Mr. Law observes :

"The Burman girl is the freest in the world. She goes where and does what she likes. She chooses her own husband and lives with him afterwards in the house of her parents until he can afford to have a home of his own. Nothing is easier than a Burman marriage. Eating together in the presence of witnesses will make two Burmans man and wife. Divorce is not much more difficult ; but it is seldom resorted to, for a Burman man is kind-hearted and easy-going and a Burman woman will put up with a good deal from her husband."

Of the Anglo-Burman marriages and the evils resulting from the same, the writer says :

"The facile nature of Burman marriage customs has a good deal to do with the Anglo-Burman connubial arrangements that are on the increase in Burma.....The English officials have now been obliged to legalize their relationships^o with Burman girls, but the majority of Englishmen who take to themselves Burman wives do so in the Burman way. The ambition of a Burman girl to-day is to marry an Englishman, and having done so, to associate with English ladies ; and although Burmans of the best class look upon such marriages with suspicion and say that even when the law has made them valid they are a mistake, each year sees more Anglo-Burman marriages, and, unfortunately, more Anglo-Burman children. An Anglo-Burman marriage may be all very well while husband and wife are young, and until children come into the home ; but in middle-life the Englishman finds no companionship in his Burman wife, and he is often ashamed of his Anglo-Burman children. Most

likely he takes then to drink, loses his work, and lives on some small remittance sent from England, where his family do not wish to see him ; and he receives letters from his relations hinting that if he and his belongings do not remain in Burma, the remittance will be stopped."

But the writer does not lose hope for the future of Burmese girls, and describes the possibilities of Burmese women in the following manner :—

"Female education on western lines is making rapid headway in Burma, and as Burman girls are not *pardah* and do not marry before the age of twenty-two or twenty-three, they have many opportunities and plenty of time for education. Affectionate, clever, neat and domestic are the Burman girls. . . . She is a born sales-woman, a clever trader ; and to sell something, if only a few flowers outside her father's door, is her ambition. She makes the money if an English husband go far, and she knows where to buy and how to invest money. Moreover she is devout."

The writer then wonders how Burma has become quite anglicised in so short a time, though Upper Burma has been under British rule for 20 years only and Lower Burma for about half a century. Mr. Law relates some obstacles in the economic development of Burma in the following words :—

"As Burmans will not do manual work, and all labour is highly paid, everything in Burma is very expensive—almost as expensive as on a gold-field. Many European sharpers are in the towns, especially in Rangoon, and little confidence is placed in speculation. Moreover capital is scarce and cash is almost non-existent. People who have an axe to grind in Burma may deny these facts ; but visitors will see the truth for themselves. In Burma there is no wealthy class. Burmans are too proud and too lazy to work, and imported labour is too expensive to entice outside capital to Burma."

"What will, in that case, be the future of Burma," the writer asks and concludes with the reply :

"That of Ceylon. Mining there will be left to Asiatics. The land will be the pleasure-ground of tourists. Transit on the beautiful rivers, which are the glory of the country, will be made cheaper ; and to Burma will go Anglo-Indians for a holiday, also an abundance of European and American tourists. More and more Chinamen and Indians will settle in Burma, and Burmans will become a Buddhist legend."

The pity of it all !

THE SITUATION DISCUSSED AT SIMLA

The third meeting of the autumn session of the re-constituted Imperial Legislative Council held at Simla was made the occasion for a full-dress debate on the present political situation in India. When the Seditious Meetings Act ; Continuation Bill was taken up, the Hon. Messrs. Bhupendra Nath Basu and G. K. Gokhale availed themselves of the opportunity to review the situation in two very admirable speeches. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu has been a consistent and spirited opponent of repressive measures which he considers to be no good in checking sedition, unrest and political crimes ; while, Mr. Gokhale, we are glad to note, has succeeded in breaking the spell under which we have been pained to see him hypnotised for some time past, going even to the length of supporting the Government in passing a seriously retrograde measure to handicap the healthy development of a progressive press in India. Both these measures are exactly similar weapons devised to arrest the growth of independent public opinion in the country, and we do not see how one can consistently oppose the one without opposing the other also.

We however, congratulate Mr. Gokhale, on his entering a most well-reasoned protest against the extension of the Seditious Meetings Act, and he is right in considering that the situation has considerably changed for the better to justify the withdrawal of the same measure. He observed :

“ As I understand the situation, what the country, taken as a whole, needs to-day above everything else, is the opportunity for things to settle down again to the normal state, and in providing this opportunity a responsibility rests as much on the Government as on the people. And in my humble judgment a proposal at a time like the present to renew even for a few months a repressive measure of such exceptional severity as the Seditious Meetings Prevention Act, when the country is comparatively quiet and is getting quieter every day, is not likely to hasten that return to a normal frame of mind on the part of the people and the Government which every true well-wisher of the country must ardently desire.”

As to the intention of the Government of placing the measure permanently under the Statute Book, Mr. Gokhale says that “ it is intolerable to my mind that the whole country should be indiscriminately placed under such a Draconian Legislation ” and sounds a note of despair as to the potency of the non-official voice even in the extended Council Chamber :

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"Now, my Lord, we all know that when once the Government have made up the mind to adopt a particular course nothing that the non-official members may afterwards say in the Council is practically of any avail in bringing about a change in that course."

This is delicious, coming from Mr. Gokhale !

Mr. Gokhale further points out the sufficiency of the existing laws :

"Meanwhile the Government possess in the ordinary law of the land ample powers to meet all reasonable requirements, not only for punishing but also for preventing what has been called seditious or dangerous oratory. They can prohibit meetings likely to prove dangerous to the tranquillity of the country and they can bind down individuals, and the provisions for punishing seditious utterances do not certainly err on the side of leniency. I really do not see what more is wanted if the Government are to show a reasonable regard for the elementary rights of the people."

Mr. Gokhale then expressed his apprehension as to how such powers, as are sought to be vested in the Police by this measure, are likely to be abused :

"There is no doubt however that as a class they are not trusted by the bulk of my countrymen and that innocent people often go about in dread of what they may do, and the position has grown worse since the formation of what is known as the Criminal Investigation Department. This is largely the result of two causes. First, the quality of material from which our police force is drawn, and secondly the lack of spirit of self-assertion among the people generally. The Government no doubt have of late done a good deal to secure a better type of recruits for the force, but the improvement in this respect can only be gradual. Moreover, as long as the people themselves do not know to take better care of themselves as against the police, things are bound to continue pretty much the same as they are at present. What is absolutely necessary is that the Government should not put additional powers into the hands of the police until a substantial improvement has taken place in their character and traditions."

Mr. Gokhale, who blessed the Press Act with his unqualified support in February, has seven months hence become much the wiser by the experience of the operations of that Act. It is a matter of sincere congratulation that Mr. Gokhale has seen the error of his ways and still more because he has been able to muster up sufficient courage to give expression to his sense of great disappointment at the use which the Act has been put to. Mr. Gokhale says :—

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"If ever there was a measure which should have been administered with the utmost care and tact and restraint, it was the Press Act passed last sessions at Calcutta. This was necessary to avoid all needless irritation. It was also due to those non-official members of this Council who in their desire to avoid the difficulties and anxieties with which the Government have been confronted, tried to go as far as they could in support of the measure. I grieve to say, however, that in most provinces this obvious consideration has not been kept in view. In working the Act I will not now refer to those cases in which security was demanded from old concerns when they presented themselves for a mere formal change in their registration, in spite of distinct pledges to the contrary given both in the Statement of Objects and Reasons and in the speeches of Members of Government in this Council. It was no doubt the result of what must be regarded as defective drafting, and I am glad to note that it has now been set right to a great extent by the executive action on the part of Government, but there have been cases in which heavy securities have been demanded from old concerns without specifying what their offence was and for some time past, a regular sedition hunt has been going on in some of the provinces. Hardly a day now passes when some obscure sheet or pamphlet or old book is not dragged forth from oblivion and notified first by one provincial Government and then by another as forfeit to the authorities. Now much of this is, to my mind, altogether futile and it only tends to keep the Press Act in unnecessary and unpleasant prominence before the country. I think the exceptional powers conferred by the Press Act should be very sparingly drawn upon and then too to meet only serious cases of objectionable and dangerous writing. I do not deny that the Act has exercised a restraining influence in some quarters where such influence was most necessary. But as against this, we must place the irritation that is being continuously caused in the country owing to the feeling that the Act is being harshly or unjustly applied.....Had anybody told me before the pamphlet (Mr. Mackerness's) was proscribed that the Government contemplated applying the provisions of the Press Act to it, I should have declined to believe the statement. And now the pamphlet has actually been proscribed, I can only regard the action with deep humiliation and pain."

Mr. Gokhale concluded his able protest with the following statesman-like counsel to the government :

"Not the heavy hand of coercion, but the gentle touch of con-

ciliation and sympathy, of forbearance and oblivion—that is what the situation requires and I earnestly trust their healing influences will be forthcoming in ample measure to obliterate again bitter memories and start the country on a career of prosperity and progress.”

Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu began his able protest with an interesting retrospect of the political situation in India during the last five years ; and, like Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Basu is convinced of the sufficiency of the ordinary law and of the fact that the atmosphere is distinctly clearing. A happy blending of warmth with pathos, clear and clever statements of facts, and freshness of illustrations characterise Mr. Basu's speech which, in any democratic assembly of the world where the members do not meet only “to play the part in a Greek Tragedy,” would certainly have created quite a different impression.

Mr. Basu argued the sufficiency of the ordinary laws by pointing to the deterrent effect of the severity with which political offenders are dealt with at present and described as follows their hard lot :

“The political offender in India is treated as a felon, put to hard and degrading work to which he was never used, the punishment in his case being thus harder than that of the ordinary criminal accustomed to hard work ; he is sometimes flogged and has been known to be dragged in chains through crowded streets. I believe this last method is adopted as an instrument of public humiliation. I may say at once, my Lord, from my place in your Lordship's Council that these degradations only serve to excite public sympathy, that the very severity of the punishment makes the people overlook the heinousness of the offence ; it is an ordinary experience in human ethics. Let those, who inflict these punishments, bear in mind, that nothing is better calculated to make martyrs and heroes of men convicted of political offence, and if there is no profanation in the reference I am about to make, let them not forget that one whom the greater part of the civilized world adores to-day was made to carry his own cross through the streets of Jerusalem and to put on a Crown of thorns.”

Mr. Basu then proceeded to describe the dangers that might result “specially to a bureaucracy” from the suppression of public opinion. He went on to say :

“The right of free criticism of Government measures is so valuable an auxiliary to good government that the fundamental laws of the constitution of some countries expressly preserve to the citizen the right ‘to speak the thing he will.’ In England the

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ight has existed from the time of the early Plantagenets. I take the liberty to quote from a political writer of undisputed authority. Sidgwick says : 'It is an important practical security for freedom of political utterance that man shall not be prevented from writing and publishing what he likes by any interference before the act of an executive official but only restrained by the dread of punishment. It is indeed indispensable to maintain this security if we are to get the advantage of free criticism of the acts of the executive ; since the question, whether such criticism has kept within legal limits laid down for it, is too delicate a one to be left to the judgment of the persons criticised.' My Lord, if freedom of speech is so necessary in countries having a homogeneous government, it is absolutely indispensable under a system of government such as we have, the government by a bureaucracy, the members of which, mostly recruited from outside, must necessarily for a long time at least continue to be ignorant of the thoughts, the feelings and the sentiments of the people they govern, and are thus naturally liable to commit errors which an indigenous bureaucracy would avoid. My Lord, I shall not repeat the commonplace of sitting on the safety-valve ; British rule in India is too firmly established to allow sedition being driven underground. But is it too much to say that the heart-beat of the people can only be audible to Government through their public speakers ?"

The Honourable Member from Bengal pressed the probable effect of such legislation to the attention of the Government in the following beautiful words :—

"Instead of an India under a dead swoon, irresponsive and silent, it is better that you should feel the throbbing of the pulse, better that you should feel the movement of the heart. Do you want, my Lord, that there shall be the silence of the grave between the people and the Government, that the great heart of the nation shall be buried in some dark subterranean vault lighted only through the coloured slides of the Criminal Investigation Department ? Do you want, my Lord, that the Government should be shut up in some prison, like prince Siddhartha, from whom all knowledge of the world was sought to be shut out, before he became the Buddha ? I hope not, I trust not. My Lord, I am afraid I have spoken with some degree of warmth, but the effects of the recent legislation are too patent for me to keep silent. If the suppression of the independence of the Press and the platform could bring the millennium to India, then certainly we should all support it. You know, my Lord, just as much as I do, that it will

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not have that effect, you cannot overtake the heels of time, you cannot harness the thoughts of men ; you can no more suppress the swelling forces that are rising around us than did the old English King the surging billows of the sea."

With a very touching appeal to the Viceroy, Mr. Basu concluded his beautiful address :

" I feel like one who sees the impending blow which he cannot avert. But, my Lord, I am not without hope. I trust, my Lord, that good shall fall,

At last—far off—at last, to all,
And every winter change to spring.

" May I venture to recall to the memory of the Council the famous passage in St Paul's second epistle to the Corinthians ? ' We look not at the things which are seen but at the things which are not seen ; for the things which are seen are temporal but the things which are not seen are eternal.' My Lord, we Hindus, 'cradled in the religion of the Vedanta and the Upanishads, we too look forward to the things which are not seen. We feel what was so beautifully expressed in India in days long gone by—we feel that the law we are enacting to-day is but a ripple in the wave of time, and will pass away. Otherwise, my Lord, knowing that our voice was feeble and ineffectual, I should not have come all these thousand miles to record my humble protest. For the day, the defeat is ours, but my Lord,

'The races rise and cluster,
The evils fade and fall,
Till chaos blooms to beauty
God's purpose crowning all.' "

LORD MORLEY'S FIFTH UNDER-SECRETARY ON INDIA

Since Lord (then Mr. John) Morley took over charge of India Office at Whitehall, he has had as many as five Parliamentary under-secretaries to assist him in the governance of this country. One by one all have dropped after putting about a twelve months' work apiece till it has fallen to a young man of thirty-one to explain Indian affairs to the House of Commons. Mr. John Ellis—a Quaker by birth—found it an uncongenial work to support the Indian policy of Mr. John Morley, resigned his office, and retired to the back benches. To him succeeded Mr. Hobhouse who was soon

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translated to a wider sphere of action as the secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Buchanan stepped into Mr. Hobhouse's shoes, and, being a rather old man, found the heckling of the Parliamentary friends of India a too severe strain upon his poor constitution. The fourth under-secretary was Mr. Murray, better known as the Master of Elibank, who bore with perfect equanimity all the badgering which Messrs. Cotton, Rutherford, Mackarness, Keir Hardie and Company could put him under. This year, Mr. Montagu, a young man of 31 and son of a banker-peer, has taken up the office of the Indian under-secretary and reviewed before the House of Commons the political situation in India from the India Office point of view.

Mr. Montagu's speech on the last Indian Budget in the British House of Commons is an apt illustration of the sorry attempts often made by liberal politicians at the helm of Indian affairs to reconcile liberal platitudes to the reactionary policy they have to pursue in India either of their own initiative or owing to pressure from the men-on-the-spot.

Speaking on the political unrest in India, Mr. Montagu began by enlightening the House of the immense difficulties in the governance of a country like India, with its vastness of extent containing an enormous population composed of innumerable castes and creeds, and by asking his audience to remember that although "recent changes in the Indian attitude are confined to a very small portion of the population,.....the amount of yeast necessary to leaven a loaf is very small and when the majority have no ideas or views the opinion of the educated minority is the most prominent fact in the situation."

Mr. Montagu exhorted the scare-mongers not to get impatient of the Indian unrest and gives a genesis of the same in the following words :—

" May I say how strange it seems to me that a progressive people like the English should be surprised at unrest ! You welcome it in Persia, commend it enthusiastically in Turkey, partonise it in China and Japan, and are impatient of it in Egypt and India ! Whatever was your object in touching the ancient civilisation of the Indian Empire, whatever was the reason for British occupation, it must have been obvious that you could not bring Eastern civilisation into contact with Western without disturbing its serenity, without infusing new ingredients, without, in a word, causing unrest. And when you undertook the government of the country, when, further, you deliberately embarked on a policy of educating the peoples

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on Western lines, you caused the unrest because you wished to colour Indian ideals with Western aspirations. When you came into India you found that the characteristic of Indian thought was an excessive reverence for authority. The scholar was thought to accept the assurance of his spiritual teacher with unquestioning reverence ; the duty of the subject was passive obedience to the ruler ; the usages of society were invested with a divine sanction which it was blasphemy to question. To a people so blindly obedient to authority the teaching of European, and particularly of English thought, was a revolution. English literature is saturated with the praise of liberty, and it inculcates the duty of private and independent judgment upon every man. We have always been taught, and we all believe that every man should judge for himself, and that no authority can relieve him of the obligation of deciding for himself the great issues of right or wrong.

"The Indian mind was at first revolted at this doctrine, then one or two here and there were converted to it. They became eager missionaries of the new creed of private judgment and independence, and the consequence is that a new spirit is abroad wherever English education has spread, which questions all established beliefs and calls for orthodoxy, either political, social, economic, or religious, to produce its credentials. We are not concerned here, except in so far as they are important causes of political unrest, with either religious or social unrest. It is not necessary for me to do more than state the platitude that religious unrest produces among those who have experienced it political results. There can be no departure from religious orthodoxy without its being accompanied by its fierce reaction to orthodoxy. Side by side with the unrest produced directly by English example comes the indirect result of a religious revival. The activities of those who are questioning the teaching they have inherited call into action those who fiercely combat the new religious heterodoxies, abominate the Western example producing them, emphasise the fundamental and, they say, the unconquerable differences between the east and west, and demand freedom from alien influences. These two counter-forces—the reform movement and the survival that opposes it—involve not only those directly affected, but their parents, relations, and friends, and cause political and social unrest.

"Viewed broadly, India may be said to be passing from the stage of society in which agricultural and domestic industries of the cottage order have predominated, in which each village has been

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an isolated community, and each individual attached to a particular spot and hereditary occupation, to the stage of organised over-seas commerce and capitalised industry. As yet the transition is visible only in a few exceptional districts, where factories or coal-mining have taken hold, and in the maritime cities through which the commerce of India to other countries pours. Indirectly, the whole continent is affected: the demand for labour of the industrial centres penetrates to the most secluded villages, raising the local wage rates, and increasing the farmer's wage bill. The demand of foreign countries for the food grains, the oil seeds, the cotton and the jute of India raises local prices, widens the cultivator's market, and changes the crops he grows. The competition of machine-made goods with hand-loom industry impoverishes the village weaver, or converts him into a mill hand and drives him into a town.

"Of the three movements—the religious movement, the social movement, and the economic movement—each produces its quota of political unrest, and the counter-movements of those who abominate the new teaching, resent the alteration of the time-honoured social customs, dislike any departure from orthodox religion, question the teaching that produces it and also show resentment to those who teach it. All these three things together make that curious, differently produced, force in India which is known as political unrest. It would be very surprising indeed if the religious and social reform movements, such as I have described, together with the opposition to them, the desire for economic trade, the tendency to preserve uneconomic and ancient industries, together with the spread of education and the growth of the Native Press, the fermentation of new ideas stopped short of the political sphere. Of all forms of liberty England has always shown the most zealous solicitude for political liberty, and I think we can regard political unrest in India as being but the manifestation of a movement of Indian thought which has been inspired, directly or indirectly, by English ideals, to which the English and the Government of India themselves gave the first impetus. It is constantly being nourished by English education given in Government schools and colleges. In so far as this political unrest is confined to pressing the Government to popularise the Government of the country, so far as the conditions of India will permit, I do not believe that anybody in this House will quarrel with it. You cannot give to the Indians western education from carefully chosen and carefully selected teachers, trained either in Europe or in India, you cannot

give to the Indians western education either in Europe or in India and then turn round and refuse to those whom you have educated the right, the scope, or the opportunity to act and think as you have taught them to do. If you do, it seems to me that you must cause another kind of unrest, more dangerous than any other among those bitterly dissatisfied and disappointed with the results of their education, who use methods which have been taught them in Western countries to vent their disappointment. For this reason, it seems to me, if I may say so, that the condition of India at the moment is one which, handled well, contains the promise of a completer justification of British rule ; handled ill, is bound to lead to chaos. English thought may be responsible for the fundamental principle of revolt against authority, but it cannot be responsible for all the changes which that principle has undergone in its adaptation to Oriental environment. It would be absurd to suppose that old beliefs can be unseated and old usages altered without some element of danger. There have been recently in India manifestations of political unrest with which no one can sympathise, and with regard to which difference of opinion is not legitimate. There have been assassinations and conspiracies to murder ; there have been incitements to violence in the Press ; there have been attempts to create hatred against certain sections of His Majesty's subjects. If this pernicious unrest was allowed to spread it would result in wide-spread misery and anarchy ; it would produce a state of things in India which would be more inimical to progress than even the most stringent coercion. It would bring chaos, from which society would seek refuge in a military dictatorship. For these reasons, if the Government was prevented from doing its duty in preventing this, it seems to me it would be a great step backwards and a tragedy in history."

Mr. Montagu admits that there has been during recent months "a revulsion of Indian opinion in British favour" and credits Lord Morley's policy of repression and conciliation with achieving the same results. He observes :

"True statesmanship, it seems to me, ought to be directed towards separating legitimate from illegitimate unrest. The permanent safeguard must be a systematic government, which realises the elements of good as well as the elements of danger, and which suppresses criminal extravagances with inflexible sternness. His Majesty's Government, acting upon this principle, are determined to arm and to assist the Indian Government in its unflinching war against sedition and illegitimate manifestations of unrest, while it

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shows an increasingly sympathetic and encouraging attitude towards legitimate aspirations."

Lord Morley's fifth under-secretary then proceeds to put up at great length a defence of the Press Act and its 'equitable administration,' in course of which he throws an ominous hint at the Government's intention of placing the Seditious Meetings Act permanently in the Indian Statute Book :

"I believe that the Act, taken in conjunction with the Seditious Meetings Act, will complete the armour necessary, so far as one can foresee, for the repression of the campaign of calumny and of sedition. It will, at any rate, prevent that horrible form of sedition-mongering, which consists in disseminating cruel mis-statements among young boys at school, determining what is sedition."

Referring to the Indian Police, the worthy lieutenant of Lord Morley, however, confesses to their many defects and lays much store by the reorganization scheme inaugurated by Lord Curzon and points to the "marked improvement" that has been effected as a result of the same. Mr. Mantagu of course could not let such an occasion to pass without falling foul of Mr. Mackarness for his merciless exposition of the vices of the Indian Police. The newest under-secretary for India says :

"To point out defects in the police force, if it is considered that they still require pointing out, and to suggest new remedies and palliatives which have not yet been discovered, if there be such, is useful work, demanding the sympathy of all men, but to collect instances of abuse many unproved, some proved to be false, to take quotations from their context and garble them, to represent as findings of a Commission what is merely report of popular opinion, to quote a statement of an interested party as being 'an account of what happened in the very words of the official resolution,' to say that the Indian Government has never prohibited torture, when it is punishable with seven years' penal servitude, to ignore any Government action, to stop these abuses, and to represent the Government as ignorant or supine, callous, and tolerant of bad practices, I say, whether this be the work of a Hindu agitator or an ex-Member of Parliament, it is seditious, dangerous, and ought to be stopped."

As the contents of Mr. Mackarness' pamphlet form the subject of a case now pending in the Calcutta High Court, we refrain to offer any comments upon it at this stage.

The under-secretary for India then urged the necessity of improved educational methods to deal with "the root causes" of the

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Indian unrest and described the repressive measures as dealing only with the manifestations or symptoms, thereof, and he sketched the measures adopted by the present Government under the following heads : (1) The appointment of an educational adviser to Indian Students at the India Office ; (2) the appointment of an Advisory Committee ; (3) the provision of a house for the National Indian Association and the Northbrook Society for the purpose of a joint club house and (4) the appointment in India of a new member for education in the Viceroy's Executive Council to secure a coherent policy towards education and to control the expenditure of money allotted for this purpose. He further went on to elaborate this scheme :

"We must make the teaching more practical, encourage and extend technical instruction, for which there is a great demand, supervise and improve the hostels. The educational system now in existence has undoubtedly been successful in purifying the judicial service. It is capable of great extension in improving the moral tone of the country, spreading discipline and disseminating useful knowledge by means of well-paid and contented teachers."

On the good results brought about by the policy of conciliation embodied in the Councils Act, Mr. Montagu observed :

"In effect, the Councils Act has resulted in producing excellent debates, creating opportunities for the ventilation of grievances and of public views, creating public opinion, permitting the Governors to explain themselves, giving to those interested in politics a better and a more productive field for their persuasive powers than the rather more sterile debates in Congress. I have now described not only the latest measure for dealing with disorder, the measure to create a responsible Press, but also the latest measure for an attempt to popularise the Councils Act."

Young as Mr. Montagu is, he, however, did not hesitate to offer the following advice to the House :—

"Do not, on the one hand, oppose all agitation for reforms because you are led astray to confuse it with seditious agitation Do not fear that you are lacking in sympathy with the true reformer because you refuse sympathy to the anarchist. Because you are afraid that some reformer may be called an anarchist, because you fear that you will be accused of refusing to assist those who are animated by some democratic ideals similar to your own, you are led sometimes to appear to throw a protecting cloak over the malefactor in order to proclaim aloud your sympathy with the reformer. To resist the efforts made to cope with the anarchist

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because you will not trust the Government of India to differentiate between the anarchist and the reformer ; these divergent, contradictory, and equally dangerous tendencies would, either of them, if they prevailed, subvert order and dissipate the promise to be found in Indian affairs at the moment ; and it is because of their existence that all parties in the House should help the Government in segregating violence and incitement to violence which mask, hinder, and might render impotent real efforts for reform. Remember, too, that every reform is irrevocable in India. Each reform opens out new activities, new spheres of thought, new views of life to those whom it affects. Each reform demands eventually, as its corollary, new and further reforms."

After a few words of warm eulogy of the Indian Civil Service, Mr. Montagu advised its members as follows :

" Remember that the best intentions of the Government may be frustrated by the most junior members of the Service, called upon, as they are, immediately to assume great responsibilities. I can conceive no more important career than the Indian Civil Service, and I would urge that it should be the object of all those who enter it to permit not even the most unfriendly examination to detect any deterioration in the Service."

And in this connection we respectfully submit that Sir Edward Baker would do well by comparing his own intolerance of " nice discrimination between the innocent and the guilty" with the following observations of Mr. Montagu :

" Paper reforms are useless if given grudgingly and made the excuse for tightened reins in administrative action—punitive measures become as dangerous as the evils they are to cure if used indiscriminately for repression and not for punishment, to drive honest men to despair instead of sinners to repentance."

Mr. Montagu did not close his address without summing up Lord Minto's "great record for five years" in the following words :—

" Taxation has been lightened to the extent of millions of pounds ; famine has been fought and frontiers have been protected with unparalleled success and speed. Factory conditions, general health, education, the efficiency of the police, have all been improved, the pay of the Native Army has been increased. Our relations with the Native States have been improved and were never better. The rigidity of the State machine has been softened, while liberal measures of reform have opened to the educated classes of the Indian community a wider field for participation in the government of the country."

ARTICLES

INDUSTRIAL OUTLOOK OF BENGAL

It will, perhaps, be readily admitted that during the last four years Bengal has played a conspicuous part in the industrial awakening of India. A strong impetus has been given by it to the *Swadeshi* movement. Our countrymen have begun to give active preference to indigenous goods. A demand for these has arisen and is daily growing. The spirit of industrialism has permeated the people and industrial pursuits have come into great favour. India has caught the new idea. Bombay, the pioneer in constructive enterprise, still continues to lead in this line. To Bengal belongs chiefly the credit of *Swadeshi* propagandism. But its work did not end there. All the existing industries in the province have felt the quickening of a new life. The weavers, proverbially a poor set, are once again in a thriving condition. New handicrafts have seen the light of day. Pens and penholders, buttons, knives, sooks and other articles of daily use are now prepared, though on a small scale, in the country. The indigenous shoe, fairly, competes with its foreign rival. Industries in modern style are also in evidence. One can point to the soap factories, tanneries, pottery works, pencil and match factories and spinning and weaving mills which have been started in this short period. Business on other lines—such as insurance and banking,—has also made some progress. This is, after all, not a bad record for a province whose strong point is certainly not in this direction. Shops for the sale of goods of indigenous manufacture have also multiplied. They are no longer the monopoly of any special class or caste. There is a genuine desire in the people to support home industries. Their feelings and ideas have undergone a change and are in keeping with the world-wide spirit of the age. But it will be said that this account does not hold true of the present state of things. It may be that the enthusiasm of the first years has abated. The first wave of a new idea is always full and effusive. Cool thought succeeds later and with it the excitement goes and errors are perceived and rectified. It is beyond question that the present attitude, at least, amongst the educated classes is one of reasoned preference towards home industries.

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Our principal defect lies in constructive work. No doubt for Bengal—a province industrially backward from the modern standpoint—some progress has been made. But this is not much. We have attempted many things. Can we say we have succeeded in them all? The general belief is, as yet, we have *not*. Some go to the length of saying that we have positively failed. The latter view may not be correct but it is not wide of the fact to say that our success is, indeed, not of a very appreciable character. There are some unavoidable reasons for this result. Management of large concerns is a new venture in Bengal. Mistakes are, therefore, bound to be made at the beginning. Besides there are peculiar difficulties which every industry has to contend with in our country. They hamper progress at every stage. Allowance must be made for all these circumstances. But making even the most liberal allowance, it is not possible to absolve the management of a considerable share of blame. There has, consequently, grown a feeling of disappointment in the country. It may soon deepen into despair. But such an attitude of public mind will be nothing short of a disaster and it ought to be our chief endeavour to avert it. Our first step in this direction is to make a searching enquiry into the circumstances that stand in the way of our success. This will be a safe guide for future course of action. No sort of delicacy or false pride should deter us from engaging in the task. For the issue at stake is of great national importance.

(1) The first thing that strikes even a careless observer is the undue haste with which some of our industrial schemes were undertaken. Prompted mainly by the excitement of the hour no proper account was taken of their needs and difficulties. The mode of conducting a particular business was seldom clearly thought out. The necessary capital was under-estimated and the question of the supply of raw material never troubled our minds. Guided by the must-do-something impulse an old spinning and weaving mill was purchased at double its value and a match factory was started with grossly insufficient capital. Their management was purely a matter of toss-up. No expert advice was available at hand: no really expert advice was sought. The mistakes due to this hasty action have now been discovered and are bearing fruit. But initial mistakes are difficult to undo at a later stage and always tell upon the efficiency of a business. Nowhere was caution more needed than in Bengal and nowhere unfortunately was caution so lightly trampled under foot.

(2) The experts who were entrusted with the work of manufacture

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often turned out to be no experts at all. They had learned the theory abroad but their practical training had been inadequate. The result was that when they themselves set to work they found themselves hopelessly at sea. There are experts who do not come within this category. But these exceptions do not affect the general statement. The fault is not so much of these experts as of the Association that had sent them, its principal care being their number and not their efficiency. They were not given sufficient facilities to enable them to complete their training. For all this the industries had to suffer. Capital is exacting and anxious for its return. By the time the experts learn their art the particular business is in a fair way to be wound up.

(3) Another drawback to our success is the amateurish way of doing business. A successful lawyer or a successful physician becomes the managing Director or the Manager of a Company. He has seldom any past experience and in many cases has no time or intention of acquiring any. But the point urged in his favour is that he works without a remuneration. He picks up an hour or two out of his spare time for the business of which he is the official head. The result is that the business never prospers, while he seems to take shelter under the plea that he does not work for pay. The system of having honorary directors or managers is vicious in principle. The manager of a firm must have a pecuniary and not merely a patriotic interest in the concern ; for the responsibility often goes along with the remuneration. In an ideal world things may be different, but we have to deal here with facts and not with fads. Self-sacrifice has no place in business which ought always to be conducted on sound business principles. We should draw our lessons from England. Another requisite for a manager is that he must be a whole-time man. His principal occupation must be the business of which he is the manager. Large practice, either as a lawyer or as a physician, if anything, is a disqualification for the office. The absurdity of the matter is heightened by the fact that one man often lends his name to half-a-dozen concerns. What is in a name? ought not to be the defence of a self-respecting and responsible man of position.

(4) Want of co-operation amongst several firms engaged in the same business is another evil. Frequently they carry on an unfair competition amongst themselves. The need of pushing one's wares does not mean cutting the throat of another in the field. He is not to be treated as a rival when the country is capacious enough for twenty and not merely two similar industries. This

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mutual rivalry is nowhere more pernicious than at the infant stage of a country's industrial progress.

(5) The single proprietor or the many shareholders of a concern as the case may be are oftentimes ignorant of the conditions of business. They lack the patience to wait for their money's return. Their impatience is a source of trouble to the management. But this patience which is so eminently desirable ought not to be synonymous with indifference. Honest criticism and intelligent interest are more helpful than otherwise. For the danger is great of a concern degenerating into a one-man show and this must be guarded against.

(6) The directors of a company are often found to be intolerant of criticism. It is not a rare instance to find them falling out amongst themselves on petty matters. They are sometimes charged with being actuated by private considerations in dealing with the affairs of the company. A regrettable lack of discipline is often displayed by them. It is always desirable for a director to press his own view of things but the failure to get it accepted by the majority ought not to be the signal for his secession.

(7) It is sometimes alleged that the interest of a manager does not always coincide with the interest of a firm. This is a serious charge and ought not to be accepted without sufficient proof. For nothing can be more damaging to the reputation of the person or the prosperity of the concern. But still it is a matter for enquiry.

The management of a business must steer clear of all these pitfalls. Otherwise success will not come or will be extremely slow and feeble if it comes at all.

It is a truism that the material prospect of our or any country lies in the growth of industrialism. But our capital is shy and organisation defective. The rich land-owners have a dread of industrial enterprises. Nursed in the ease of unearned increment they are naturally averse to the risk and labour involved in them. Many of them have very little money left after spending on the latest fashions of the day and meeting other urgent demands. The service men are over-cautious and do not like to risk their savings in uncertain investments. They are satisfied with $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on their hard earned money. The third class consists of the professional money-lenders. Money-lending is the only business they understand and find very profitable too. But no industry can afford to pay or can thrive on the high rate of interest which they generally charge. The professional classes have a tendency to invest in business concerns. Amongst the first three classes there are, however, honourable

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exceptions. They have stepped forward and shown the way of investing capital in industries, which it is for others to follow. In Bengal a joint-stock company is an essential necessity. The bulk of the capital comes from small shareholders as our past experience proves. The question of capital practically resolves itself, therefore, into one of organisation. Our middle classes largely invest in companies under European management. There is no reason why they should not patronise Indian concerns if the latter can establish their credit and good name.

In these days of steam and electricity manufacture on a large scale is the rule. Small concerns have to work at a disadvantage. But it is yet to be proved that there is no room for small industries. They are more within our scope than the highly capitalised and complex mills and factories of the modern times. The question of handicrafts also demands our attention. All delicate and artistic things are still produced by hand even in Europe. In Bengal hand-made cloths still maintain their ground against foreign competition. In fact hardly any competition exists with them. In our country where labour is abundant and cheap the success of cottage industries is not quite impossible. It will be a real boon to the people, for work in factories is foreign to their genius. The evils, moral and physical, that are attendant on labour in mills may be avoided. No factory legislation could hardly put an end to them. The conflict between capital and labour is also doing a lot of mischief to society in the manufacturing countries. A revulsion of feeling has set in against factory labour and attempts are being made even in England to revive cottage industries. Their success may be problematical, but the experiment is worth trying in this country.

Our industrial future may not look bright in the light of past experience. It is certainly not hopeless. Mistakes may have been made in the past. We shall profit by them in the future. We can not give up the industrial career if we desire to live as a people. The time is coming, if it has not already come, when the people of Bengal will have to earn their bread solely within the confines of their own province. Loaves and fishes in services and professions will be snatched away by rival hands. Our only hope lies in industrial pursuits. The people of Bengal are endowed with a quick power of adaptability. They are inferior to none in skill and intelligence. What we lack is patience and whole-hearted devotion. A little more capacity to trust and to be trusted is also needful. The question of organisation is mainly a question of discipline.

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With a little more of these qualities there is no reason why we should not succeed in the industrial sphere. Success may be slow, but is bound to come. Let us only set to work in real earnest and in the right spirit.

Satyananda Bose

THE SITUATION AND OUR DUTY

Nothing struck one more painfully in going through the proceedings of the recent meeting of the Supreme Legislative Council at Simla, at which the Seditious Meetings Act was renewed for a further term, than the unquestioning acceptance by so many non-official members of the official view, that the political situation in the country had considerably improved during the last few months. The country, said Mr. Gokhale, was now on the downward grade of its anxieties, and such was the assurance the Hon'ble member seemed to feel on the subject, that he actually proceeded to point out what he considered to be the causes of this improvement. Other non-official members followed in the same strain. Evidently all that these gentlemen had in view was the fact that the Government has achieved considerable success in suppressing that terrible evil, terrorism, which for a time threatened to do incalculable mischief. This is no doubt satisfactory, so far as it goes, but non-official members cannot afford to be short-sighted. So far as the suppression of terrorism means a state of security, at what cost, they might ask themselves, has this security been purchased? It cannot be said that the question itself did not strike them. One non-official member, whose fairness and honesty of purpose were praised in the highest terms by the *Englishman* newspaper in March last, actually declared, in the course of his speech, that the public life of the country had been killed by the Seditious Meetings Act. And the observation was repeated in more guarded language by some other non-official members. The Hon'ble members were considering a particular measure and not the whole situation, and were not therefore able to refer to the other measures which have co-operated with the Seditious Meetings Act in bringing about a result which, when the excitement of the moment is over, the Government would doubtless deplore as much as ourselves—a state of absolute political inaction. With the country landed, on their own admission, in this deplorable state, with what propriety could non-official members congratulate themselves that an improvement had been effected in the general political situation and that the tension

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had been greatly relieved ? Repression, indeed, would have stood supremely justified if that had been so. To me the most remarkable feature of the situation is not any improvement that has been effected, not the suppression of terrorism, greatly as I rejoice at it, because terrorism was only a passing evil, but the melancholy fact that in suppressing this evil, British statesmen have allowed themselves to adopt a policy, which is calculated so materially to thwart the progress of India. One by one, all the three elementary rights, I do not say, of civilised men but, at any rate, of the King's subjects, rights which, with some qualification or other, had been exercised by our people for generations have been practically taken away : I mean the right of public meeting, the right of association, and the freedom of the Press. I do not for a moment deny that it is merely from a love of order and from a desire to suppress lawlessness and sedition that the authorities have resorted to the measures leading to this unfortunate result. But want of foresight in those who are at the helm of affairs in a country may prove as fatal to its growth and progress as any other cause.

And what a sad want of foresight are our rulers exhibiting ! When the crimes that have recently disgraced our annals are described as political in their origin and character, it is implied, I suppose, that a number of people have been misled into believing that freedom in the sense of national self-determination is incompatible with the British connection. No greater delusion, assuming it exists anywhere, could, indeed, be imagined, but the statesmanship and wisdom of seeking to remove this delusion by an actual restriction of the freedom which the people have so long enjoyed is not quite apparent to me. I know it will be said in reply that the restriction is necessary for the preservation of order and that legitimate public life will have ample scope in the enlarged Councils. I know that is the official view ; but does any one expect it to be the non-official view also ? What, indeed, is the truth ? Does the salvation of the country depend merely upon the preservation of order and the proceedings of the enlarged Councils ? The efforts of Lord Morley and the Government of India have, so far as one can see, been confined to securing these laudable, but by no means all-sufficing, ends. Order, I think, is chiefly valuable when it leads to progress and expanded Councils are useful if there is such a thing as public opinion, expressed through many different channels and in many different forms, but which, so far as official policy and official measures are concerned, is most effectively voiced in Council.

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Order at the cost of progressive public life is scarcely worth having, except as a necessary evil ; the necessity has to be established before the evil can be acquiesced in, and in any case the evil must be temporary. And enlarged Councils, where there is no vigorous public opinion which insists upon finding expression in the Council-chamber, very often have to register the decrees of the executive. Statesmanship, therefore, is not summed up either in the repressive measures of the Government, the object of which is to secure order, or in the policy of conciliation which has given us the expanded Councils. Nor is it summed up in that impossible amalgam, repression-cum-conciliation. British statesmanship can have no higher aim in India than to help the many millions of our people, differing in race, language, religion and historic traditions, to evolve into, I do not say, a homogeneous but a composite nationality, a nation among the nations, and, in its political status, a self-governing unit of a glorious Empire. Whatever individual Englishmen, however highly placed, may affect to think, this has been the consistent, if unconscious, tendency of British rule in India and to the thinking portion of our people it has been England's chief title to our gratitude. Our people have never lived merely in the present and have never attached supreme importance to the security which England has given them, unquestionably valuable as it is in a negative sense. There is, they know, peace also in the grave, and a state of security may mean a state of religious and secular *nirvan*. It is because they expect British statesmanship to help Indian genius and Indian capacity to build upon the prevailing state of security and peace the superstructure of a healthy and vigorous national life that they have always been prepared to lend active support to British policy. Even now in spite of the short-sightedness of latter-day statesmanship and in spite of the adoption by the Government of the day of measures which they think to be injurious to their growth, they continue to hope for the best. That explains the persistency with which they are perpetually reminding the Government of its duty.

The present is essentially one of those moments when such a reminder is necessary. The Government of India, misled by a host of organs of Anglo-Indian opinion, has just decided to continue the Seditious Meetings Act for another five months and the air is surcharged with the rumour that the Act will be made permanent in March. The Press Act and the Crimes Act are already permanent measures. Thus not one of the organs of public life or public opinion can be said to be what it was barely three years ago. What

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else can be expected if no public life is allowed to grow or if there are to be no public activities at all except of the semi-official sort ? The Government has, indeed, told us in no uncertain language what it thinks of such public activities as we have hitherto had. The suppression of the Conferences in East Bengal was supported in the Viceroy's Council on the ground, among others, that " the object of these Conferences was to revive agitation." Does the Government then seriously contemplate putting under a ban all public activities that are not of a certain approved pattern ? To prevent " agitation " from being revived can, I fear, mean nothing else. The word "agitation" in the passage I have quoted can only mean the anti-partition agitation supported by the boycott propaganda. I am by no means sure that to revive agitation in this sense was the object of the suppressed Conferences, but I am prepared to meet the Government on its own ground. Does it seriously think that it can suppress agitation in this sense without reducing the country to a condition from which its own policy had been largely instrumental in elevating it ? The anti-partition agitation took its stand upon two fundamental principles, first, that the Bengali speaking people is, by community of interest, and ought, of right, to be a single and homogeneous unit in the life of the Indian nation, and secondly that a people rising fast to a consciousness of itself is entitled to an effective voice in the determination of its destinies, and that however high the authority of the Government may be, it should not ignore or ever trifle with the voice of the people. Similarly the boycott is based upon two elementary rights of the individual. The individual may do whatever he likes so long as he does not interfere with the just rights of other individuals, and renders that support to lawful authority which it has a right to expect from him ; and he may seek to induce other people to adopt a certain course, so long as that course itself is legitimate and the weapon he uses is moral persuasion. Will anybody tell us how any civilised Government, particularly a Government English in its origin and character, can suppress an agitation like the anti-partition agitation or a propaganda like that of the boycott, without proving false to some of the fundamental principles of its constitution and violating some of the fundamental rights of modern citizenship ? Boycott in the sense of incitement to racial hatred is certainly objectionable ; boycott enforced by unlawful methods may be put down with a firm hand. In the same way, seditious speeches made at public meetings or public meetings which may lead to disorder or breaches of the peace may be suppressed. But

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where there is neither violence nor sedition, nor incitement to racial hatred, it is not within the moral competence of the Government to put down either boycott or any political agitation. I use the words "moral competence" advisedly, for as the Government is now constituted in India there is really no limit to its power. It is against the use of this power, where the moral competence is not patent to us, that popular protests are directed.

Talking of power, I am reminded that as things stand in India, there can be no untruer doctrine than that we alone can make or mar our future and that the Government can do nothing. If the Government will only allow the particular measures we have referred to to continue on the statute book, it can effectively reduce the people to a condition where nothing beyond the individualistic or the family life would be open to it. No one can believe that the Government will do this, or that it will not abandon its present policy the moment it is convinced that this is the tendency of that policy. But we are talking of abstract power, and we have in view not so much the Government, as that thoughtless section of the people—an infinitesimal section admittedly, still not negligible—who seem to think that a Government so powerful as ours, so firmly established in the acquiescence of the people and so well-organised, can be overthrown by a few wild utterances or by a few insane acts of violence. These utterances and acts, however they may be explained, have so far had but one effect, that of strengthening the hands of reaction and completely demoralising a very large portion of the general population, particularly the educated community. If they are persisted in, things will only become worse.

This reminds me that the leaders of the people, by whatever name they may be called, extremists or moderates, have not so far done their duty to the country. They have condemned the repressive measures of the Government ; some of them have condemned the acts of violence committed by a number of misguided youngmen. But both classes of politicians have from the beginning committed the fatal mistake of thinking that the salvation of the country depends solely upon "political action." The one has fixed upon Colonial Self-Government for its goal and constitutional agitation for its method ; the other has fixed upon unqualified Self-Government for its goal and the preaching of courage, self-reliance and self-help in the abstract, for its method. Neither has adequately realised that the salvation of the country depends, above every thing else, upon the development of its strength and efficiency from within. The inadequate attention which such all-important aspects of

the national problem as education and social reform even now receive from both wings of the Nationalist Party, if we leave a few individuals out of account, as compared with political questions can leave no doubt as to this. In this particular matter, indeed, I blame the extremists more than the moderates. The vast majority of moderate politicians, for good or for evil, have always believed that Self-Government will be conceded to India as soon as the justice of her case has been made clear, and since they have narrowed down their activities to politics, they may confine themselves to political agitation with some show of reason. Not so the extremists who profess to rely only upon themselves. Do these estimable gentlemen rely only upon themselves individually and the small minority of their way of thinking—or upon the country generally? Reviewing their activities for the four years preceding the last twelve months, the period of absolute inaction for both parties, one is constrained to observe that in the main they thought as little of and relied as little upon the country as those moderate leaders whose eyes have always or generally been fixed principally upon England. We have heard a good deal about “faith in the country,” but in the main the phrase has been resorted to only, I fear, to avoid the arduous process of thinking about the country and its problems.

This avoidance of the somewhat laborious process of thought constitutes, to my mind, the saddest drawback in our public life and public activities. I am one of those who have for the last few years been loudly congratulating the country upon the birth of a spirit of nationality among its people. But so far all that the advent of this new spirit has perceptibly effected is a change in men's feeling. There is undoubtedly a hankering, sometimes a most passionate hankering, for the service of the country and for making ourselves useful to it. And the hankering seems to permeate not merely individuals, but a not inconsiderable section of the educated community and almost the bulk of the younger generation. But if the essence of self-consciousness is thought, the painful admission has to be made that while the national sentiment seems to be fairly abroad, national self-consciousness is yet confined to only a handful. There has so far been too little of an attempt to look at, to regulate, and to reconstruct life, its institutions and concerns from the point of view of the highest interests—the highest good of the community. There has been too little of an attempt even to find out the highest interests—the highest good of the community. This lack of self-consciousness showed itself, strange as the saying may seem, most conspicuously in the sayings and doings of that small band of

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politicians who about 3 or 4 years ago seemed to have convinced themselves and a large body of their youthful following that the country could make no progress whatever so long as it had not attained national autonomy. I was in a remote provincial town when this doctrine first began to be preached and having some connection with a local newspaper, I ventured to ask through its columns the principal advocate of this doctrine if he was not really preaching a cult of despair and of absolute inaction. If we could make no progress whatever, I asked, without having previously attained national autonomy and if, as was perfectly obvious, we could not attain national autonomy without having achieved considerable progress in more directions than one, what had we to do if not to sit with folded hands, awaiting that blessed consummation which Mr. Lalmohan Ghosh so felicitously described as political *nirvan*? The gentleman to whom this question was put had among other high merits that of candour, and was not inclined, like so many others, to deceive himself, and, if I am not very much mistaken, he never again indulged in the fallacy which for some time had vitiated his otherwise splendid political reasonings. But I cannot say that his friends and followers abandoned this fatal way of thinking, so long as they were permitted to have any "thinking" at all, at any rate in public. The truth, of which the above doctrine is the perversion, is that India, as a nation, among the nations, cannot do for a single day, can make no advance in the international arena, cannot fulfil itself in the life of universal humanity, without national self-government. But India must be a nation before national self-government can be indispensable to her in this particular sense. That does not mean that it is not necessary to place the ideal of self-government before the community. On the other hand, I am firmly convinced, as I hope the bulk of my educated countrymen are, that it is the ideal of a composite self-governing nationality which must lend its distinctive colour to all our political, social and economic thinking, and must inspire all our public and private activities. But it is one thing to have an ideal and to treat it as such, recognising its place in the scheme of rational life; it is quite another to regard the ideal as an immediately attainable object—as an object which must be attained before any other could be thought of. I feel strongly that things would have been very different to-day if this undoubtedly patriotic, though somewhat impulsive, class of my countrymen, had not so resolutely and so zealously insisted upon putting the cart before the horse.

The truth is that a good deal of uphill work has to be done,

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a good deal of steady, self-sacrificing, patriotic service has to be rendered to the motherland, amid difficulties which, in some cases, look formidable, indeed, before the ideal of self-government can become an object of immediate realization. It is to this work that I invite my countrymen, particularly the younger generation, to address themselves. The invitation has no ring of novelty about it, as will presently appear, but since even commonplace things are sometimes completely overlooked and are remembered only if there is a reminder of them, I have ventured to take upon myself this task of reminding my educated countrymen of a very humble duty which, nevertheless, is apt to be forgotten in the midst of the prevailing confusion and despair. This duty is to address themselves whole-heartedly to educating the common people, not in political principles and maxims, at any rate, not at present, but in much commoner things—in things that are immediately useful to them and will elevate them intellectually, socially as well as economically. In a country where the vast majority of the people are ignorant and illiterate and lack the spirit of enterprise and are slaves to routine and to custom, fatalistic in their conceptions and ready to face any calamity rather than assert themselves in ever so legitimate a way—a country divided by all the barriers that ignorance and tradition can set between man and man or between race and race, along with others that are the legitimate and inevitable outcome of historic development,—I say, in such a country, the very first thing for the reformer is to educate the people. Intellectual and spiritual emancipation must precede political emancipation. Artificial and arbitrary social barriers must be broken down and the spirit of slavish subservience to authority, custom and tradition must be replaced by a spirit of conscious self-realisation and self-assertion, before the political barrier dividing rulers from ruled can be so much as touched. "Social reform," I know, is a phrase which stinks in the nostrils of a portion of the educated community. A considerable section of the nationalist party would not have it. They think that high as is the object of the social reformer, in practice all that he often does is to add one more class to the innumerable castes that already divide the people. The argument, though plausible, is entirely unsound. In the first place, the task of social reform has never yet been approached from the national point of view, the point of view of national efficiency. And it has never been sought to be based upon education, education of the higher and privileged castes in social and national duty, and even more particularly the education

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of the so-called lower castes, both intellectual and moral, and in the principles of social equality as well as of social duty. And in the second place, even if there is the risk of the nationalist reformers constituting a distinct class for some time, how could you avoid it ? If we are convinced, as I for one am firmly convinced, that the elevation of the depressed classes and the recognition, not merely in theory, but in practice, of the general social equality of different sections of the people must precede the birth of a nation in India in any real sense, it would be suicidal to avoid the difficult path of social reform merely because it is difficult. After all, it is chimerical and foolish to a degree to ask the so-called lower classes, which constitute the bulk of the people, to strive for political equality with the representatives of a power which has substantial force behind it, while they are not treated, and do not resent in not being treated, as social equals by classes of their own countrymen whose vaunted superiority is based upon nothing more tangible than heredity. If they ever learn to strive earnestly for political equality, it would only be after they have secured social equality for themselves. If they are asked to join the higher castes in the struggle for political equality in the present condition of things, and agree to do so, there will be little sincerity and less earnestness in their effort and this lack of sincerity will be a factor of considerable weakness in the general movement. And, after all, are we the higher castes quite sincere in the desire for political equality when we deny social equality to the vast majority of the people in whose name alone we can claim political equality with our rulers ? Is there not an element of unreality in our efforts which, in such cases, means an element of fundamental weakness ?

I have said that the educated community should address themselves to the task of educating and elevating the common people. But has the Government no part to play in this connection ? In my opinion, the Government has as clear and as decided a duty to discharge as the people. The commonplace saying that nations are by themselves made is like most similar sayings but a half-truth. I have already said that the Government has the power, though neither the moral competence nor certainly the desire, to reduce us to a state where only life in the family would be open to us, which, in its turn, and having regard to the keenness of industrial and other competition in the present-day world, would soon lead to a condition of things which one trembles to contemplate. So likewise it can help us immensely in realising ourselves. As things stand, indeed, we cannot do without

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its co-operation. Whether in educating the people or in elevating them economically, we have at every step to depend upon what it will or will not do. But is there any reason to suppose that if we proceed rightly, it will make us feel this state of dependence or that it will not do its duty by the great country, the custodian of whose rights, liberties and interests, it has willingly made itself? Whatever occasional excesses of individual officials or reactionary measures calculated to thwart our progress may suggest, I for one believe in the national conscience of England, and have little doubt that in the main it will choose the better part in future, as it has chosen the better part in the past. Already we have been told that the Government is anxious, by means of a system of co-ordinated education, to spread education to the darkest corners of the country. We may have less faith in the virtues of "co-ordination" than Mr. Montagu or the Secretary of State, but we have no reason to believe that the desire itself is not there. As for poverty, it is as much a source of weakness to the Government as to the people. If we do not expect what cannot possibly be had at this stage, the Government will probably go a long way with us in seeking to improve the economic condition of the people, more particularly of the agricultural classes who form the bulk of the community. And these, coupled with sanitation, constitute the only sphere where co-operation between the people and the Government is either possible or necessary. In social reform I know we have the sympathy of the better class of Englishmen with us, but here sympathy is all that we can either expect or tolerate. In politics—for political agitation there will always be, though it may not absorb all our attention as it has done for some time—co-operation must for years be limited to subjects of a non-contentious nature, the least important class of political subjects, as a rule. As regards the suppression of lawlessness, to talk of the necessity of our co-operating with the authorities is to put the thing in a very adequate way. If the people realize their duty they will certainly find that it is even more to their interest than to the interest of the Government that violence as a political method should cease—cease absolutely. I can not undertake in this place to point out the very great harm it has done to the cause of the country; I refuse to undertake that duty if the authorities will not allow me to speak the whole truth about its origin. But even without referring to the whole of the mischief it has done, it is possible to insist that a method which has so immensely strengthened the hands of reaction and, in the result, so com-

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pletely demoralized the bulk of the people should be whole-heartedly condemned by all who wish well to the people. There is just one word of advice I would like to offer to the Government if they will care to have it. The punishment of evil-doers, whether in the political or any other field, is undoubtedly necessary ; but it is even more necessary to so prepare the conditions that the evil may not raise its head. It is wrong to think that repression can ever be the true remedy. Where it succeeds it sometimes proves worse than the disease ; but more often it does not succeed at all. It is not good for the Government, and certainly they do not want, that the splendid spirit of self-sacrifice and of passionate service to the motherland which the example of England herself, as embodied in her history, and of other nations, notably Japan, has evoked in our people, should be nipped in the bud, and it is very doubtful if they can be nipped in the bud by anything which a Government so great as ours would do. The policy which such a Government, therefore, should whole-heartedly adopt is that of enlisting popular co-operation in guiding this spirit of self-sacrifice and of patriotic service into the most fruitful channels. And what channels can be better for the country or more fruitful than popular education, sanitary improvement of the country and the economic elevation of the common people ? If the Government will adopt this policy, it will have aimed the most deadly blow at terrorism and will practically have killed it with one stroke.

My idea is that along with social reform, which must be the concern of the educated community alone, a comprehensive campaign of co-operation between the Government and the people should be inaugurated in the country. As I have said, in education, in the economic elevation of the people and in sanitation, the Government and the people may co-operate, at any rate for many years to come. Let them whole-heartedly co-operate in furthering these ends. It would be a proud achievement for the Government if they can say, at the end of, say, a quarter of a century that with the help of popular leaders they have succeeded in making education free, compulsory and universal, in driving out the scourge of malaria from the country, and in so improving the condition of the people that they are no longer reduced to utter destitution by the failure of one harvest. It would also be a proud achievement for the people. Let the work be decentralized as far as possible, each district having executive committees on which both the official and non-official elements will be adequately represented, and let these committees enlist the services of the most patriotic men of the district. A scheme worked

out in all its details can not possibly be offered in an article in a Review and had better be evolved by the authorities, official and non-official, putting their heads together. All that I can say is that except through the operation of such a scheme, aided by activities of distinctively social and political order, I can see no way of escape from the terrible doom that seems to confront us on all sides. For one thing and but one, there is no other way of making the Press Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act unnecessary for the authorities and inoperative for the people. And unless these are made inoperative for the people by being made unnecessary for the Government, there can be little hope of public life or of public activities in the country, at any rate in the near future.

Kalinath Ray

THE EARLY DAYS OF LUCHMEE BAI

" And she whom once the semblance of a scar
Appall'd, an owlet's larum chill'd with dread,
Now views the column-scattering bay'net jar,
The falchion flash, and o'er the yet warm dead
Stalks with Minerva's step where Mars might quake to tread."

The extraordinary force of character and heroism of Luchmee Bai of Jhansi and the influence she exercised over the dark and momentous mutiny of 1857-8 form a very stirring and singular chapter in the modern history of India. Ranee Lachmee Bai, the flower of female chivalry, was born at the sacred city of Benares on the 8th of November, 1835. She came of a good family, though not of the kind most recognized by the Heralds' College. The want of hereditary eminence was amply redeemed in her family by hereditary virtues, which are the guarantees of true goodness in every age and clime; and the innate and solid nobility of her line was far more precious than all the pomp and blazonry of rank and fortune. When the Mahratta power was at its zenith, which caused nearly every other principality in Central India to bow before its supremacy, there lived in the service of the mighty Mahratta Pashwa, in a small village named Bai, whose foot is still washed by the murmuring currents of the river Krishna, an humble and unostentatious Brahmin of the Karhadit tribe, named Krishna Rao. In Balabonta Rao, he was proud of a son whose valour and prowess soon proved a strong recommendation for his admission into the ranks of the personal guards of the Mahratta Lord at Poona.

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Balabanta Rao had two sons known as Maropantha and Sada Sheo Rao. The elder accompanied Appa Sahib after the downfall of his brother Baji Rao—the Mahratta Pashwa in Benares. There on a salary of Rs. 50 per mensem and in the company of his accomplished and beautiful wife, Bhagirathi Bai, he passed the remaining days of his life. On the 18th of November 1835, the birth of a healthy and beautiful girl considerably increased the domestic felicity of the family. The infant was named Manu Bai, subsequently famous in history as Luchmee Bai.

A severe calamity soon after overtook Maropantha and nearly overwhelmed him. His generous patron and beloved wife dying both at about the same time compelled him to leave Benares and to flee for shelter to Baji Rao in Bithoor. Manu Bai was then in her fourth year, and her rearing and education devolved on the father and his newly married wife, Chima Bai. This beautiful little woman had been the doting object of endearment to the courtiers of Baji Rao. The Peishwa was so pleased with the precocious intelligence of this little beauty, that he allowed the teacher engaged for coaching his adopted son, Nana Sahib, to give lessons to this girl also. The innate intelligence of the girl, added to the constant association and companionship with the refined and the elderly in the bosom of a royal family, tended to the formation of a character, which, developing with the growth of years, rendered her an object of wonder and admiration in Bithoor. While yet within her teens, she gave sufficient indications of the latent genius in her, by the display of all those faculties and powers, not ordinarily to be found in her sex. Manly exercises and the feats of arms had been her favourable occupation ; womanism she despised. The lessons given to the Peishwa's adopted son in the tactics of arms and horsemanship stimulated her, though much younger in age, to attempt at both of them, and she soon rivalled the young prince to the satisfaction and astonishment of all in the Bithoor court. Once on an occasion, seeing Nana Sahib and the Peishwa on the back of a rich caprisoned elephant, she boldly requested the Peishwa to allow her to mount the huge animal. The Peishwa, much pleased, ordered the boys to take Manu Bai with them, but they refused. To the persisting request of the girl the boys remained obdurate. This provoked Moropanth to offer an admonition to his obstinate daughter. " Fool, it is too much for you to expect an elephant." Unabashed, the daughter replied : " papa, one day you will find 10 elephants under my command." Chima Bai bears testimony as to the ambition

of her step-daughter by noting that till married she had been extremely fond of playing the queen in the company of her female companions, ordering some to execute her commands while punishing others for disobeying them, besides engaging her time in recreations such as riding, kiting, and rolling wheels.

Thus passed in manly feats and heroic exercises the early period of this illustrious girl's life. She now arrived at an age which caused her father to get anxious to find a suitable alliance for her. At this juncture a sooth-sayer of the name of Tatia arrived at Bithoor from Jhansi and fore-told on inspection of her horoscope that she was destined to be a Ranee. The father, not laying much store by this, simply inquired of him whether in Jhansi there was a suitable bridegroom for his girl. In reply the astrologer said that, as the ruler of Jhansi presently had become a widower, there was a probability of the girl being married to him and his prophecy would thereby be fulfilled. This led the father to send the astrologer back to the Jhansi Court, with a letter from Baji Rao, proposing the alliance of Manu Bai with the ruler of that place. Learning from this messenger of the various accomplishments and of the superb beauty of the girl, Gungadhur Rao of Jhansi sent an accredited officer of his State to Bithoor to vouch for the report. The officer corroborating the messenger's version in respect of Manu Bai, Gungadhur lost no time in informing the Mahratta Peshwa of his willingness to close with the proposed match. And in no time the marriage was solemnized at Jhansi with all the pomp and splendour befitting the dignity of the parties. During the marriage ceremony, when the fringes of the happy couple's garments were being tied together by the priest, the girl's witty spirit burst forth in the remark : "fasten them hard, oh ! priest."

The dazzling beauty of Manu Bai coupled with the qualities of her heart not only enthroned her into the bosom of her dear lord, but gained for her the affection and homage of the Jhansi people, who regarded her as Luchmee—the goddess of plenty and magnificence—and thenceforward she was styled Ranee Luchmee Bai of Jhansi.

Generalal De

GRANDPAPA*

I.

Time was when the zamindars of Nayanjore were in high repute as the "Baboos." In those days, the standard of 'Babooism' was high

* A Story in Bengalee by Babu Rabindranath Tagore rendered freely. (Ed., I. W.)

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and not easy to attain. As now-a-days the titles of a Raja or a Rai Bahadur involve quite a carnival of dinners, nautches, race-tips, salams and introductions, so formerly one had to practise many hard austerities to win and keep the title of a 'Baboo'.

Our 'Baboos' of Nayanjore wore the cloths of Dacca after tearing away the borders, for the stiffness of the border hurt their tender 'Babooism'. They used to give away their kittens in marriage for lakhs of rupees, and the rumour goes that on one occasion, at a certain festival, vowing to turn the night into day, they lit up countless lamps, and in imitation of the sun's rays, rained tissues of real silver from the roof.

It will be easily perceived from this that this sort of 'Babooism' of the olden time did not last for generations. Like a many-wicked lamp, it quickly consumed its own oil in short-lived pomp and display.

Kailash Chandra Roy Chowdhuri, the hero of my story, was a played-out Baboo of this far-famed Nayanjore family. When he was born, the oil of the family lamp had nearly struck its bottom ; and after his father's death, Nayanjore Babooism, after shedding its final lusture in extravagant *sradha* and propitiatory functions, went suddenly out. All the properties were sold up for debts—what little remained was wholly insufficient to keep up the family reputation.

Accordingly, Kailash Babu left Nayanjore and settled down in Calcutta with his son. The son, too, forsook the fallen family, and departed to the next world, leaving a daughter behind him.

We live close by Kailash Babu in Calcutta. Our history is the exact reverse of his. My father made his pile by dint of his own exertions ; he never wore his cloth below his knees, and kept his accounts to the last *kara* and *kranti*, and had no hankering for being called a Baboo. For this, I, who am his only son, is grateful to him. That I received a decent education, and, without any effort of mine, came into a fortune sufficiently large to support my life and dignity—this I considered a point of exceeding honour. To me Government promissory notes, left by an ancestor in an iron chest, seemed far more valuable than the bright record of ancestral Babooism with an empty coffer.

Possibly it was for this reason that when Kailash Babu went on making large drafts on the failed bank of their past renown, I found it so intolerable. I fancied that possibly because my father made his money with his own hands, Kailash Baboo entertained a feeling of contempt for us. This provoked me ; and I would very often ask to myself as to who of us deserved to be looked down with greater

contempt ? He who, by austere sacrifices, by steering clear of numerous temptations, by scorning the cheap applause of thoughtless multitude, by his tireless and alert intelligence overcoming all obstacles, had built up a big fortune with no end of silver at his back—was such a man to be despised because he did not wear his cloth below his knees ?

I was young then. So I argued like this and felt angry. Now I have grown older, and say to myself, what harm is there in it ? I have an extensive fortune and I want nothing. If he who has not got anything feels happy by mere boasting, I am not a farthing the loser ; on the other hand, let the poor fellow have some consolation.

It is also a fact that none else besides me ever felt offended with Kailash Babu, for such a singularly inoffensive man seldom could be met with. He had the fullest sympathy with his neighbours in all their joys and sorrows, in all their concerns. From a boy to an old man, he would greet every one cordially, his politeness would prompt him to make kindly inquiries about all and sundry wherever they might happen to be. Thus it happened that whenever he met anyone, a long string of questions and answers would follow :— ‘Doing well ?’ ‘Shoshi is doing well ?’ ‘Our Bura Babu is quite well ?’ ‘Heard Madhu’s son had fever, is he all right now ?’ ‘Hav’nt seen Hari Charan Babu for an age ; nothing wrong with him, I hope ?’ ‘What news of you, Rakhai ? And the ladies of the house are doing well ?’, and so on.

The man was exceedingly neat and spruce. His wardrobe was of the scantiest, but the *mirzai*, the *chadar*, the *jama*, even an old wrap used as a bed-cloth, the pillow cases and a small *durry*, all these he would, with his own hands, sun and dust and stretch on the string and fold up and daintily arrange on the clothes-horse. Wherever he was seen, he looked almost like a pink of fashion. With even their scanty and humble furnishing, his rooms looked tidy. It seemed there was so much more yet in those rooms.

Oftentimes for want of a servant, he would shut himself up in his room, and, with his own hands, elaborately crimp the edges of his *dhoti*, and with infinite pains crease up his *chadar* and the loose sleeves of his *jama*. All his big estates and valuable properties had gone off his hand, but a precious *golub-pas* and *atur-dan*, a gold plate, a silver *albola*, a rich shawl and some old-time garments and pugree he had saved, with the utmost efforts, from the auctioneers’ hammer. Whenever any occasion would arise these would be brought out, and the honour of the world-famed Nayanjore Baboos upheld.

On the other hand, humble-as-dust sort of man as Kailash

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Babu was, the pride expressed in his talk he was wont to regard as a duty paid to his ancestor ; every one humoured him and felt particularly amused at this.

The neighbours used to call him 'grandpapa', and there would be always large gatherings at his place. But lest the bill of tobacco, in his straitened circumstances, should run up too heavy, one or other of the neighbours would buy a seer or two of it, and present it to him saying, "just try once, Grandpapa, very nice Gaya tobacco this."

Grandpapa would give a pull or two at his pipe, and say, "Nice tobacco, indeed." And he would at once break out into yarns about tobacco valued at sixty or sixty-five rupees per *tola* in his possession, and ask if any one would like to smoke it.

Every one knew that if he expressed such a desire, assuredly either the key would be missing, or, after much search, it would transpire that that fool of an old servant Ganesh had not the least reckoning as to where he put the things by—and Ganesh too would take all this lying down. So people would say with one voice, "We had better not, Grandpapa, we may not stand such tobacco ; what we are smoking is good enough for us."

And Grandpapa would smile without uttering a second word. Then, when his visitors would take their leave, he would suddenly exclaim : "By-the-bye, when are you coming to dine with me, friends ?"

All would answer it about the very same way : "Oh, we shall fix a day for it later on."

"All right," Grandpapa would say, "let there be a shower or two and the weather cool a bit, for a heavy dinner is no good in this grilling weather."

When rain fell, nobody would care to remind Gradpapa of his promise ; on the other hand, if the matter was ever raked up by anybody, his friends would say that they would not stand any feast till the spell of wet had cleared. All his friends admitted to him that it did not look well that he should live in those poor lodgings ; at the same time, nobody had the least doubt how difficult it was to find a suitable house to buy in Calcutta,—in fact, after diligent search for the last six or seven years, none of the neighbours could ever find a decent house for him to hire. So Grandpapa would say : "Never mind. Dear, I am so happy in being so near to you all ; there's the big house at Nayanjore lying empty, but do I find it ever convenient to live there?"

It is my belief that Grandpapa was equally aware that everyone

who came to him knew everything about his *real* circumstances, and when he feigned the past Nayanjore as present and everyone joined him in it, the mutual deception was all due to mutual kindness.

But I got terribly bored. When young, one feels inclined to bring down even the inoffensive pride of another, and in comparison with a thousand grave faults foolishness seems to be the gravest. Kailash Baboo was not exactly a fool ; people would often court his assistance and advice in their affairs. But he had not the least discretion in proclaiming the glory of Nayanjore. As people would not contradict even his most extravagant stories out of a spirit of kindness and humour, he could not keep the measure of his speech. When other people too would humorously or with a view to flatter him indulge in the grossest exaggerations regarding the fame and achievements of Nayanjore, he would blandly accept them all as the barest truth and would not even dream that anyone could in the least distrust his stories.

At times I felt a wish to blow up with a couple of cannon balls the false fabrics in which the old man dwelt, which appeared so durable to me at times. When a bird sits cosily on a branch, sportsman feels a desire to shoot it down ; if there is a stone on the hill-side glen, every boy feels ready to a wish to send it rolling down with a kick—as if a thing which seems to be momentarily tottering to its fall requires to be just thrown down to attain its completeness and give satisfaction to the onlooker. Kailash Baboo's falsehood was so artless, its foundation was so weak, it disported itself so proudly right in the aim of the gun of truth, that I felt a strong impulse to demolish it in a moment—only out of sheer indolence, and in deference to social etiquette, I desisted.

II.

So far as I can now see by analysing my past feelings, there was yet another subtle reason for the secret antipathy I felt towards Kailash Babu. But this point requires to be stated a little more explicitly.

Though the son of a wealthy man, I had not failed to take my M. A. degree in due time ; in spite of my youth, I had never joined evil company or in coarse pleasures ; and, when, after my guardian's death I had become my own master, I had not suffered any deterioration in character. Besides, my personal appearance was such that to call me handsome might not exactly be true but it would not certainly be a lie.

Consequently, in the matrimonial market of Bengal, my quotations were certainly very high. I had made up my mind that in this

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market I should realise my full value. Nothing short of a wealthy father's highly beautiful, accomplished and only daughter, was the ideal that would meet my fancy.

Proposals of marriage, with offers of dowry to the tune of ten to fifteen thousand of rupees, came in from far and near. With an unmoved heart, I kept weighing their eligibility nicely in the scales, but no one I found to be quite my match. At length, I felt convinced like Bhavabhuti that—

After all my equal may still be found,

For the world is wide and time without bound.

But it was a matter of doubt if the match I wanted could really be found at the present day within the narrow limits of Bengal.

People burdened with unmarried daughters sang my praises constantly in varied keys, and paid me elaborate worship. Whether I approved of the particular girl or not, I did not dislike the homage paid to me. I assumed that, as an 'eligible youth', this worship was just my *due*. We read in the shastras that the gods, whether they conferred any boon or not, became mortally offended if they were not suitably worshipped. Having received regular worship, my mind was filled up with a feeling of lofty godlikeness.

I have already said that Grandpapa had a grand-daughter. I had seen her many times, but never had fancied her to be a great beauty. Consequently the idea of marrying her never crossed my mind. But this I had taken for granted that Kailash Babu, either himself or through a friend, would one day address himself to my worship with the view of tendering the girl as an offering on the altar of my eligibility. But this he did *not* do.

I heard he had said to a friend of mine that the Nayanjore Baboos never had taken the forward step in making a proposal to anybody, and, even if the girl were to live and die a maid, he would not break the family tradition.

This made me wroth for a long time ; the feeling of anger I cherished in my breast, and it was all owing to my being a really eligible youth that I kept *quiet*.

As there is lightening in thunder, so in my temperament irascibility was mingled with a love of fun. It would not have been possible for me simply to torment the old man—but one day such a funny idea struck my fancy that I could not resist the temptation of putting it into execution.

I have already said that to please the Grandpapa people would tell all sorts of stories to him. A retired Deputy-Magistrate of the neighbourhood used to say very often : " Grandpapa, whenever I

GRANDPAPA

meet the Lieutenant-Governor he would not let me go without inquiring about the Nayanjore Baboos. The Sahib says that there are only two really aristocratic families in Bengal,—the Rajahs of Burdwan and the Babus of Nayanjore."

Grandpapa would be really delighted at this—and whenever he met the extra-Deputy, after other kindly inquiries, would ask—"Is His Honour doing well? And his Lady? And his children?" He would even express a wish that he would shortly call on the Sahib. But the extra-Deputy knew it for certain that before the famous coach and four of Nayanjore could be ordered out to the door, many Lieutenant-Governors and Governors-General would come and go.

One morning I called on him and drawing Kailash Babu to a quiet corner whispered to him—"Grandpapa, I attended the Lieutenant-Governor's levee yesterday. As he fell to talking of the Nayanjore Babus, I said that Kailash Babu of Nayanjore was here in Calcutta; on hearing this, His Honour was very sorry he had not called, and told me that he would come to see you privately this very noon."

Any one would have perceived the improbability of such a story, and Kailash Babu himself would have laughed at it if it had concerned any body else—but as it concerned him, he did not find it in the least incredible. In fact, on hearing this, he was fully as much delighted as flurried—where to seat the L.-G., what to do, how to receive him—how to maintain the dignity of Nayanjore—he was almost at his wit's end in thinking all this out. Apart from that, he did not know English, and how to carry on the conversation was another fix.

"You need not be anxious about that," said I, "an interpreter invariably accompanies the Lieutenant-Governor, but it is his particular wish that none else should be present on the occasion."

At noon when most of the neighbours had gone to office, and the rest were laid in sleep behind closed doors, a carriage drew up in front of Kailash Baboo's house.

A brass-badged chaprasi ran up and announced, "Chota Lat Sahib is come!" Grandpapa, dressed in white robes and *pugree* after the fashion of old times, and with his servant Ganesh rigged out in his own *dhoti* and *chadar* and *jama*, stood ready. On hearing the announcement of the *Chota Lat's* arrival, he ran trembling and panting to the door, and salaming low again and again, led within a dear associate of mine dressed in the habits of an Englishman.

Then placing this bogus *Chota Lat* on a *chouki*, covered with his only costly shawl, he read a long and humble speech in Urdu, and

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held a string of *asrafis*, an heirloom saved with infinite pains, on a gold plate as nazar. The old servant Ganesh stood by with the *atar-dan* and the *golab-pas* !

Kailash Babu expressed regret repeatedly that had the dust of His Honour's feet fallen at his Nayanjore house, he could have made arrangement for suitably entertaining His Honour—here in Calcutta he was a stranger, helpless in all things, like a fish out of water, &c.

My friend kept nodding gravely with his chimney hat on. According to English etiquette, the *topes* should have been off now, but my friend, dreading exposure, had covered himself up as much as possible, and did not remove his hat. Any one but Kailash Babu and the blind puppy of his servant could in a moment have detected the Bengali's disguise. After nodding for about ten minutes, my friend rose, and the *chaprasis*, according to previous instructions, gathered the string of *asrafis* with the gold plate, the shawl from the *chauki*, and the *golab-pas* and the *atar-dan* from the servant's hands, and put them in the masquerader's carriage—Kailash Babu thought that this was the custom with the *Chota Lat*. I was privately looking on from a side room, and my sides were ready to split with suppressed laughter.

At length, unable to control myself any longer, I ran into a remote apartment and just on entering it burst into a torrent of laughter. I noticed a girl lying flat on a wooden bedstead and sobbing convulsively.

Seeing me suddenly enter the room and break into laughter, she at once left the *chauki* and stood up—and calling the thunder of indignation into her tear-choked voice and raising the keen lightning of her large, black, watery eyes on my face, she cried—“What has my Grandpapa done to you—what have you come to cheat him for—why have you come here”? She found no more words to speak and, feeling quite choked up, put her cloth to her face, and burst into a flood of tears.

Gone was my outburst of laughter ! It did not strike me before that there was anything else but mere fun in what I had done—all on a sudden I saw I had given a cruel blow at a very tender spot; all at once the hideous brutality of my action shone forth glaringly before me. In shame and remorse, I stood before her like a kicked cur. I went out of the room without a word. What harm, indeed, did the old man do me ? His innocent pride had not hurt a single creature ! Why did then my pride take such a malignant turn ?

Besides, to another matter my eyes were suddenly opened today.

Hitherto I had looked on Kusum as a sort of commodity kept on view to attract the approving gaze of some bachelor. As I myself did not take any fancy to her, I used to think she would remain unmarried till somebody should happen to take pity upon her and offer his hands to her. Today I saw that in the far corner of this house, behind the physical form of this girl there lurked a human heart,—a soul, with all its joys and sorrows, sympathies and antipathies, was stretching as from east to west into the boundless mystery lands of the unknown past in the one way and the unforeseen future in the other. A human being with a heart—was she fit to be valued for her dowry and by the shape of her nose and eyes? I could not sleep the whole night. Very early next morning I crept into Grandpapa's house like a thief with all the stolen articles of value. I wished to make them over to the servant without saying anything to anyone.

As I was faltering in not finding the servant, I heard the voices of the old man and the girl talking to each other in a neighbouring room. The girl was asking in her sweet, loving voice: "grandpapa, and what did the Lat Sahib say to you yesterday?" Grandpapa was putting many fanciful eulogies of the old Nayanjore family in the Lat Sahib's mouth. The girl was expressing great elation at this account.

This tender deception of the soft-hearted little girl towards her old grand-parent brought tears into my eyes. I sat quietly for a long while; at length when, after finishing his yarn, Grandpapa came away, I went up to the girl with the ill-gotten gains of my swindle, and placing them before her came straight away without a word. Against the present-day fashion, I did not salute the old man on any other day. But to-day I bowed down to his feet. The old man must have surely felt that this excess of regard shown by me to him today was due to the Lieutenant-Governor's visit at his house yesterday. In an ecstatic mood, he went on coining stories about the *Chotu Lat* as if with a hundred tongues. The people present of course considered it all a fib from start to finish, but they jocularly assented to all that he said.

When the others had left, with a bashful look and in a spirit of real humility I made a proposal to the old man. I said, "I though there can be no thought of a comparison in point of family respectability between ourselves and the Nayanjore Baboos, still—"

As soon as I had finished it, the old man clasped me to his bosom and in a fit of delight cried out:—"I am poor—I never thought, dear, that such good fortune was in store for her—my Kusum must have done great pieties in her former life that you have allowed yourself to be thus captured today!" As he said this, tears ran from the old man's eyes.

To-day, for the first time, the old man forgot his *duty* to his ancestors, and admitted he was *poor*—admitted that the Nayanjore family did not lose in dignity by making an alliance with me. All the time I was plotting to bring the old man into ridicule, he was wishing for me single-heartedly as a most desirable connexion.

Rashbihari Mukerjee

LIST OF RECENT BOOKS ON INDIA

- WORKMAN, DR. W. H.
WORKMAN, FANNY BULLOCK }—Peaks and Glaciers of
Nun Kun (A Record of Pioneer Exploration and
Mountaineering in the Punjab Himalayas. London,
Constable & Co., 18s.)
- WILLIAMS, DR. G.—The Indian Student and the Present
Discontent. (London, Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton,
3s.)
- SACHAU, DR.—Alberuni's India (Revised and New Edition.
London ; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 2 Vols.
25s.)
- LEE-WARNER, SIR WILLIAM—The Native States of
India (New and Revised Edition. London, Mac-
millan & Co. 10s.)
- HOLDICH, COL. SIR THOMAS—The Gates of India, 10s.
- STEUART, J.—Burmah Through the Centuries, Rs. 2-4.
- SIEVEKING, T. V.—A Turning Point in the Indian
Mutiny (London, Nutt : 7-6.)
- MALABARI, P. B. M.—Bombay in the Making (with an
Introduction by Sir George Clarke ; London, Unwin
& Co., 12-6)

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

The Modern Review

The August number of *The Modern Review* opens with the summary of a lecture given by Mrs. J. Ramsay MacDonald in London on *Some Problems of Women's life in India* which has been specially re-written for our contemporary in course of which the lecturer regrets that "the percentages of girls receiving education are absurdly low : in Bombay, 5.9 per cent. ; in Madras, 5.7 p.c. ; in Bengal, 3.2 p.c. ; in the United Provinces, 1.2 p.c." Referring to the *Swadeshi* movement, the lecturer observes : "There is a tremendous movement going on amongst the women and it is spreading as much amongst the women as amongst the men." Mr. John Law follows with the next article on *Modern Burma* which we have noticed at length in another section of this number. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar continues his article on the *History of Aurangzeb* which is followed by the sixth of a series of articles on the *Ancient Abbey of Ajanta* in which Sister Nivedita disapproves the theory that Indian Art was borrowed from the Greeks and says : "Magadha was the source and centre of the Indian Unity, both philosophically and artistically. This province was in fact, like the heart of an organism, whose systole and diastole are felt to its remotest bounds with a certain rhythmic regularity of pulsation, as tides of thought and inspiration." "Scrutator" follows with a well-reasoned protest against the action of the Madras Government in raising the scale of fees in schools and colleges in Madras. "J. D. W." gives an appreciative account of *The India Society* for the promotion of the study of Indian art and culture in England. "N" which evidently stands for Sister Nivedita regrets in course of an interesting short article at the "the paucity of population in the immense tracts of land in the Himalyan region" and suggests *To colonise the Himalyas*. In response to a request from the editor of the *Modern Review* to note down some memorable things about some remarkable personalities, Pundit Sivanath Shastri gives some "Personal Reminiscences of Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar". Mr. Rabindranath Tagore's letter to Mr. Myron H. Phelps of New York setting forth his views on *The Problem of India* is interesting. The editor's *Notes on Self-Rule in the East* has been noticed at length in another section of this number. There are few other storiettes, or articles having no special reference to India, notices of articles in English and American magazines, comments and criticisms and *Notes* on topics of varied interest in this number.

N. B. We regret that the non-receipt of the other leading magazines for this month at the time of our going to the Press preclude us from noticing them in this number. Ed., *J. W.*

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

**PARLIAMENT-
ARY INTEREST
IN INDIA**

Surely John Stuart Mill had a prophetic vision. In a closely reasoned and elaborate minute he strongly opposed the idea of the transfer of the Government of the East India Company to the direct charge of the Crown. One of the arguments advanced by him against the proposed transfer of the Government of India to the Crown was his apprehension that the English Parliament would scarcely be able to devote the time and attention to Indian affairs which the development and expansion of the Empire would demand in future. He argued that an independent body of responsible men sitting as a Board of Directors would be able to watch and direct Indian affairs more satisfactorily than a busy Parliament would ever be expected to do. The American colony was lost to England more because of the inaction and indifference of the English Parliament than of the wickedness and perversity of George III's ministers. It was, therefore, feared that if India would ever be lost to England it would be on the floor of the House of Commons. Thank God, we have not come to that yet ; but we have come to the next stage of Parliamentary inaction and apathy.

It is said that with all his eloquence and learning the great Edmund Burke was known in the House of Commons as the 'dinner bell.' In these days, unfortunately, the appellation of the 'dinner bell' has well been earned by the country which, next to his own motherland, was Edmund Burke's principal love and concern. Not only the principal Indian debate of the year is relegated by ministerial wisdom—no matter whether it is the Liberal or the Conservative Party in power—to the far end of a session, but, what is still worse, when the House goes into committee on the East India Revenue accounts it is almost a notice for the members to clear away and go out gossiping in the lobbies. This is almost as bad as the 'dinner bell.'

If it has come to this that, inspite of all the unrest and discontent that is now troubling the Government in this country and inspite of the serious protestations too often made by notable English statesmen and politicians that India is the brightest jewel in the Crown of England, there is such a poor attendance in the House of Commons on the Indian budget day as was witnessed on the even-

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ing of July 26 last, when Mr. Montagu asked the Speaker to leave the Chair to discuss the Indian Budget, then we must despair of the hope about India ever occupying the serious attention from the English Parliament at any other time. This almost reads like the fulfilment of John Stuart Mill's prophecy.

And what attendance did we not have in the House of Commons on the last Indian budget day! On the Front Liberal Benches almost all the members of the Cabinet and the Ministry were conspicuous by their absence, and on the front opposition benches the most prominent man who graced the occasion with his presence and who, as he told the House, came on the special request of Mr. Balfour was Mr. Wyndham. India has not forgotten Mr. Wyndham, for only a few years ago he surprised the House by the singular confession of his 'colossal ignorance' of this country. Mr. Asquith was, of course, there, but not so much to interest himself in the affairs of India as to watch the effect on the House of the maiden speech of his whilom Secretary. And Lord Morley—'he who was once John Morley'—had not the patience—was it because of temper?—to sit through the whole debate. That is the interest which the elected representatives of the United Kingdom at St. Stephen take in the affairs of England's greatest dependency in the East.

There is another matter of singular interest in connection with the last budget which deserves special notice. Mr. J. C. Wedgwood had given due notice of a very important motion for this day and for this he had obtained a place in the ballot. Mr. Wedgwood's motion ran to the following effect :—

"That this House, whilst disavowing any sympathy with political crime or methods of agitation calculated to conduce to such crime, deploras the enactment and administration of recent restrictive legislation in India, especially the Press and Seditious Meetings Acts."

Naturally this motion obtained the precedent which Mr. Wedgwood had got for it in the ballot, but what was the time when he got the opportunity to move it? 5 minutes to 9, that is nearly five hours after Mr. Montagu had opened the debate. Just fancy an important motion in the House, touching one of the most important phases of the Indian problem, being allowed to be brought no earlier than at the fag-end of a debate. This is not only unfair to the critics of the government but unfair also to India.

We should very much like to know why the under-secretary for India should be allowed to make a very large draft on the patience of Honourable members—Mr. Montagu took two hours

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to deliver his speech—with a rehearsal of official figures and statements which are never followed very closely by any member and which were discussed so very carefully in India four months before. We think that this portion of the under-secretary's speech might well be spared the House, specially in view of the fact that copies of the budget were laid on the table of the House for the reference of Honourable Members.

* One more point. When the division was taken on Mr. Wedgwood's motion or, more properly, on Mr. Wedgwood's amendment to the Budget, there gathered in the House for the purpose of voting as many as three hundred and twenty-five members,—less than half of the total strength of the whole House. We shall not discuss the merits of the division nor the political character of the members who voted for and against the amendment. Generally the House is very full when important divisions are taken, but in the last Indian debate, inspite of the importance of the subject and the responsibility of the House, there were no more than 325 members all told to decide the policy and fate of India. Was it not Lord Wolverhampton—then Sir Henry Fowler—who threw out the bombast some years ago that every member of the House was a 'member for India'? This is how in England they carry out in practice the profession and platitudes of their party.

The fact of the matter is that this is not the right way to govern India. Parliament has no time to spare for India and members are not particularly interested in its affairs. A comfortable conviction prevails in the House that the 'men on the spot' are governing the country very well and 'outside' interference would stand in the way of efficient administration. A more dangerous doctrine than this it is difficult to conceive in the interest of good government in India, but the fact remains at the same time that Parliament has neither the knowledge nor the time to look carefully into the systems of Indian government and administration. What's then to be the remedy? We should therefore like to suggest that, as it is impossible to go back to a Court of Directors or Governors at this stage, a Royal Commission, composed of members taken not from the party in power but from the opposition, should be sent out to India at the regular interval of every ten years, just after every census Report is published, to examine the state of affairs in this country. In the days of the East India Company, an inquiry was always held before its charters were renewed, and this inquiry had a very sobering and steadying influence on the 'men on the spot'. From the days of the famous "Fifth Report" down

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to the charter of 1853, the entire administration of the country was from time to time overhauled in consequence of the reports of these enquiries and they successfully prevented the bureaucracy from degenerating into a soulless machine. Now that Parliament has practically failed to discharge its responsibility to India adequately, we would very much urge upon the attention of Lord Morley the necessity and urgency of the institution of a periodic inquiry into the affairs of India. That way only can India be retained in the Crown of England and be developed into a progressive and advanced state, to the lasting glory of Britain and to the everlasting advantage of India.



Taken as a whole the last Indian debate in Parliament was rather a memorable one. Though the *Times* has not
THE DEBATE cared to reproduce in *extenso* the speeches delivered by Messrs Ramsay MacDonald and J.C. Wedgwood, there can be no doubt that theirs were the most sensible speeches delivered in Parliament for a long time. Both these gentlemen covered a wide range of subjects connected with India and put the Indian version of the situation with great force and strength. No one has any reason to complain that liberal truth and justice were in feeble hands on the last Indian debate in the House, and these two stalwart champions of English Liberalism did not fail to put forward a strong indictment of the Indian bureaucracy. It is fortunate that, though there is a tremendous wealth of subjects which open to receive English attention in an Indian debate, a large number of which was covered by Mr. Montagu in a very rambling speech, Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Wedgwood were not tempted away to discuss any but the repressive measures passed by the Government during recent years. Both of them had a good deal to say about the Indian Police and the Press Act of last February. Condemning the Press Act, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald observed :

“Above all—and this is the most serious effect which is going to happen—it is going to destroy that great middle party of moderate constitutionalists upon whom ultimately the Government of India is going to rest. It is going to make it easy for, and as a matter of fact invite, a lot of men whose character is not particularly good to profess loyalty which they do not feel, and to simply hang about the Lieutenant-Governors, the Governors, and the magistrates’ verandahs in order to see what is to be picked up by this profession of loyalty. It is going to invite this expression of insincere and cheap loyalty on the one hand, while on the other hand it is going

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to drive below the surface that feeling of objection to, irritation with, and disagreement with, the action of the Government, which is always much more dangerous to civil liberty when silenced than when it is allowed to find expression in the public Press."

Mr. Wedgwood, who hailed not from the Labourites or the Nationalists but from the Liberal Benches, did not discuss the Indian reactionary policy from the merely Indian point of view. He dealt with it as an 'English matter'—as affecting the good name and honour of England. 'An increasing wave of bureaucracy is swallowing up India' and if the bureaucratic interference with the liberty of the individual was not duly arrested, he feared that 'England might one day be affected by it.' Mr. Wedgwood rightly points out :—

"All through our political development there has persistently run one idea of the glory of our racial character and history, an ideal which has inspired our foremost men in all ages, an ideal for which men have suffered and died, by the side of which talk of the welfare of the people sinks into contemptible insignificance. It is the overwhelming love of justice and of freedom. The genius of Rome ran to law, order and control. It is for the Germans to aim at efficient government, but we are sunk low indeed if we must drop all that has made England great among the nations of the world in order to point the political ideals which are summed up in that phrase, *Salus populi suprema lex.*"

Regarding the four repressive laws recently passed in India and the Deportation Act of 1818, Mr. Wedgwood makes some very sensible observations :—

"It is only three years since we started to use these weapons, and they follow each other in dread succession one after another, each more fatal than its predecessor to those who seek truth and would follow her, to those who recognise justice and would stand for her. Continue your work by closing schools and colleges. Will that suffice? Have Milton's "Areopagitica" burnt by the common hangman. Search the post for stray copies of the "Isles of Greece" or Mill on "Liberty." You will find them more dangerous to this system you seek to set up than a pamphlet by Mr. Mackarness on one detail of the results of such a system. You can go down and down to deeper and deeper depths, but you cannot get low enough towards autocratic government, which grows on what it feeds."

- Mr. Wedgwood speaks of the Indian Police :—"I do not think you can radically improve the police system of India so long as

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your legislation is of the character of these five Acts. It is autocratic government that creates a bad police, and not a bad police that creates an autocratic government. If you have these five Acts, I do not care whether you pay your police twice as much, or whether you can manage to draw them from any other stratum of Indian society, whatever you do, so long as you rely upon Acts such as the Seditious Meetings Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act, or the Press Act, the police will be worthy of the Government, no more and no less."

After detailing the effects of the repressive policy of the Government of India, Mr. Wedgwood put the following question straight to the House : "Did we want India ultimately to be self-governing or not ? If we did not, let us drop cant and say so ; but if we look forward to India becoming a Federation like South Africa 10, 50 or even 100 years hence then let us be open and above board and tell the people that we aimed at that solution and lay our plans for it." To this straight question of Mr. Wedgwood, Mr. Montagu of course returned no reply and the question was, therefore, practically shelved to the disappointment of the friends of India.

It is difficult to recall to mind a nobler passage in all the wide range of English classics than the following with which Mr. Wedgwood closed his brilliant speech in the House :—

"We shall be told, perhaps, that it was necessary to pass these Acts in order to protect the lives of our fellow countrymen. Let us put that at its true value. After all, there are things more tolerable than death. Sometimes there are few things more glorious than death. The fathers and grandfathers of our Anglo-Indian countrymen went through the days of the Mutiny. They fought behind Nicholson and behind Havelock in the narrow winding streets, they were butchered in Cawnpore and Delhi, but they died for the honour of England, and the honour of England is not made up by battles alone. It has been built up brick by brick throughout the ages, and laid in sweat and blood by the people who have suffered and died. The race who faced death at the Kashmir Gate will face as coolly the bomb and the dagger of the assassin, and as willingly for the honour of England, that her honour and good name may no longer be dragged in the mud and the dishonour of these five Acts."

Mr. Keir Hardie who opened his lips at about 10 in the night confined himself almost entirely to the police question and the member who brought the debate to a close was none other than our old friend, Sir John Rees. He took up the brief on behalf of the

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Indian Civil Service and said that its critics were 'mere itinerant agitators and political week-enders.' Of the five other members who had taken part in this debate besides those mentioned by us—Sir H. Seymour King and Messrs Taylor and Lloyd, gave all political questions a wide berth and discussed railway board grievances and opium. Mr. Wyndham covered a wide field and put in a feeble plea on behalf of an excise duty to counteract the customs duty imposed by Sir Guy Wilson, supported the defence of the Indian police, and had a kind word to put in on behalf of Indian Moslems. Lord Ronaldshay had a bitter fling at the Indian Press and characterised the Press Act of February last as 'not sufficiently drastic.' He wanted something still 'more drastic.,

Now we come to the speech of the new under-secretary for India. He made a very discursive speech, as we have already said, and besides taking too much of the House's time by an elaboration of figures in connection with Indian foreign affairs, specially in connection with the flight of the Dalai Lama from Tibet, agriculture, trade improvement, plague and malaria, revenue and expenditure, the restriction of opium cultivation and the Chinese agreement and a discussion and description of the new taxes in India, particularly with reference to those on petroleum and tobacco, he plunged deep into the political problems of India, making some desultory and academic comments on the genesis of Indian unrest. Mr. Montagu took the House into his confidence regarding the policy which he and his chief were following in India. "His Majesty's Government," Mr. Montagu informed the House, "are determined to arm and assist the Indian Government in its unflinching war against sedition and illegitimate manifestations of unrest, while it shows an increasingly sympathetic and encouraging attitude towards legitimate aspirations." Legitimate aspirations forsooth ! We do not know of any period during the last twenty years when the Government of India has shown, or at least has been anxious to show, an increasingly sympathetic and encouraging attitude towards them. Legitimate aspirations, indeed ! Is not the hope of redressal of all sore grievances a legitimate aspiration ? If so, what has the Government done to show its sympathy in the matter of our agitation against the partition of Bengal, for the separation of judicial and executive functions, for the reduction of the military and home charges, for the wider diffusion of knowledge and for hundred and other things besides ? As for helping the Government of India in its war against sedition, Lord Morley has not only gone back upon the principles of his life-time, but

has sanctioned a series of repressive measures which has produced in our day a mute, sullen, and lifeless India, reflecting no credit either upon the governing power or the statesmanship of England. Of course Mr. Montagu defended the Press Act with great enthusiasm, but he supported it with no new argument and threw no new light upon the subject. He retailed to the House the old story of the licentiousness of the Indian Press and the inadequacy of the older laws to cope with the existing evils. We should very much like to present Mr. Gokhale and his followers in the Imperial Council with the following observation of Mr. Montagu : " If there is any one who thinks that the Press Act was forced upon unwilling India I would beg of him to study the debate in the Viceroy's Council which has been presented as a Parliamentary paper and note how speaker after speaker acknowledged the lamentable necessity for such a measure." Poor Mr. Gokhale !

On the next subject which Mr. Montagu deals with—the police and Mr. Mackarness' pamphlet—we are precluded from offering any comments at this stage. From the police Mr. Montagu passes on to the educational methods in India and in this connection makes a most astounding pronouncement. We are told that " the worst danger that threatens India is the lawlessness and disregard for authority among the schoolmasters and students. I have described the political difficulty in India as largely the result of western education. Surely the solution must be found in the imperfections of the system that produces it, and we must endeavour to obtain an improvement in the educational methods both here and in India." With one stone Mr. Montagu kills two birds—he condemns not only the students and the teachers, but he also condemns the system of education which is just now in vogue in India. Mr. Montagu is a young man and we can forgive him for the exaggeration of his language. Out of more than a million students in the various schools and colleges in India not more than hundred have yet been convicted of any complicity with crime or sedition and not more than a couple of hundred altogether have been arrested in all India for any crimes connected with seditious activity. Yet we are told that the temper of the students is the worst danger in India at the present moment. No, Mr. Montagu, it is wide of the truth and Sir Herbert Risley must have played a cruel hoax upon you. It is not the temper of the student that is threatening, but it is the temper of the Indian Civil Service which practically rules India that fills us with despair and gloom. The students and their professors are not half so great a danger to the State as the repressive measures inaugurated by it in the name of suppressing illegitimate manifestations of unrest and which fly in the face of every liberal principle of the last 200 years. What threatens to be a still greater danger and calamity to India is the new educational policy of the government. Mr. Montagu said that the co-ordinated system of education which they propose to establish under the new Member of the Council would so spread education throughout India that

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a time would soon dawn when the Press Act and Seditious Meetings Act would no longer be necessary. We have heard of novels being written with a purpose but have not so long heard of any educational policy being initiated with a purpose ; and if in England, America and Europe a free and wise development of an educational policy has not succeeded in stamping sedition, crime and anarchy, what can be the secret of success upon which the Government of India can depend for the dawning of such a time when such things as the Press Act and the Seditious Meetings Act would be absolutely unnecessary ? We should very much like to know if the Government of India have taken out any patent of this new educational discovery ; but we have no doubt when this new policy blooms out in full splendour European countries will have none of it.

The next topic which Mr. Montagu touched upon is the blessings of the new Indian Councils Act,—how the non-official members of the Council have shown remarkable dignity and sense of responsibility and how the official members have displayed all the skill of old parliamentary hands in conducting debates. "The Councils Act has resulted," Mr. Montagu modestly informed the House, "in producing excellent debates, creating opportunities for the ventilation of grievances and of public views, creating public opinion, permitting the governors to explain themselves, giving to those interested in politics a better and a more productive field for their persuasive powers than the rather more sterile debates in the Congress." Ah, the poor Congress ! And who yesterday would have thought so low of it ?

With Mr. Montagu's advice to members of the House as to how they should behave themselves and what attitude they should take up towards Indian anarchy and sedition, we are not particularly concerned in this place. He indulges in endless platitudes on these subjects, as in every other, and after the fashion of Lord Rosebery coins a new political dictum. "Remember," says Mr. Montagu, "that every effort for reform is irrevocable in India." How beautifully untrue is this observation would be found from the mere fact that the important rights of citizenship conceded to India from the days of Metcalfe and Bentinck to the days of a Ripon have nearly all been practically revoked by the two last administrations in India. Yet we are told how irrevocable is reform in India.

Mr. Montagu closed his maiden oration in Parliament with some stale observations on the Indian Civil Service and the achievements of Lord Minto. Of course Mr. Montagu pays a brilliant tribute to the achievements or, as the *Times* would have it, the 'roseate achievements' of Lord Minto, but then it must not be forgotten, as Mr. Montagu insisted upon reminding the world, that Lord Minto after all has acted the part of an agent only of Lord Morley and his Council. Quoting a provision of the Act of Parliament, Mr. Montagu tried to prove that the Secretary of State for India is the supreme power and the ultimate authority in all matters concerning the government and revenues of India. It is a constitutional question which no doubt opens up a vista of controversy and a proper decision of the question would naturally hang more upon unwritten procedure than upon written laws.

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Vol. XII]

SEPTEMBER—1910

[No. 66

DIARY FOR AUGUST, 1910

Date

1. In the examination for 15 vacancies in the Indian Medical Service, out of the 29 candidates entered, three Indians were successful, Mr. Phiroz Barucha heading the list.

The annual Sanitary Administration Report of the Punjab is published today.

2. Mr. Pulin Behari Das, who was deported from Dacca and released in February last, is arrested along with many others on a charge of conspiring to wage war against the King.

A blue-book containing the views of the provincial Governments regarding the question of the abolition of fees in Primary Schools in India, in answer to a reference of the Government of India of 1908, is published today at Simla, none of the governments supporting the suggested scheme.

A Canton telegram to the India Government states, referring to the scare that Indian opium is being confiscated at Swatow, that the Chinese Viceroy at Canton has been instructed to stop any illegal proceedings at Swatow.

Serious floods are reported from many parts of Eastern Bengal and Assam and many places in Behar.

The Governor-General in Council issues a notification prohibiting the bringing by sea or by land into British India of any cinematographic films of the Johnson-Jeffries fight.

The erosion of the city of Deragazi Khan is reported to have assumed a serious shape.

3. Nishi Bose, Jogesh Roy, Jyotirmoy Ray, Suresh Sen and Kalimohan Ghose are arrested at Dacca on a charge of conspiring to wage war against the King.

The Government of India issues revised rules under the Indian Coinage Act fixing the following value of rupee and half-rupee weighing below the limit of reasonable wear : (a) rupees weighing between 15/16ths and 7/8ths of their proper weight, at the rate of 14 annas ; (b) rupees weighing between 7/8ths and 13/16ths of their proper weight, at the rate of 13 annas ; (c) rupees weighing between 13/16ths and 3/4ths of their proper weight, at the rate of 12 annas, and (d) half-rupees at the rate of 6 annas.

A public meeting is held in London, Sir M. Bhowangree presiding, to protest against the deportation and cruel treatment of domiciled Indians by the Transvaal Government. Mr. Ameer Ali's letter deploring the effect of the situation on British rule in India is read and the prevention of further emigration of indentured labour to South Africa is urged.

The Bombay Government issues a Resolution that no matriculate should be appointed to clerical appointments in the public services so

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long as any candidates passing one or other of the following examinations are available, namely, the School Final, European High School Examination, Senior Commercial Examination of the London Chamber of Commerce and the Cambridge Senior Local Examination.

At today's opium sale 3,300 chests of Bengal and Benares opium were disposed of for Rs. 72,90,300 as compared with Rs. 68,05,600 last month.

The public of Bassein decide at a meeting held today to perpetuate the memory of the late King by erecting a hospital for women and children at a cost of $\frac{1}{2}$ lakh of rupees.

The U. P. Moslem League issues a circular letter to its members asking their co-operation in getting up a memorial for a separate communal representation in all Municipalities and District Boards.

On the unanimous recommendation of all the Provincial Congress Committees, the Reception Committee of the 25th. Indian National Congress to be held at Allahabad elect Sir William Wedderburn as its president.

4. Lord Hardinge is received in audience by the King.

Several troops receive orders to mobilise for Tibet and to move to Siliguri.

Owing to the infliction of heavy fines by the Municipal Magistrate of Calcutta for adulteration of food, particularly ghee and oil, about three hundred merchants form into an association which resolve to petition the Chairman of the Corporation against the oppression involved in the prosecutions and suggest that legal steps should be taken against manufacturers.

Dacca is reported to be under a heavy flood, the railway lines in the neighbourhood being blocked up with wrecks.

5. Replying to a question put by the Hon. Mr. B. N. Basu in today's sitting of the Imperial Council at Simla, Mr. Earle says that the number of seditious publications proscribed under the Press Act in different provinces up to date are as follow :—Madras, 7 ; Bombay, 42 ; Bengal, 39 ; United Provinces, 22 ; Punjab, 15 ; Burma, 51 ; Ebassam, 58 ; Central Provinces, 63 ; N. W. Province, 60 ; and Coorg, 2.

At a meeting held today under the presidency of the Acting Lieutenant-Governor of the U. P., it is unanimously resolved to establish a sanatorium for consumptives in the Himalyas as a suitable memorial to H. M. the late Emperor.

It is decided today at a meeting of the General Committee of the Edward VII Memorial Fund that the Madras Memorial should take the form of a hospital for consumptives with one or more sanatorium in this presidency.

The Calcutta Police raid a house at Ramkanto Mistry's Lane and seize some heavy machinery alleged to have been used for manufacture of cartridges, the owner of the house having absconded.

At a meeting of the Imperial Council held today at Simla, the Viceroy is unable to attend owing to indisposition. Several very important questions are put by Messrs Bhupendranath Basu and Gokhale on the Press Act, the situation in East Bengal, the suppression of District Conferences and some minor bills are passed.

The Maharajah of Jammu and Kashmir decides to establish at Jammu a Zenana Hospital as a Memorial to His Majesty the late King Emperor at a cost of 2 lakhs.

6. The Seditious Meetings Continuance Bill is extended at today's sitting of the Imperial Council at Simla for a further period of five months—in spite of the opposition of the majority of the non-official elected members present at the meeting.

It is officially announced today in Germany that His Imperial Majesty the German Crown Prince will visit India in course of his tour through the Far East which commences from November next.

7. The boycott day, which could not be celebrated in Calcutta in obedience to Bengal Government orders, is celebrated at Dinajpur and Faridpur in Ebassam.

8. The Viceroy opens the Simla Fine Arts Exhibition-today.

Owing to the frequency of running train thefts on the E. I. Ry. between Burdwan and Assansole, punitive police are ordered to be posted in that section.

A meeting of the Zemindars and a large number of the influential official and non-official gentlemen of Ebassam is held at Dacca, in which nearly four lacs of rupees are promised as subscriptions to erect a memorial to H. M. the late Emperor.

9. At the Alhambra Theatre in London, a catch-as-catch-can contest is held for 200 a side in which the wrestler Gama of India beats Dr. Roller of America by two falls to nil.

Reports published today show that the total exports of wheat from the port of Karachi from 1st January, 1910 to the 8th instant amounted to 9,689,753 cwts., as against 9,210,256 cwts. for the corresponding period of 1909.

Reports state that a terrible havoc has been caused throughout the district of Moradabad by floods, many villages being swept away.

The silver prices in Calcutta are reported to have showed a downward tendency today, partly due to the fact that some American speculators had entered the market and made offers for the sale the day before in response to a demand from China.

10. A telegram from San Francisco states that the anti-Asiatic feeling on the Pacific Coast has been accentuated by the continual influx of Hindus, numbering ten thousand in California alone, who are considered even more undesirable than the Chinese and the Japanese, on account of their refusal to learn English on the ground that as British subjects they did not find it necessary to learn it in India.

The Kashmir Pandits pass a resolution recommending inter-dining among sub-castes and the admission of England-returned members to caste after due expiation.

The Mahomedans of Gujranwala are reported to have resolved to boycott all such members of their community who should have dealings with Hindus and the Sikhs or take food touched by the latter.

Mr. Jiwan Mall, Secretary of the Sanatan Dharam Sabha, who was tried and acquitted on a charge of using firearms upon the mob during the Peshawar riot, is ordered to leave the Peshawar Tehsil under the Frontier Crimes Act.

The Gaekwar of Baroda visits the University Press at Oxford, accompanied by the Dean of Christ Church, a keepsake recording the visit being printed in the Gaekwar's presence.

11. It is reported today that the Government of India has practically decided to appoint a small committee to enquire into the question of the growth of the civil pension charges, firstly of the Indian Education Service, Superior Police Service and the Public Works Department, and subsequently to deal with other pension problems.

A Pretoria telegram states that Mr. Smuts, speaking on the immigration question today, announced the following policy of the Government: "one thing must be clear—there should be no Asiatic immigration."

The Report of the Master of the Cotton Spinners, published in Manchester, says: "The year has been a disastrous one, owing to the high price of raw material and the failure of crops."

Terrible havoc is reported to have been caused in the Gorakhpore district in U. P. by rain and floods, 4 miles round the country being under water, villages being swept away and bridges having collapsed.

The annual general meeting of the Allahabad Anglo-Indian Association is held to-day in which Sir George Knox, the president, announces (1) the deletion of the word Eurasian from the Association,

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(2) the formation of an employment bureau, and (3) the opening of an education fund.

A programme of work of the Geological Survey of India is published today.

12. Mr. Montagu, speaking at Cambridge, vehemently denounces Mr. Mackarness's publication on the Indian Police and defends the action of the Governments in India.

13. Returns published today show that the opium revenue up-to-date is better than the estimate by Rs. 15,352,590 and that $\frac{3}{4}$ of the revenues budgetted from silver duty has already been realized. Tobacco is improving, but petroleum yields no satisfactory results.

14. Serious floods are reported from various parts in Bengal causing breach in the E. I. Ry. line in several places.

15. Five Bengali youths and 2 sepoys who were charged with tampering with the loyalty of the 10th Jats at Alipur are committed by Mr. Swan, the Magistrate, to take their trial at the Special Tribunal of the Calcutta High Court.

The hearing of the Dacca conspiracy case against 42 accused commences today in the court of Mr. Bentinck, the Special Magistrate, at Dacca.

Leave to introduce a bill to remove the disabilities arising from change of religion or deprivation of caste is refused by 7 to 6 members of the Mysore Legislative Council.

16. The hearing of the Midnapur damage suits commences today before Mr. Justice Fletcher of the Calcutta High Court.

A mass meeting at Hyde Park in London, under the auspices of the League of Universal Brotherhood, pass resolutions protesting against the cruel treatment of British Indians in the Transvaal and sympathising with their fellow-subjects in their "brave struggle for justice and liberty."

A British Mail Tonga is attacked by a party of raiders near Bannu in the Frontier.

17. The *Sanad* of Mr. A. B. Kolhatkar, a practising lawyer in C. P., and who was convicted of a charge of sedition, is forfeited by the Judicial Commissioner of the C. P. on account of his alleged seditious proclivities.

19. The Bombay Government issues a warning to the promoters of the annual Ganapati festival to the effect that if the proceedings continue to be disloyal as in past years the question of prohibiting the festival will be considered.

20. Meetings are held in several places in the N. W. Frontier Province for erecting a suitable memorial to H. M. the late King Emperor.

The Annual Report of the Excise Administration of the Punjab for 1909-10 is published today.

22. The review of the Punjab Police for 1909 published to-day shows a general decrease under the various heads of crime.

The gross earnings of Indian Railways from 1st April to the 13th August are 99 lakhs better than in the corresponding period of 1908-09, being Rs. 72,07,892 and Rs. 1,77,31,500 as compared with the corresponding figures for 1909-10 and 1908-09 respectively.

23. *Re* the betel-leaf scare in Calcutta, both the Health Officer and the Government Chemical Examiner observe that there has been detected no poison in *pan* and that there has been no fatal case from betel-chewing.

Tribal disturbances are reported from Tirah in the Frontier due to complicated Orakzai politics.

24. The Government of India, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, has sanctioned, in addition to the subsidies granted already in 1906, a further grant of $5\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs from Imperial revenues for the improvement of the port of Chittagong.

The Government of Bombay issues an important despatch communicating its determination to bring the liquor trade under stricter control with a view (a) to prevent foreign liquors becoming too cheap in comparison with country liquor; (b) to provide against the addition of noxious substances and against frauds arising from misdescription; and (c) to restrict within reasonable limits facilities for obtaining foreign spirits.

An Indian Chamber of Commerce is formed today at Lahore.

The Agricultural Department reports that the potato crop in this country has been attacked by a kind of moth, stating that a clean breed cannot be got anywhere in India except in a few uninfected areas in the United Provinces, the Punjab, or the Himalayas.

A gang in the Frontier carries off the postman of the village of Hangu.

25. His Excellency Sir George Clarke receives a deputation from the Depressed Classes Mission Society of India.

A bomb explosion takes place today at Pandharpur in Bombay in connection with which some arrests are made.

26. The Committee of Canal and Revenue Officers recently appointed to consider certain questions in connection with assessments in the Punjab Canal Colonies submit a unanimous report recommending the gradual abolition of the "Kharaba" system by which the amount of assessments varies with the nature of the crop on each holding and the introduction of a lower schedule of occupier's rates.

In recognition of the very valuable services rendered by him to the cause of the Transvaal Indians, Mr. H. S. L. Polak is entertained by a number of leading men of Bombay, Mr. Gokhale presiding, at a dinner in the Tajmahal Hotel.

A gang of 72 men attack the village Nayabad in the Frontier and kill 5 men.

27. A general meeting of the newly organised Astronomical Society is held in the Imperial Secretariat Buildings in Calcutta, Mr. S. G. Tomkins, F.R.A.S., presiding.

Sub-Assistant Surgeons throughout Burma submit a memorial to the Government of India for enhanced pay which is supported by the Lieutenant-Governor and the Inspector-General.

The annual meeting of the Pudukota Representative Assembly is held today in which the annual statement of the affairs of the State is fully discussed.

28. About 90 British Indian deportees from South Africa are entertained at an afternoon party in the Bombay Presidency Association rooms today.

The skin and leather merchants of Madras have sent a memorial to the Indian Railway Conference Association, Simla, praying for the speedy remedial of some of their grievances.

29. Sir Edward Baker lays the foundation-stone of the new Ripon College buildings.

A Financial Statement and budget estimates for the Mysore State for the year 1910-11 is published today, providing for a total receipt of Rs. 210,98,000 and expenditure of Rs. 211,42,000.

Season report published today gives a bright outlook of crops in India, due to even distribution of rain throughout the Empire.

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The Bengal Government appoints a Committee of medical experts to enquire into the causes of the supposed cases of poisoning from chewing *paan*.

An attempt is made to derail a train on the Howrah-Amra Railway by fixing an iron spike at the junction of two rails between Maju and Munshir Hat.

30. Judgment is delivered today by the Calcutta High Court in the Khulna Conspiracy case, in which Messrs. Abani Chakravarty, Aswini Bose, Kalidas Ghose, Nagendra Chunder, Sachindra Mittra, Bidubhusan Dey are each sentenced to 7 years' transportation, Messrs. Nagendra Sarkar, Sudhir Dey and Prionath Pal are each sentenced to 5 years and Brojendra Dutt and Satish Chatterjee to 3 years each. Messrs. Mohini and Mahendra Mitter are acquitted.

The Calcutta Improvement Scheme Bill is introduced today in the Bengal Council, the cost estimated for the purpose being 822 lakhs.

At a meeting held at Benares the Maharaja of Benares delivers a speech highly advocating foreign travel for the Hindus.

31. Cash balances of the Government of India up to date are nearly 3 crores better than the estimates. The Secretary of State's drawing for the 21 weeks ended 20th August amounted to £ 7,505,300 as against the Budget estimate for the same period of £ 6,269,600.

Notices are issued by the Greaves Cotton Company stating their intention shortly to close 7 mills of which they are the agents in consequence of bad trade now being experienced by the Bombay Mill Industry and the high price of cotton.

The Madras Government issues an order on the report of Madras Fisheries for 1909-10 giving much information about, and suggesting various methods of improvement on, the fisheries in Madras.

The Executive Committee of the Bengal King Edward Memorial Fund unanimously recommend to the General Committee that the Bengal Memorial should take the form of a suitable statue.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

Income-tax in Burma

The total collections of income tax in Burma during the last year were Rs. 18,26,140 against Rs. 17,76,040 in the preceding year.

Fire Accidents in Calcutta

The total loss of property destroyed by fire in Calcutta in 1909 is estimated at Rs. 331,304 as against Rs. 2,394,24 in the previous year. This figure does not include the estimated damage valued at Rs. 3029,000 caused by fires outside the jurisdiction at which the fire brigade attended.

Cost of a Provincial Capital

The amount that is budgeted for expenditure on Dacca to fit it for its position as the capital city of the new province is, we are told by the *Pioneer*, just over 28½ lakhs. This expenditure will be spread over four years, giving an average of over 7 lakhs a year. A further sum of Rs. 18 lakhs will be required to complete the programme.

Stamp Revenue in Bengal

The Resolution by the Board of Revenue on the administration of the Stamp Department in Bengal during 1909-10 shows that the revenue under the Stamp and Court-fees Acts amounted to Rs. 1,51,40,941 against Rs. 1,51,29,226 in the preceding year, showing an increase of Rs. 11,715. The increase of revenue which was obtained occurred entirely in court-fee stamps, and there was a decrease in the revenue collected under the Indian Stamps Act. The total charges during the year amounted to Rs. 4,01,686, the increase of 7·0 per cent. over the figures of 1908-09 being under "Refunds."

Influx of Hindus in America

Re Reuter's message about the influx of Hindus in America, enquiries made in Calcutta showed that during the month of July alone fifteen hundred Indians, mostly Sikhs, left Calcutta for Hongkong by the line of steamers only. Most of these went to America from Hongkong. This year booking has been rather heavy, and it is expected that more emigrants may proceed within the next few weeks to Hongkong. A number of emigrants go to Vancouver or San Francisco, as they find no difficulty in obtaining situations there. They are not indentured coolies and they travel at their own expense.

The Post Office Income and Expenditure

During the past thirty years the revenue and expenditure of the Post Office has trebled and the net profit to the State has correspondingly increased. In 1880-81, the revenue was Rs. 8,68,94,300 and the expenditure Rs. 8,84,90,500, involving a small deficit. In

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1890-91, the revenue rose to Rs. 13,62,23,500 and the expenditure was Rs. 11,80,58,100, yielding a substantial profit. In 1905-06, fifteen years thereafter, the revenue was Rs. 24,70,07,200 while the expenditure amounted to Rs. 21,38,97,470. If we look at the figures of revenue and expenditure of the Telegraphs, we find that after a series of years of deficits, it has been yielding a net surplus of from 20 to 30 lakhs annually during the past few years.

Notable Indian Experiment

A gaol for young prisoners has been opened at Bareilly, with the object of preventing contamination by contact with old and hardened offenders. There is physical drill daily. Not much stress is laid on secular education, religious and moral training being preferred. Prisoners are taught the proper prayers of their religion, and are made to repeat them to masters morning and evening. Special watch is kept over the warders, and the use of undesirable language is strictly prohibited. The essential part of the education is the training of the prisoners in handicrafts, and as far as possible the boys are taught trades usually carried on by their castes.

Income-tax in Bengal

In the annual Resolution on the Administration of the Income-tax in Bengal during 1909-10, the receipts, charges and net revenue of the years 1908-09 and 1909-10, are compared as below :—

Year.	Receipts.	Charges.	Net
	Rs.	Rs.	revenue. Rs.
1909-10 ...	55,96,282	1,71,484	54,24,798
1908-09 ...	56,50,644	1,72,236	54,78,408

The net revenue showed a decrease of 1 per cent., as compared with an increase of 8·9 per cent. in 1908-09.

Reclaiming Criminal Tribes

The last annual report on the administration of the U. P. Police gives some interesting informations relating to the work that is being done by the Salvation Army in the matter of the reclamation of criminal tribes. In the Gorakhpur district, the Salvation Army maintains an industrial settlement at Jitpur where an experiment having for its object the reclamation of the Doms is being prosecuted. It is stated that no pains have been spared to make the scheme a success, but it is pointed out that the existing conditions are by no means favourable to further progress, for the accommodation in the settlement is limited. Again in the Moradabad Civil Station which contains a registered population of 266 Haburahs, the Salvation Army is arranging to take over small parties, with assistance from Government.

Indian Presses and Publications

A return recently issued shows that the number of registered printing presses in India increased, in the decade ending with 1908-09, from 2,153 to 2,594 or nearly 20·5 per cent. Newspapers increased by 9·3 per cent. and other periodical publications by 92·4 per cent. About four times as many books are printed in Indian languages as in English and other European languages. During 1908-09 Bengal produced no less than 2,849 Indian books, and 701

books in English, Madras being second on the list with 1,702 Indian and 639 English books. In the number of newspapers, however, Bombay stood first with 177, followed by Bengal, 124; Madras, 123; the Punjab, 121; and the United Provinces, 90. Of the books 2745 were devoted to religion, 1,607 to poetry and the drama, and 931 to languages, while 411 were works of fiction, 423 books on law, and 415 books on medicine. In the matter of language, English took the lead with 1838 books, Bengali coming second with 1604, Hindi third with 1,030, and Urdu fourth with 977. Books were also published in 58 other languages, in addition to 949 bilingual, 75 trilingual, and 25 polyglot books.

A Historical Manuscript

A historical manuscript in the Persian language has been discovered in the old archives of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Maulvi Mr. Hidayet Hussain, Lecturer in Arabic and Persian in the Presidency College, Calcutta. It was written in 1616 A.D. by Mulla Abdul Baqi and is called *Masirirahimi*. It contains an account of Mahomed Bairam Beg, the father of Abdur Rahim Khankhanan, preceded by a history of the rulers of Hindustan from the time of the Ghaznivites to the accession of Jehangir, including that of the Kings of Bengal, Jaunpur, Malwa, Kashmir, Multan and Delhi. It also describes the virtues and victories of Khankhanan, with copies of *Farmans* addressed to him and of some of his compositions with the accounts of the rulers of Guzerat, Sind, Deccan and Khandesh. The descriptions of places, baths, mosques and other buildings erected by Khankhanan together with the history of the sons of Khankhanan are also given in the manuscript. The concluding portion has in it information about contemporary philosophers, physicians and other celebrated men, poets and military officers under the command of Khankhanan.

Regency Regime in Porbandar State

The interesting experiment has been made in Porbandar State of entrusting its administration during the minority of the young Rana, now eight years old, to two Indian gentlemen. These are Thakor Vajsurwala, Chief of the lesser Kathiawar State of Bagasra, and Rao Bahadur Tambe, a former Deputy Political Agent. The task placed in their hands is not an easy one, for the late Rana left behind him a debt of about 11 lakhs, mostly incurred by the purchase of ornaments, cloths and so on, which represents two or three lakhs more than the annual gross revenue of the State. The report shows that the administrators have obtained a thorough grasp of the financial situation and are proceeding on sound lines to straighten it out. A substantial portion of the debt has already been liquidated and this, happily, without unduly interfering with administrative progress. In internal affairs various measures are under way for encouraging agriculture. To stimulate trade expert opinion is being taken with a view to increasing the facilities for shipping at the port of Madhavpur. On account of the natural position and geographical configuration of Porbandar there is ample scope for a variety of engineering undertakings and improvements of great public utility. The chief being so young the administrators will have a useful period at their disposal for thoroughly reorganising and improving the State's affairs.—"Times of India."

Viceroy or "Agent" ?

The *Globe* (London) has the following :—" Mr. Montagu's references to the position of the Indian Viceroy, when making his recent statement on behalf of the India Office in the House of Commons, have attracted much attention in India. The doctrine laid down by Lord Morley's representative embodies an entirely new conception of the relations between the Viceroy and the Home Government. Mr. Montagu referred to his chief and the Council of India as "working through the agency of Lord Minto," and he had previously emphasised the superintendence and control which, in a general way, is conferred by statute upon the Secretary for India. But we are quite sure that the suggestion that the Viceroy is merely the agent of the political chief of the India Office is wholly contrary to the view which has hitherto obtained in regard to the occupant of this exalted post. The Viceroy is the representative of the Sovereign in India, and as such his influence and authority should be paramount in an Oriental country. Nothing would more tend to lower the dignity and paralyse the administrative efficiency of the Indian Viceroy than the idea that he is the mere instrument of a party politician in London. If this view has been acted upon in the communications which have passed between Lord Morley and Lord Minto it accounts for much of the recent unrest in India. It soon becomes known in that country whether the arm of authority on the spot is hampered or the reverse by the Home Government, and the Indian agitators are perfectly aware of Lord Morley's tolerance of Irish disaffection when he was Chief Secretary for Ireland."

Caste in India

In India we are always confronted with caste, and the history of the whole world can produce nothing in any way parallel to it. It is a system of such overwhelming power, both human and divine, that its breach, viewed from the religious point of view, entails the plunging of the soul into the lowest depths under the curse of untold re-births, while, on the social side, it involves a stigma and a degradation worse than death. Not only is the converted son irretrievably lost, but the unconverted father also loses one on whom he depends for bliss in the next life. Not only is the Christian daughter cast forth like one polluted, or a corpse, by the mother who loved her as "the gem of her eye" (to use her own endearing term), but the mother herself can only hide her shame by plunging down the garden well. It is not the becoming a Christian, but the breaking of caste by the act of baptism, that causes the terrible disgrace. Then too the loss of one here and one there—a fall to the rest of the caste like that of Judas—though the gain and test of success to the evangelistic missionary who labours not so much to build up a kingdom as to detach insulated units, often increases the difficulty by causing those who have suffered the loss and shame to draw all the closer together, and to cling with a still more tenacious grip to that which is to them immeasurably dearer than life. Thus the missionary finds a whole Himalayan range thrown across his path. History gives no comfort here. What is to be done? Rather let us say what is not to be done. Above all things we are not to talk quite so much about "our work." When the hills, the sea, and the army of Pharaoh hemmed in the Israelites on every side, then

was the time for Moses to exclaim, "Stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord."

Mr. Sinha's Resignation

Mr. Valentine Chirol thus writes to the *Times* (London) about Mr. Sinha's resignation :

"Sir,—As I had the advantage of seeing a good deal of Mr. Sinha during my stay in Calcutta last spring, will you allow me to say that I believe it is quite unnecessary to suggest any other motives for his resignation than those which he has made public ? As far back as last March he made no secret of his intention to resign his seat on the Viceroy's Executive Council as soon as Lord Minto left India. He had never coveted a post which involved for him heavy pecuniary loss and the necessity of spending a large part of the year at Simla away from his home and all his friends and connexions in Bengal. His resignation, however, which, I believe, is to take effect on the very day on which Lord Minto hands over the Viceroyalty to his successor, is much to be regretted in the public interest ; for his discharge of the duties attaching to his post has gone far to reconcile those who, like myself, had misgivings as to the wisdom of calling any Indian into the Viceroy's Executive Council, and chiefly on the very grounds which have been erroneously suggested as an explanation of Mr. Sinha's resignation. But the number of Indians who have assimilated as fully as Mr. Sinha the best features of a Western education is, I fear, still very limited ; and it will not be easy to find a successor with his qualifications. There is another moral, however, which may be usually drawn from Mr. Sinha's resignation. It is the fashion in Radical circles at home to gibe at the "bloated" salaries of Indian Government officials. Yet the "bloated" salary of a Member of Council is not a sufficient attraction for the first Indian appointed to such a post."

Sir Francis Younghusband in a letter to the *Times* on "India Present and Future" has the following on the same subject :—

"We Anglo-Indians of to-day are probably no whit less anxious than the great Anglo-Indians of the past whose names you have mentioned to give, within the limits of order, the fullest scope to the development of Indians along their own natural lines. And that they do now get a considerable scope for such development we may assume from the fact that the able Bengali gentleman, Mr. Sinha, is withdrawing from even such a high position as a seat on the Viceroy's Executive Council for the more genial and more highly remunerated work at the Calcutta Bar.

"It would probably be a not inapt inference that, however much Bengal is might, from a distance, like the idea of governing, when they had government actually in their hands they would find it dull, prosaic, and irksome, and altogether unsuited to their natures. They and other Indians are developing rapidly under British rule. They might not flourish so well under their own."

What sad comments these ! Mr. Sinha and his educated compatriots must thank themselves for giving our critics so splendid an opportunity to laugh at our expense.

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

The Punjab Joint-Stock Companies

The report of the Joint-Stock Companies in the Punjab for the year ending March says that eighteen new companies were registered during the year and 10 ceased to work, leaving 136 on the present Official Register. Three banks have increased their capital, the People's Bank by $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, the Punjab Banking Co. by 2 lakhs, and the Punjab National Bank by $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. It is stated that the local Government has begun to refuse license under section 26 of the Companies Act to family relief societies and similar associations in the hope that the increase of bogus societies may be hindered or at least that full publicity may be secured.

Skilled and Unskilled Labour

Some interesting facts regarding wages of skilled and unskilled labour are contained in the annual Sanitary Administration Report in the Punjab. The wages of able-bodied labourers ranged during the first half of 1909 from Rs. 4 to Rs. 6 per mensem in Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzafferpore and Gurgaon to rates as high as Rs. 14 in Amballa, 15 in Sialkot, Shahpur and Lyallpur, and 16 in Ludhiana. In the cases of masons, carpenters, and blacksmiths the lowest wages ranged from Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 in Hissar, Gurgaon, Dera Ghazi Khan, Rohtak, Karnal, Muzaffargarh, Delhi, Kangra, Hoshiarpur, and the highest rates were from Rs. 30 to $37\frac{1}{2}$ in Ludhiana, Ferozepur, Amritsar, Sialkot, Shahpur, Mianwali, Jhang, Jhelum, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Gujranwala and Montgomery. Higher wages were paid to artisans of these classes during the latter half of the year owing to the activity of the building trade and greater demand for labour in consequence of the opening of new factories.

Cotton Crop in the Madras Presidency

On an average of the five years ending 1908-1909, the area under cotton in the Madras Presidency has represented 8.1 per cent of the total area under cotton in India. The total area sown with cotton in ryotwari villages up to the end of July, 1910 is 124,700 acres or about 70 per cent. more than the area shown in the corresponding period of 1909. It is also more than the average of ten years by 6 per cent, but 8 per cent less than the average of five years. The increase, as compared with the previous years, is most marked in the districts of Coimbatore, Bellary and Guntur, and is ascribed partly to timely rains and partly to the increased demand for the article on account of its high price. It is reported that the crop was sown generally in June or July, the months in which it is usually sown. The crop is generally in fair condition. The total area under cotton reported from villages other than ryotwari is about 11,200 acres against 8,600 reported for the corresponding period of 1909. No crop was sown in the Native States of Banganapalle and Pudukkottai during the period under report.

British Capital in India

It is of great interest to study the disposal and accumulation of British capital in India. Statistics have just been issued which allow a review to be made of new capital creations in London for the past half-year. They have broken all previous records in point

of amount. For the first quarter of the year the applications totalled £99,355,600, and in the second quarter, although the period began with a 4 per cent Bank rate, the total was £88,721,400, an apparent decline but a real increase, for the Government issue of £21,000,000 Exchequer Bonds in the first quarter can hardly be counted as new money. In the second quarter the requirements under nearly every head exceeded those of the preceding three months, and the total of £188,000,000 for the half-year is far above any previous record, although for the greater part of the time the Bank rate was over 3 per cent. In fact, this vast total for the six months has only once, in 1908, been exceeded by the capital applications for a whole year. The year 1910 is, therefore, bound to be a conspicuous landmark in the history of capital applications, though doubtless there will be some natural falling off from these marvellous figures in the second half of the year.

Electric Dredgers in Kashmir

The *Indian and Eastern Engineer* publishes an interesting article describing the electric dredgers which are at work in Kashmir. This plant is engaged in deepening the Jhelum River for flood prevention from Wular Lake to a point 4 miles below Baramula, and has been at work for about 18 months. The total amount of material to be excavated is appropriately 5,600,000 cubic yards, 50,00,000 being composed of soft clay and sand, and the remainder of boulders and gravel. The design of the machinery to meet the conditions was complicated by the fact that it had to be transported a distance of 200 miles over a mountain range 8,000 feet above sea-level, the only available means of transportation being bullock carts. This limited the weights of single pieces making it necessary to construct practically all parts either of steel castings or forgings. All of the units are electrically operated by three-phase alternating current, and as they were the first electrically operated machines of their type, and on account of the very severe demands on the electrical equipment, extended preliminary study was required. As a result three-phase motors were adopted, and 18 months' use has shown that this type is well adapted for the work.

Geological Survey of India

The following is the programme of the Geological Survey of India, for the current year:—(1) Geological Survey of Upper Burma, (2) revision of the Survey of Central India and Rajaputana, (3) investigation of samples of slate from Rajaputana, (4) investigation of samples of salt from Rajaputana, and the Punjab Salt range, (5) mapping of unsurveyed areas in the Central Provinces, (6) survey of the oil bearing regions in the North-Eastern Assam, (7) economic survey of the Dhulbhum Estate, (8) survey of the Idar State in the Bombay Presidency, (9) search for mammalia remains in the Siwalik Rock of Jammu and Kugra and revised classification of fresh water tertiary strata, (10) palæontology of (a) the liasichads of Baluchistan (b) the cretaceous and tertiary system of Tibet (c) the Indian tertiary mollusca, (d) the jurassic brachiopoda from the Northern Shan States and (10) study of Siwalik vertebrates, (11) the examination of the Lonar Lake salts, (12) the survey of the oil-bearing strata of the Rawalpindi district, (13) artesian water supply in Gujerat and other places, (14) sulphide ores in the Punjab

salt range, (15) palæontology of (a) silurian fossils, (b) permo-carboniferous and triassic fossils and (c) Gondwana plants from Kashmir.

The Indian Market for Agricultural Appliances

The introduction of improved agricultural implements and machinery of Indian agriculture appears from occasional official reports to be making very fair headway, considering that the only active agency in the development of the market is the divisional agricultural Departments, which have here and there added to their educational propaganda the business of storing and selling the machines to native buyers. It is time, we think, for some of our leading manufacturers to show a more active interest in this immensely important market. It does not seem quite satisfactory, for instance, that an enterprising firm like Messrs. Ransome should be content to leave the sale of their ploughs in the hands of the Government officers when the business in one district has reached a turnover of 100 ploughs a year, as is reported by the Deputy Director of Agriculture in the Central Provinces. A capable representative of the firm would surely be able to double the business done at the Government depots ; but whether direct representation would yet be remunerative or not, the preliminary expense of maintaining local agencies in a market of such enormous potentialities would almost certainly be well repaid by-and-by. The advantage of an early connection, too, is worth paying for. In one or two instances the traffic of the Government depots has grown to such an extent that local merchant firms have gladly taken over the business, but there is so little resemblance between agricultural conditions in India and in this country or any other country with which British manufacturers are doing business that the introduction of merchant middlemen will never be sufficient if the most is to be made of the market. Our manufacturers' representatives should be on the spot all the time to be able to advise headquarters on the manufacture of suitable appliances. The absence of such representation has already seriously retarded the growth of our exports of agricultural machinery to India.

SELECTIONS

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INDIAN UNREST

VIII.—Poona and Kolhapur

It is not, after all, in British India (*i.e.*, in that part of India which we directly administer) that the Brahmanical and reactionary character of Indian unrest, at any rate in the Deccan, can best be studied. There it can always be disguised under the "patriotic" aspects of a revolt against alien rule. To appreciate its real tendencies we must go to a native State of the Deccan about 100 miles south of Poona. Kolhapur is the most important of the native States under the charge of the Bombay Government, and its ruler is the only ruling Mahratta chief who can claim direct descent from the great Shivaji, the "Shivaji-Maharaj" whose cult Tilak made one of the central features of his political propaganda. One would have thought that such a lineage would have sufficed in itself to invest the Maharajah of Kolhapur with a certain measure of sanctity in the eyes of Tilak and his followers. Far from it. His Highness is an enlightened ruler and a man of great simplicity of character. He takes a keen interest in the administration of his State, and has undertaken at no small cost to his exchequer one of the most important irrigation works yet attempted in any native State. But he committed what Tilak and his friends regarded as two unforgivable offences: he fought against the intolerance of the Brahmans and he is a faithful friend and ally of the British Raj. Hence they set in motion against him, the descendant of Shivaji, in his own State, exactly the same machinery of agitation and conspiracy which they have set in motion against British rule in British India.

THE MAHARAJAH AND THE BRAHMANS

It is a curious and most instructive story. Under the reign of the present Maharajah's predecessor, Shivaji IV., who ultimately went mad, the Prime Minister, a Chitpawan Brahman of Ratnagiri, acquired almost supreme power in the State, and filled every important post with his fellow caste-men, of whom he introduced more than a hundred into the public service. On his accession in 1894 the present Maharajah appointed as his Prime Minister, with a view to very necessary reforms in the administration, a Kayastha Prabhu, Rao Bahadur Subvis, who, though a high-caste Hindu, was not a Brahman. There has long been great rivalry between the Brahmans and the Prabhus, who belong mostly to the moderate progressive school of Hinduism. The appointment of Mr. Subvis, besides portending unpalatable reforms, was therefore in itself very unwelcome to the Kolhapur Brahmans, amongst whom one of the most influential Mr. B. N. Joshi, the Chief Judge, was a personal friend of Tilak. In order to put pressure upon the young Maharajah the Brahmans had recourse to one of the most

powerful weapons with which the semi-religious, semi-social structure of Hinduism has armed them. They questioned his caste and refused to recite at certain religious ceremonies in his family the Vedic hymns, to which as a Kshatriya (*i.e.*, as a member of the "twice-born" caste ranking next to the Brahmans) his Highness claimed to be traditionally entitled. The stalwart Brahmans of the Deccan allege, it seems, that in this *Kali Yuga*, or Age of Darkness, there can be no Kshatriyas, since there is no room for a warrior caste in the orthodox sense under an alien rule, and that therefore the Hindus who are neither Brahmans nor pariahs can at best be Shudras—a "clean" caste, but not even entitled to wear the "sacred thread" reserved for the highest castes.

The Maharajah remained firm, and several of the more progressive Brahmans, braving the pressure of their fellow caste-men at Poona and in Kolhapur itself, stood by his Highness. The dispute was aggravated when the Rajpadhya—the family priest of the Kolhapur ruling family—himself refused the Vedic ritual to his Highness, even when two Judges, both Brahmans, who were appointed to form with him a committee of three to decide the issue, pronounced in favour of the Maharajah's claim. His Highness then took the case to the Sankeshwar Shankaracharya, the highest religious authority with jurisdiction in such matters. But the feud only grew the more bitter, as, owing to the death of the incumbent of that high office, rival candidatures were put forward to the succession by the Maharaja's supporters on the one hand and by Tilak and his friends on the other. To the present day the feud continues, and the present Shankaracharya is not recognised by the Poona school of Brahmans. Nor is he likely to be, as he has had the unique courage publicly to condemn as a Brahman the murder of Mr. Jackson by Brahmans.

A REMARKABLE PROCLAMATION

Writing some months ago from Nasik, on March 2, I remarked that "if murder is a heinous crime by whomsoever committed, it ranks amongst Hindus as specially heinous when committed by a Brahman," and I asked how it was that "instead of outcasting the murderer many Brahmans continue more or less secretly to glorify his crime." I have put the same question to several Brahmans. Some have admitted that there is a strong case for the public excommunication of Brahmans guilty of political murder, some have regretted that no such action has ever been taken by the caste authorities, some have argued that caste organization has been so loosened that any collective action would be impracticable. Only in Kolhapur has a Brahman been found to have in this respect the courage of his convictions. On March 14, a fortnight before my letter from Nasik appeared in *The Times*, the Shankaracharya of the Karveer Pitha issued a proclamation solemnly reprobating the murder committed by a Brahman "in the holy city of Nasik" as "a stain on the Brahmanical religion of mercy emphatically preached by Manu and other law-givers." After paying a warm tribute to Mr. Jackson's personal qualities and great learning, and quoting sacred texts to show that "such a murder is to be condemned the more when a Brahman commits it," and renders the murderer liable to the most awful penalties in the next world, the proclamation proceeded to declare that "his Holiness is pleased to

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excommunicate the wicked persons who have committed the present offence and who shall commit similar offences against the State, and none of the disciples of this Peetha shall have any dealings with such sinful men."

BRAHMAN METHODS OF WARFARE

Amongst the majority of Brahmans in Kolhapur and elsewhere this proclamation, I fear, found no echo, for their hostility towards their own Maharajah had often assumed or encouraged criminal forms of violence. It had certainly not remained confined to the spiritual domain. Under the constant inspiration of Poona, the Tilak press waged relentless war against his Highness, preaching disaffection towards his government, just as it preached disaffection towards the British Raj. But the Maharajah was determined to be master in his own State, and in Mr. Subvis he had found a Prime Minister who loyally and courageously carried out his policy for the improvement of the administration and the spread of education amongst the non-Brahman castes. The Maharajah realizes that Brahman ascendancy cannot be broken down permanently unless the non-Brahman castes are adequately equipped to compete with them in the public services. Amongst these there is plenty of loyalty to the ruling chief, for his Mahratta subjects have not wholly forgotten the tyranny of Chitpawan Brahman rule either under Shivaji IV.'s Prime Minister or in the less recent times of the Poona Peishwas. One of the most interesting institution in Kolhapur is a hostel specially endowed for non-Brahman Mahratta, Mahomedan, and Jain youths who are following the courses of the Rajaram College. The control of education plays in Kolhapur as conspicuous a part as at Poona in the struggle between the forces of order and disorder, and it is amongst the Kolhapur youth that the latter have made their most strenuous exertions and with the same lawless results.

SECRET SOCIETIES

The first organization started at Kolhapur in imitation of Poona was a Shivaji Club, with which were associated bands of gymnasts, Ganpati choirs, an anti-cow-killing society, &c., all on the lines of those founded by Tilak. It was suppressed in 1900, as several of its members had been implicated in the disturbances at Bir, where a young "patriot" had proclaimed himself Rajah and collected a sufficient number of armed followers to require a military force to suppress the rebellion. The disturbances at Bir were, in fact, the starting point of that new form of political propagandism which takes the shape of dacoities or armed robberies for the benefit of the "patriotic" war-chest. After the suppression of the Kolhapur Shivaji Club, many of its leading members disappeared for a time, but only to carry on their operations in other parts of India, where they entered into relations with secret societies of a similar type. Three years later the Club had been practically revived under the new name of "Belapur Swami Club," so called in honour of the late Swami of Belapur, to whose wooden slippers the members of the Club were in the habit of doing worship, whilst his shrine was used as a sanctuary for sedition-mongers and a store-house for illicit weapons. "Political" dacoities were seen in vogue again, and in 1905 there was an epidemic of house-breaking in and around

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Kolhapur, which enriched the Club with several thousands of rupees and a few arms. Seven members were finally arrested and some made full confessions. All of these except one were Brahmans and mostly quite well connected. But even those who were convicted got off with light sentences, and the campaign, which clearly had powerful aiders and abettors both inside Kolhapur and outside, was only temporarily checked.

Nor was it to stop at dacoities. A regular semi-military organization was introduced, and bands of young men used to go out into the country to carry out mimic manoeuvres. It is of no slight significance that photographs have been discovered of groups of these young men—some of whom were subsequently convicted for serious offences,—with Tilak himself in their midst. They were in constant communication with Poona, and when the Poona extremists began to specialize on bombs, they were amongst the neophytes of the new cult. A conspiracy was hatched to murder Colonel Ferris, the Political Agent, at the wedding of the Maharajah's daughter on March 21, 1908, and, as was disclosed in the subsequent trial, a bomb was prepared and despatched from Poona, but fortunately it did not reach Kolhapur in time. The conspirators had to fall back upon less potent weapons. Thanks to the Arms Act, which is one of the favourite grievances of Indian Nationalism, they had great difficulty in obtaining arms, but they secured a few, and on April 16, 1908, when Colonel Ferris, who was retiring, left Kolhapur, some of the conspirators followed him into the train, and, alighting at one of the stations, attempted to shoot him, but, again fortunately, their cartridges missed fire. A few weeks later placards giving formulæ for the making of bombs were actually posted up on the doors of schools and other buildings, and this was followed by a theft of acids from a Kolhapur private school. Finally ten youths, nine of whom were Brahmans, were committed for trial on these offences before a special Sessions Judge, lent by Government, and eight of them were convicted.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE TILAK PRESS

Quite as much as these convictions the down-fall of Tilak helped to quell the forces of unrest in the State of Kolhapur. For in Kolhapur, as in Poona, it was the Brahman Press controlled by Tilak that familiarized the rising generation with the idea of political murder. In the year which preceded the Kolhapur conspiracy, and just after the first dastardly bomb outrage at Muzafferpur to which Mrs. and Miss. Kennedy fell victims, an article appeared in the *Vishvaskrita*, a Kolhapur monthly magazine, for which its editor, Mr. Bijapurkar, a Brahman, who until 1905 had been Professor of Sanscrit at the Rajaram College, was subsequently prosecuted and convicted. The article, which by the way was headed "The Potency of Vedic Prayers," recalled various cases in which the Vedas lay down the duty of retaliation upon "alien" oppressors. "To kill such people involves no sin, and when Kahatryas and Vaishyas do not come forward to kill them, Brahmans should take up arms and protect religion. When one is face to face with such people, they should be slaughtered without hesitation. Not the slightest blame attaches to the slayer." Moreover, lest these exhortations should be construed merely as a philosophic treatise on Vedic teaching, the writer

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was careful to add that "these doctrines are not to be kept in books, but must be taught even to babes and sucklings."

Thus in a native State of the Deccan, just as in British-administered Deccan, we find the same methods and the same doctrines adopted by the Brahmans with the same demoralizing results in pursuance of the same purpose, now under one guise and now under another, the maintenance or restoration of their own theocratic power, whether it be threatened by a Hindu ruler of their own race, or by "alien" rulers and the alien civilization for which they stand.

IX.—Bengal Before the Partition

It is a far cry in every sense from the Deccan to Bengal. There is a greater diversity of races, languages, social customs, physical conditions, &c., between the different provinces of India than is often to be found between the different countries of Europe. Few differ more widely than the Deccan and Bengal—the Deccan, a great table-land raised on an average over 2,000 ft. above sea level, broken by many deep-cut river valleys and throwing up lofty ridges of hard rock, entirely dependent for its rainfall upon the south-west monsoon, which alone and in varying degrees of abundance relieves the thirst of a thin soil parched during the rest of the year by a fierce dry heat—Bengal, a vast alluvial plain, with a hot, damp climate, watered and fertilized by great rivers like the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, which drain the greater part of the Himalayas. The Deccan is thinly populated; it has no great waterways; there are large cities and few natural facilities of communication between them, but the population, chiefly Mahratta Hindus, with a fair sprinkling of Mahomedans, survivors of the Mogul Empire, are a virile race, wiry rather than sturdy, with tenacious customs and traditions and a language—Marathi—which has a copious popular literature. Maharashtra, moreover, has historical traditions, by no means inglorious, of its own. It has played, and is conscious of having played, a conspicuous part in the history of India down to relatively recent times; and the Brahmans of Maharashtra, as we have already seen, have preserved to the present day the instincts and the aspirations of a ruling race, combined with great force and subtleness of intellect. In Bengal, on the other hand, there is a dense population, concentrated in part in large towns and cities along the great waterways, but also spread over the whole surface of the rich plains and deltas. The Bengalees are a quick-witted, imaginative, and warm-hearted people who have been the victims rather than the makers of history. The tide of conquest has swept over them again and again from times immemorial, but generally without leaving any lasting impression upon their elastic and rather timid temperaments. With all his receptive qualities, his love of novelty and readiness to learn, his retentive memory, his luxuriant imagination, his gift of facile eloquence, the Bengalee has seldom shown himself to be a born ruler of men.

All these differences are reflected in the unrest in Bengal, though on the surface it presents a close resemblance to the unrest in the Deccan, and there has been constant contact and co-operation between the leaders. Except as a geographical expression, Bengal is practically a creation of British rule and of Western education. The claim of the modern Bengalees to be regarded as a "nation"

has no historical basis. The inhabitants of Bengal are of mixed Dravidian, Mongolian, and Aryan origin, and in no other speech of India, writes Sir H. Risley, is the literary language cultivated by the educated classes more widely divorced, not only from the many popular dialects spoken in the province, but from that of ordinary conversation. Literary Bengali is not even an altogether indigenous growth. It owes its birth mainly to the labours of English missionaries like Carey, in the first half of the last century, assisted by the Pundits of Calcutta. Yet it is upon this community of language that the Bengalees mainly found their claim to recognition as a "nation"; or to put it in another form, their claim rests upon education as they understand it—*i.e.*, upon the high proportion of literacy that exists in Bengal as compared with most parts of India. Education is unquestionably a power of Bengal. It has not superseded caste, which in all essentials is still unbroken, but it has to some extent overshadowed it.

BRAHMANISM IN BENGAL

The Brahmans of Bengal have never within historical times been a politically dominant force. They did not condescend to take office even in the remote days when there were Hindu Kings in Bengal, and still less under Mahomedan rule. They were content to be learned in Sanskrit and in the Hindu Scriptures, and they left secular knowledge to the Kayasthas, or writer caste, with whom they preserved, notwithstanding certain rigid barriers, much more intimate relations than usually exist between different Hindu castes. There is a tradition that the highest Brahman septs of Bengal are the descendants of five priests of special sanctity whom King Adisur of Eastern Bengal in the ninth century attracted to his Court from the holiest centres of Hinduism, and that the servants who accompanied them founded the septs to which precedence is still accorded amongst the Kayasthas of Bengal, and both have been at pains to preserve the purity of their descent by a most exclusive and complicated system of matrimonial alliances known as Kulinism. Hence in Bengal the Brahmans share their social primacy to an extent unknown in other parts of India with the Kayasthas and also with another high caste, the Vaidyas, who formerly monopolized the practice of Hindu medicine. The *nexus* is education, and that *nexus* has been strengthened since the advent of British rule and of Western education. When the educational enterprise of the early British missionaries was followed up, under the impulse of Dr. Duff, the greatest figure in the missionary annals of India, and of Ram Mohun Roy, the most learned and earnest of all reforming Brahmans, by the famous Government Minute of March 7, 1835, many distinguished members of all these three castes responded to the call and began to qualify for employment under Government and for the liberal professions that were opening up in the new India we were making. They were first in the field, and though other castes have followed suit, it is they who have practically monopolized the public offices, the Bar, the Press, and the teaching profession. It was they who were the moving spirits of the Brahmo Samaj and of Social Reform when progressive ideas seemed to be on the point of permeating Hinduism. But when the reaction came which first found public expression in the resistance provoked by the Age of Consent Bill of 1890 for mitigating

the evils of Hindu child marriage, and the spirit of reform was deflected from the social and religious into the political domain, it was they again who showed the most aptitude to clothe the new political movement in all the forms of Western political activities, and it was the fluent speakers of Bengal who had the satisfaction of feeling, in the early days of the Indian National Congress, that for the first time in Indian history Bengal might claim to be marching in the van.

BENGALÉE ADAPTABILITY

Owing to his greater plasticity and imagination, the Bengalee has certainly often assimilated English ideas as few other Indians have. None can question, for instance, the genuine Western culture and sound learning of men like Dr. Ashutosh Mukerjee, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, or Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, than whom the English Bar itself has produced few greater lawyers; and it would be easy to quote many other names of scarcely less distinction amongst the many highly educated Bengalees who have served and are still serving the State with undoubted loyalty and ability. With the spread of English education, habits of tolerance have grown up, at any rate as to externals; and though on the crucial point of inter-marriage caste law has lost hardly anything of its rigidity, religion, in the ordinary intercourse of life, seems to sit almost as lightly upon educated Hindu society in Calcutta as upon English society in London. Another result of English education, combined with the absence of such traditions of Brahman supremacy as are still recent and powerful in the Deccan, has been to invest the political aspirations of the Bengalees with that democratic tinge which has won the sympathies of English Radicals; and, even if the tinge in most cases be very slight, the Bengalee's own adaptability enables him to clothe his opinions with extraordinary skill and verisimilitude in the form which he intuitively knows will best suit an English audience. Of any real democratic spirit amongst the educated classes of Bengal it is difficult to find a trace, for they are separated from the masses whom they profess to represent by a social gulf which only a few of the most enlightened amongst them have so far even recognized the necessity of making some attempt to bridge, if they wish to give the slightest plausibility to their professions. It would be less far-fetched, though the analogy would still be very halting, to compare the position of the Bengalee Moderates with that of the middle classes in England before the Reform Bill of 1832, who had no idea of emancipating the masses, but only of emancipating themselves to some extent from the control of a close oligarchy. From this point of view there are undoubtedly, and especially amongst the elder generation, many educated Bengalees who are convinced that in claiming by political agitation a larger share in the administration and government of the country they are merely carrying into practice the blameless theories of civic life and political activity which their reading of English history has taught them. Their influence, however, has been rapidly undermined by a new and essentially revolutionary school, who combine with a spirit of revolt against all Western authority a reversion to some of the most reactionary conceptions of authority that the East has ever produced,

and, unfortunately, it is this new school which has now got hold of the younger educated classes.

Education, to which in its more primitive forms the Bengalees owed whatever influence they retained under Mahomedan rule, has given them under British rule far larger opportunities which they have turned to account with no mean measure of success. I must reserve the thorny question of education for separate treatment. All I need say for the present is that, had it grown less instead of more superficial, had it been less divorced from discipline and moral training as well as from the realities of Indian life, the results might have been very different. As it is, in the form given to it in our Indian schools and colleges, which have been allowed to drift more and more into native hands, English education has steadily deteriorated in quality as the output has in quantity. The sacrifices made by many Bengalees in humble circumstances to procure for their sons the advantages of what is called higher education are often pathetic, but the results of this mania for higher education, however laudable in itself, have been disastrous. Every year large batches of youths with a mere smattering of knowledge are turned out into a world that has little or no use for them. Soured on the one hand by their own failure or by the failure of such examinations as they may have succeeded in passing to secure for them the employment to which they aspired, and scorning the sort of work to which they would otherwise have been trained, they are ripe for every revolt. That is the material upon which the leaders of unrest have most successfully worked, and it is only recently that some of the more sober-minded Bengalees of the older generation have begun to realize the dangers inherent in such a system. When in 1904 Lord Curzon brought in his Universities Bill to mitigate some of the most glaring evils of the system, there was a loud and unanimous outcry in Bengal that Government intended to throttle higher education because it was education that was making a "nation" of Bengal. Subsequent events have shown that measure was not only urgently needed, but that it came too late to cure the mischief already done, and was, if anything, too circumscribed in its scope. The storm it raised was intensified shortly afterwards by Lord Curzon's famous Convocation speech, into which the sensitive and emotional Bengalee hastened to read a humiliating indictment of the "nation." Such a storm showed how heavily laden was the atmosphere with dangerous electricity.

For some years past, as I have pointed out in the previous articles on the unrest in the Deccan, the influence of Tilak and his irreconcilable school had been projected from Poona into Bengal, and nowhere did it make itself so rapidly felt as in the Press. The *Calcutta Review* has been publishing a very instructive history of the Indian Press by Mr. S. C. Sanial, a Hindu scholar who has had the advantage of consulting authentic and hitherto unpublished documents. His erudite work shows how the native Press of India first grew up in Bengal as the direct product of English education, and faithfully reflected all the fluctuations of educated Bengalee opinion, many of the most influential native newspapers continuing to be published in English, side by side with, and often under the same control as, more popular papers published in the vernacular. Among the "advanced" journalists of Bengal, none had fallen

so entirely under the spell of Tilak's magnetic personality as Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal and Mr. Arabindo Ghose, and the former's *New India* and the latter's *Bande Mataram*, also published in English, soon outstripped the aggressiveness of Mr. Surendranath Banerjea's *Bengalee*. For though not immune from the reaction against Western influences and in favour of Hinduism as a religious and social system, the school represented by Mr. Banerjea confined itself mainly to political agitation and the criticism of British methods of administration. The new school represented by Mr. Pal and Mr. Arabindo Ghose scarcely disguised its hostility to British rule itself and to all that British ascendancy stands for. Hinduism for the Hindus, or, as they preferred to put it, "Arya for the Aryans," was the war-cry of fanatics like Mr. Arabindo Ghose, whose mysticism found in the sacred story of the *Bhagvat Gita* not only the charter of Indian independence but the sanctification of the most violent means for the overthrow of an alien rule. With this "Aryan" reaction, having to a great extent the force of religious enthusiasm behind it, orthodoxy also recovered ground, and Brahmanism was beginning to show how potent it still is even in Bengal when it appeals to the superstitions of the masses. In one form or another this spirit had spread like wildfire not only among the students but among the teachers, and the schools of physical training to which young Bengal had taken, partly under the influence of our British love of sports and partly from a legitimate desire to remove from their "nation" the stigma of unmanliness, were rapidly transforming themselves into political societies modelled upon the bands of gymnasts which figured so prominently in Tilak's propaganda in the Deccan. Among the older men, some yielded to the new spirit from fear of being elbowed out by their youngsters, some were genuinely impatient of the tardiness of the constitutional reforms for which they had looked to the agency of the Indian National Congress; a few perhaps welcomed the opportunity of venting the bitterness engendered by social slights, real or imaginary, or by disappointments in Government service.

Such appears to have been the *état d'ame* in Bengal when the Government of India promulgated the measure of administrative redistribution known as the Partition of Bengal.

X.—*The Anti-Partition Campaign in Bengal*

The merits or demerits of the Partition of Bengal have already been discussed to satiety. As far as its purpose was to promote administrative efficiency it is no longer on its defence. Bengal proper is still the most populous province in India, but its present dimensions are no longer such as to make adequate administration impracticable. The eastern districts, now included in the new province, which had been hitherto lamentably neglected, have already gained enormously by the change, which was at the same time only an act of justice to the large Mahomedan majority who received but scanty consideration from Calcutta. The only people who perhaps suffered inconvenience or material loss were absentee landlords, pleaders, and money-lenders, and some of the merchants of Calcutta, Anglo-Indian as well as native, who believed their interests to be affected by the transfer of the seat of provincial government for the Eastern Bengal districts to Dacca.

Nevertheless the Partition was the signal for an agitation such

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as India had not hitherto witnessed. I say advisedly the signal rather than the cause. For if the Partition in itself had sufficed to rouse spontaneous popular feeling, it would have been unnecessary for the leaders of the agitation to resort in the rural districts to gross misrepresentations of the objects of that measure. What all the smouldering discontent, all the reactionary disaffection centred in Calcutta read into the Partition was a direct attack upon the primacy of the educated classes that had made Calcutta the capital of the Bengalee "nation." The Universities Bill of 1904, it was alleged, had been the first attempt on the part of a masterful Viceroy to reduce their influence by curtailing their control of higher education. Partition was a further attempt to hamper their activities by cutting half the "nation" adrift from its "intellectual" capital. This was a cry well calculated to appeal to many Moderates, whom the merely political aspects of the question would have left relatively unmoved; and it certainly proved effective, for in Calcutta feeling ran very strong. Whilst "monster" demonstrations were organized in Calcutta and in the principal towns of the *mofussil*, reports were sedulously disseminated amongst the agricultural population that Partition was meant to pave the way for undoing the Permanent Settlement which governs the Land Revenue in Bengal and increasing the land-tax, and that the constitution of the new province was to facilitate the compulsory emigration of the people from the plains, who would be driven to work on the Englishmen's tea plantations in the far-off jungles of Assam. Reports of this kind were well calculated to alarm the credulous *rayats*, whilst in the towns the masses were told that Partition was an insult to the "terrible goddess" Kali, the most popular of all Hindu deities in Bengal. Something else was required to popularize the protest amongst the small townfolk, amongst artisans and petty traders.

SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT

The spirit of revolt against Western political authority had been for some time past spreading to the domain of economics. *Swadeshi* in itself and so far as it means the intelligent encouragement of indigenous industries is perfectly legitimate, and in this sense the Government of India had practised *Swadeshi* long before it was taken up for purposes of political agitation by those who look upon it primarily as an economic weapon against their rulers. It was now to receive a formidable development. *Swadeshi* must strike at the flinty heart of the British people by cutting off the demand for British manufactured goods and substituting in their place the products of native labour. At the first great meeting held at the Calcutta Town Hall to protest against Partition, the building was to have been draped in black as a sign of "national" mourning, but the idea was ostentatiously renounced because the only materials available were of English manufacture. Not only did the painful circumstances of the hour forbid any self-respecting Bengalee from using foreign-made articles, but some means had to be found of compelling the lukewarm to take the same lofty view of their duties. So the cry of boycott was raised, and it is worth noting, as evidence of the close contact and co-operation between the forces of unrest in the Deccan and in Bengal, that at the same time as it was raised in Calcutta by Mr. Surendranath Banerjea it was raised also at

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Poona by Tilak, who perhaps foresaw much more clearly the lawlessness to which it would lead.

For the boycott did not remain by any means an idle threat. The movement was placed under the special patronage of Kali and vows were administered to large crowds in the forecourts of her great temple at Calcutta and in her various shrines all over Bengal. To prevent any backsliding, the agitators had ready to hand an organization which they did not hesitate to use. The gymnastic societies founded in Bengal for physical training and semi-military drill on the model of those established by Tilak in the Deccan were transformed into "national volunteers," and students and schoolboys who had been encouraged from the first to take part in public meetings and to parade the streets in procession as a protest against Partition, were mobilized to picket the bazaars and enforce the boycott. Nor were their methods confined to moral suasion. Where it failed they were quite ready to use force. The Hindu leaders had made desperate attempts to enlist the support of the Mahomedans, and not without some success, until the latter began to realize the true meaning both of the Partition and of the agitation against it. Nothing was better calculated to enlighten them than another feature introduced also from the Deccan into the "national" propaganda. In the Deccan the cult of Shivaji, as the epic hero of Mahratta history, was intelligible enough. But in Bengal this name had been for generations a bogey with which mothers hushed their babies, and the Mahratta Ditch in Calcutta still bears witness to the terror produced by the daring raids of Mahratta horsemen. To set Shivaji up in Bengal on the pedestal of Nationalism in the face of such traditions was no slight feat, and it required all Mr. Surendranath Banerjea's popularity to perform it successfully.

But to identify the cause of Nationalism with the cult of the warrior-king who had first arrested the victorious career and humbled the pride of the Mahomedan conquerors of Hindustan was not the way to win over to it the Mahomedans of Bengal. In Eastern Bengal especially, with the exception of a few landlords and pleaders whose interests were largely bound up with those of the Hindus, the Mahomedans as a community had everything to gain and nothing to lose by the Partition; whilst to those amongst them who were merchants the boycott spelt merely serious injury to their trade and led in some instances to reprisals in which the Hindus fared badly. The Bengalee Press thereupon accused the Government of encouraging the revival of sectarian strife, just as it denounced every measure for the maintenance of order which the Government was compelled to take in the discharge of one of its most elementary duties as brutal repression and arbitrary vindictiveness, and any mistake of procedure made by some subordinate official under the stress of a very critical situation was distorted and magnified into a gross denial of justice. But it was out of the punishments very properly inflicted upon the misguided schoolboys and students whom the politicians had put in the forefront of the fray that the most capital was made. Whilst the politicians themselves prudently remained for the most part in Calcutta, making high-sounding speeches and writing inflammatory articles, or were careful in their own overt demonstrations not to over-step the extreme bounds of legality, they showered telegrams and letters of

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congratulation on the young "martyrs" who had been duly castigated.

BRITISH SYMPATHIZERS

The leaders of the movement had also another string to their bow which they used with considerable effect. Never before had there been such close contact between Indian politicians and certain groups of English politicians. Lord Curzon's fall and the extremely injudicious references to Partition made by Mr. Brodrick, the then Secretary of State, in the correspondence published after the resignation of the Viceroy, had from the first given a great stimulus to the anti-Partition campaign. Mr. Brodrick's remarks led the Bengalees to form a very exaggerated estimate of the personal part played by Lord Curzon in the question of Partition, and they not unnaturally concluded that if the Secretary of State had merely sanctioned the partition in order to humour the Viceroy, he might easily be induced to reconsider the matter when once Lord Curzon had been got out of the way. Their hopes in that quarter were, it is true, very soon dashed, but only to be strung up again to the highest pitch of expectancy when the Conservative Government fell from power and was replaced by a Liberal Administration with Mr. John Morley at the India Office and an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons, in which the Radical element was very strongly represented. Several of the leading Radical organs in England had for a long time past joined hands with the Bengalee Press in denouncing Lord Curzon and all his deeds, and, most fiercely of all, the Partition of Bengal.

The Bengalee politicians, moreover, not only had the active sympathy of a large section of Radical opinion at home, but they had in the House itself the constant co-operation of a small but energetic group of members, who constituted themselves into an "Indian party," and were ever ready to act as the mouthpieces of Indian discontent. Some of them were of that earnest type of self-righteousness which loves to smell out unrighteousness in their fellow countrymen, especially in those who are serving their country abroad; some were hypnotized by the old shibboleths of freedom, even when freedom merely stands for licence; some were retired Anglo-Indians, whose experience in the public service in India would have carried greater weight had not the peculiar acerbity of their language seemed to betray the bitterness of personal disappointment. Every invention of exaggeration of the Bengalee Press found its way into the list of questions to be asked of the Secretary of State, who, with less knowledge than he has since acquired, doubtless considered himself bound to pass them on for enquiry to the Government of India. A large proportion of these questions were aimed at Sir Bampfylde Fuller, who, as the first Lieutenant-Governor of the new province of Eastern Bengal, had been singled out for every form of vituperation and calumny, and no subject figured more prominently amongst them than the disciplinary treatment of turbulent schoolboys and students. It is so easy to appeal to the generous sentiments of the British public in favour of poor boys, supposed to be of tender years, dragged into police courts by harsh bureaucrats for some hasty action prompted by the foolish exuberance of their time of life, especially when the British public is quite unaware

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that in India most students and many schoolboys are more or less full-grown and often already married. Every one of these questions was duly advertised in the columns of the Bengalee Press, and their cumulative effect was to produce the impression that the British Parliament was following events in Bengal with feverish interest and with overwhelming sympathy for the poor oppressed Bengalee.

EBB AND FLOW

Nevertheless, there came a moment when the first feverish excitement seemed to wane. Time had gone on, and though there was a new Viceroy in India and a new Secretary of State at Whitehall, the Partition had remained an accomplished fact. The visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to Calcutta had temporarily exercised a restraining influence on the political leaders, whilst the presence of Royalty in a country where reverence for the Throne is still a powerful tradition hushed even the forces of militant sedition. In Eastern Bengal, where the agitation had been much fiercer than in Bengal proper, the energy and devotion displayed by the Lieutenant-Governor in fighting a serious threat of famine had won for him the respect of many of his opponents, and the situation was beginning to lose some of its acuteness when it was suddenly announced that Sir Bampfylde Fuller had resigned. The effect was instantaneous. The merits and demerits of the points at issue between Sir Bampfylde Fuller and the Government of India have been fully and frequently debated, and it is needless to discuss here the reasons given for his resignation, or for its prompt acceptance by the Viceroy. What I am concerned with is the effect produced by that incident. It was immediate and disastrous. The Bengalee leaders took heart. They claimed Sir Bampfylde's downfall as their triumph—their and their allies' at Westminster. Those, on the other hand, who imagined that it was Sir Bampfylde's methods that had intensified the agitation and that his removal would restore peace, even the sort of half peace which had been so far maintained in Bengal proper under the milder sway of Sir Andrew Fraser, were very soon undeceived. For if for a short time Sir Bampfylde Fuller's successor was spared, the Government of Eastern Bengal was compelled before long to take more vigorous measures than he had ever contemplated, and the agitation, which had hitherto refrained from exhibiting its more violent aspects in Bengal proper, not only ceased to show any discrimination, but everywhere broadened and deepened. The veteran leaders, like Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, ceased to lead or, swept away by the forces they had helped to raise, were compelled to quicken their pace like the Communist leader in Paris who rushed after his men exclaiming :—*Je suis leur chef, il faut bien que je les suive*. The question of Partition itself receded into the background, and the issue, until then successfully veiled and now openly raised, was not whether Bengal should be one unpartitioned province or two partitioned provinces under British rule, but whether British rule itself was to endure in Bengal or, for the matter of that, anywhere in India.

XI.—*The Gospel of Revolution in Bengal*

The first phase of unrest in Bengal, at any rate in its outward manifestations, was, as I have shown in preceding articles, mainly

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political, and on the whole free from any open exhibition of disloyalty to the British *Raj*. With the Partition of Bengal it passed into a second phase in which new economic issues were superadded to the political issues, if they did not altogether overshadow them and the *Swadeshi* movement and the boycott soon imported methods of violence and lawlessness which had hitherto been considered foreign to the Bengali temperament. This phase did not last for much more than a year after the Partition, for, when once started on the inclined plane of lawlessness, the agitation rapidly developed into a much wider and deeper revolt, in which *Swadeshi* held its place, but only in a subordinate position.

The revolt began rapidly to assume the revolutionary complexion, in the religious and social as well as in the political domain, which Tilak had for years past, as we have seen, laboured to impart to his propaganda in the Deccan, and, as far as his personal influence and counsels availed, in every part of India with which he was in contact. The ground had already been prepared for this transformation by spadework in the Bengalee Press conducted by two of Mr. Tilak's chief disciples in Bengal. One was Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, the bold exponent of *Swarnaj*, whose programme I quoted in one of the first articles of this series. The other was Mr. Arabindo Ghose, one of the most remarkable figures that Indian unrest has produced. Educated in England, and so thoroughly that when he returned to India he found it difficult to express himself in Bengali, he is not only a high-caste Hindu, but he is one of those Hindu mystics who believe that by the practice of the most extreme forms of *Yoga* asceticism man can transform himself into a super-man, and he has constituted himself the high priest of a religious revival which has taken a profound hold on the imagination of the emotional youth of Bengal. His ethical gospel is not devoid of grandeur. It is based mainly on the teachings of Krishna to Arjuna as revealed in the *Bhagvad Gita*, and I cannot hope to define its moral purpose better than by borrowing the following sentence from Mrs. Besant's introduction to her translation of "The Lord's Song" :—

It is meant to lift the aspirant from the lower levels of renunciation where objects are renounced, to the loftier heights where desires are dead and where the Yogi dwells in calm and ceaseless contemplation, while his body and mind are actively employed in discharging the duties that fall to his lot in life.

This reading of the *Bhagvad Gita* differentiates the newer Indian conception of renunciation, which does not exclude but rather prescribes the duty of service to society, from the older conception, which was concerned merely to procure the salvation of the individual by his complete isolation from all worldly affairs. With this gospel of active self-sacrifice none can assuredly quarrel, but it is the revolutionary form which Mr. Arabindo Ghose would see given to such activity that unfortunately chiefly fascinates the rising generation of Bengalis. For him British rule and the Western civilization for which it stands threaten the very life of Hinduism, and therefore British rule and all that it stands for must go, and in order that they may go every Hindu must be up and doing. That Mr. Arabindo Ghose himself holds violence and murder to be justifiable forms of activity for achieving that purpose cannot be

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properly alleged, for though he has several times been placed on his trial and in one instance for actual complicity in political crime—namely, in the Maniktolla bomb case—the law has so far acquitted him. But that his followers have based upon his teachings a propaganda by deed of the most desperate character is beyond dispute. It has been openly expounded with fanatical fervour and pitiless logic in a newspaper edited by his brother, Barindra Ghose, of which the file constitutes one of the most valuable and curious of human documents.

THE "YUGANTAR" OR NEW ERA

Of the three Bengali newspapers that came into the field soon after Partition as the explicit champions of revolution—the *Sandhya*, the *Navasukti*, to which Mr. Arabindo Ghose was himself a frequent contributor, and the *Yugantar*—the last-named achieved the greatest and most startling popularity. It was founded in 1906 by Barindra Kumar Ghose, a brother of Arabindo, and by Bhupendranath Dutt, only brother of the celebrated Swami Vivekananda, who visited Europe and America as the missionary of the Hindu revival and has been revered in India since his premature death in 1905 as a modern *rishi* and a no less great one than those of ancient Vedic times. Barindra Ghose, who had studied history and political literature at Baroda, where Arabindo was a Professor in the Gaekwar's College, had originally intended to start a religious institution, and whilst he edited the *Yugantar* he founded a hostel for youths attending "National" schools. The *Yugantar* set itself to preach revolution as a religious even more than a political movement.

Its profession of faith is to be found in an article headed "The Age of the Gita again in India" :—

God (*i.e.*, Krishna in the Gita) has said, "Oh, descendant of Bharata, whenever there be a decline of righteousness and the rise of unrighteousness, then I shall become incarnate again. I shall be born in every Yuga [era] to rescue the good, to destroy the wrong-doer, and to establish righteousness."

"In the *Dwapara-Yuga* [the era which preceded the present *Kali-Yuga*, or era of darkness] when righteousness was on the wane and unrighteousness was springing up in the sacred land of India under the hands of Duryyodhana and other miscreants engaged in wickedness, then God, by becoming incarnate again and awakening his favourite disciple Arjuna to duty, re-established the kingdom of righteousness in India. At the present time righteousness is declining and unrighteousness is springing up in India. A handful of alien robbers is ruining the crores of the people of India by robbing the wealth of India. Through the hard grinding of their servitude, the ribs of this countless people are being broken to pieces. Endless endeavours are being made in order that this great nation by losing, as an inevitable result of this subjection, its moral, intellectual, and physical power, its wealth, its self-reliance, and all other qualities, be turned into the condition of the beasts of burden or be wholly extinguished. Why, oh Indians, are you losing heart, at the sight of many obstacles in your path, to make a stand against this unrighteousness? Fear not, oh Indians. God will not remain inactive at the sight of such unrighteousness in His kingdom. He will keep His word. Placing firm reliance on the promise of

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God invoke His power, and he will descend in your midst to destroy unrighteousness. Do not be afraid. When the lightening of heaven flashes in their hearts, men perform impossible deeds."

The article closes with a lyrical vision of the India of the future, with "the independent flag of righteousness" unfurled, her virtues restored, plague and famine banished, her industries brought to the highest pitch of scientific development, her armies and fleets going forth "to use the unlimited strength, knowledge, and righteousness of India for the benefit of the whole world."

A REASONED PROGRAMME

The *Yugantar* at the same time set forth in a series of articles the scheme by which the enfranchisement of India was to be achieved—a scheme which was little more than a reasoned exposition of the methods already adopted in the previous decade by Tilak in the Deccan. These articles form a manual of directions for "the army of young men which is the *Nrisinha* and the *Varaha* and the *Kalki* incarnation of God, saving the good and destroying the wicked"—the *Kalki* incarnation being that in which Vishnu is to come and deliver India from the foreigner. To shake off slavery the first essential is that the educated classes shall learn to hate slavery. Then the lower classes will soon follow their lead. "It is easy to incite the lower classes to any particular work. But the incitement of the educated depends on a firm belief." Therefore the "poisonous" effects of slavery must be constantly brought home, and "we must always be trying to destroy the present unnatural liking for a state of servitude." The aspiration for freedom must be converted into a firm resolve, and to divert the Bengalee "from the unfailing attraction of a livelihood" to the cause of freedom "his mind must be excited and maddened by such an ideal as will present to him a picture of everlasting salvation." Public opinion must be built up by the newspapers, "which must be filled with the discussion of the necessity of independence and revolution," by soul-stirring musical and theatrical performances, glorifying the lives of Indian heroes and their great deeds in the cause of freedom, and by patriotic songs. "When in the Mahratta country the high-souled Shivaji stood up for independence the songs of the bards helped powerfully in his work."

"RESORTING TO COVER"

Above all, the materials for "a great sacrifice for liberty" must be prepared. "The stratagems known as resorting to cover in English military tactics are very necessary in all political endeavour," and "the enemy" must be kept constantly occupied by them. "A *Bande Mataram* procession to-day, a conference or congress to-morrow, a flourish of *Swadeshi* speeches the day after, and so on." A great commotion may with advantage be made over small incidents, but "it must always be remembered that these do not constitute our real effort, and are very trifling accompaniments" which serve to keep the enemy busy and the country awake "whilst we are training," and the training consists in the organisation, discreetly and silently, of bands of young men "with power to conceal secret counsel" and "to remain under complete obedience." Every band must "recognize the cultivation of physical strength as a principal means of attaining our object." Each band, working

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down from the chief town of the district, must be connected with other bands, and all must be initiated in the *Shakti mantra*. (*Shakti* is the worship of divine energy made manifest in the goddess Durga). As for arming them, there are different ways of collecting arms, and in this business "there can be no considerations of right or wrong, for everything is laid at the feet of the goddess of independence." Bombs can be manufactured in secret places, and guns can be imported from foreign countries, for "the people of the West will sell their own Motherland for money," or they can be obtained from the native troops who, "though driven by hunger to accept service under Government, are men of our own flesh and blood," or, perhaps, even "secretly" from other Great Powers. Funds also can be collected in similar ways. Much money is required, and amongst other things for "secret preachers at home and abroad." It can be obtained "by voluntary donations," or "by the application of force," which is perfectly justifiable since the money is to be taken and used "for the good of society." Thefts and dacoities are, under normal conditions, crimes because they destroy the sense of social security, but "to destroy it for the highest good is no sin, but rather a work of religious merit." The taking of blood is, in the circumstances, equally praiseworthy. "The law of the English is established on brute force, and if to liberate ourselves we too must use brute force, it is right that we should do so." Nor is this doctrine merely stated in general terms:—

"Will the Bengali worshippers of *Shakti* shrink from the shedding of blood? The number of Englishmen in this country is not above one lakh and a half, and what is the number of English officials in each district? If you are firm in your resolution you can in a single day bring English rule to an end. Lay down your life, but first take a life. The worship of the goddess will not be consummated if you sacrifice your lives at the shrine of independence without shedding blood."

A GREAT WAVE OF POPULARITY

These are the doctrines of revolutionary Hinduism expounded day by day for nearly two years by a group of highly educated young Bengalis, the effectiveness of whose appeal to sacred traditions was enhanced by remarkable qualities of style. I have before me a letter from a Hindu scholar who certainly has no sympathy with the methods advocated by the *Yugantar*—"Nothing like these articles ever appeared before in Bengali literature."

'Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh,' and this was essentially true in the case of the *Yugantar*. The Government translator confessed in the High Court that he had never before read in Bengali language so lofty, so pathetic, and so stirring that it was impossible to convey it in an English translation. Yet, the writers had never learnt to write Bengali in their school-days, and the organ tone of Milton, which was distinctly audible in the Bengali, betrayed their English education. The sale was unbounded." The circulation of the *Yugantar* rose to over 50,000, a figure never attained before by any Indian newspaper, and sometimes when there was a special run upon a number the Calcutta newsboys would get a rupee for a single copy before the issue was exhausted. So great indeed was the demand that the principal

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articles were republished in a small volume, entitled *Mukti con pathé* : "Which way does salvation lie?" Not only were these appeals to racial and religious passion reflected in many other papers all over Bengal, but the most lamentable fact of all was that scarcely any native paper, even amongst those of an avowedly moderate complexion, attempted to counteract, or ventured to protest against, either the matter or the tone of these publications. Their success, on the other hand, induced not a few to follow suit.

What is forgotten in England by the uncompromising champions of the freedom of the Press is that in a country like ours, with its party system fully represented in the public Press, even the newspapers which either party may consider most mischievous find their corrective in the newspapers of the other party. In India that is not the case. There is no healthy play of public opinion. The classes whose confidence in the British *Raj* is still unshaken are practically unrepresented in the Press, which is mostly in the hands of the intellectuals, of whom the majority are drifting into increasing estrangement, while the minority are generally too timid to try to stem the flowing tide.

Nor, if the "Moderates" in Bengal were overawed by the violence of the new creed, can the whole blame be laid upon their shoulders when one remembers how little was being done by Government, and how ineffective that little was to check this incendiarism. Though there were many Press prosecutions, and action was repeatedly taken against the *Yugantar* in respect of particular articles, the limited powers possessed by Government were totally inadequate, and it was not till the Indian Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act was passed in June, 1908, that the *Yugantar* was suppressed. In the meantime it had left an indelible mark on Indian history.

XII.—The Bursting of the Storm in Bengal

The list of outrages and deeds of violence which had begun in Bengal in 1907 grew heavier and heavier as 1908 wore on, but none perhaps created such a sensation there as the murder of Mrs. and Miss Kennedy, who were killed at Muzafferpur on April 30, 1908, by a bomb intended for the Magistrate, Mr. Kingsford. The bomb had been thrown by a young Bengalee, Khudiram Bose, and it was the first occasion on which an Indian had used this product of modern science with murderous effect. The excitement was intense. The majority of the Bengali papers, it is true, were fain to reprobate or at least to deprecate such deeds, but such comments were perfunctory, whilst they generally agreed to cast the whole responsibility upon an alien Government whose resistance to their "national" aspirations goaded impatient patriotism to these extremes. Even amongst many who did not actually sympathize with the murderer there seems to have been a lurking sense of pride that it was a Bengali who had had the courage to lay down his life in the striking of such a blow. Khudiram Bose at any rate was not "lily-livered." Khudiram Bose at any rate had shown that "determination" with the lack of which the writers in the *Yugantar* had so often taunted their fellow-countrymen. So for the Nationalists of Bengal he became a martyr and a hero. Students and many others put on mourning for him and schools were closed for two or

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three days as a tribute to his memory. His photographs had an immense sale, and by-and-by the young Bengali bloods took to wearing *dhotis* with Khudiram Bose's name woven into the border of the garment.

THE TALE OF OUTRAGES

Bomb explosions followed in quick succession in Calcutta itself, and a secret manufacture of explosives was discovered in a suburban garden. Norendranath Gosain, who had turned approver in this last case, was shot dead in Alipore Gaol, and a Hindu police-Inspector in the streets of Calcutta. Three attempts made upon the life of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Andrew Fraser, showed how little effect leniency had upon the growing fierceness of the revolutionists. Scarcely a month and often not a week passed without adding to the tale of outrages. I need not recite them in detail. Perhaps the most significant feature was the double purpose many of them indicated of defeating the detection and punishment of crime and of striking terror into Indians who ventured to serve the British *raj*. Thus, on February 10, 1909, Mr. Ashutosh Biswas, the Public Prosecutor and a Hindu of high character and position, was shot dead outside the Alipore Police Court, and, in like manner, nearly a year later, Mr. Shams-ul-Alum, a Mahomedan Inspector of the Criminal Investigation Department, in the High Court itself of Calcutta. Sedition was seething over the greater part of both Bengals, and though the agricultural population remained for the most part untouched or indifferent, there were few even of the smaller towns and larger villages that were not visited by the missionaries of revolution. *Swadeshi* and the boycott were now merely an accompaniment to the deeper and more menacing trumpet-call of open revolt, but they helped "to keep the country awake" even where the true spirit of *Swaraj* had not yet been kindled. The *mofussil* was honeycombed with secret societies, whose daring dacoities served not only to collect the sinews of war, but to impress the timid and recalcitrant with the powerlessness of the State to protect them against the midnight raider. Truly the teachings of the *Yugantar* were bearing fruit, even to the laying down of life and the taking of life.

Nor can it be said that the writers in the *Yugantar* flinched from the danger of practising what they taught. Most of them came ultimately within the grasp of the Criminal Code, and Barendra Ghose, who was arrested in connexion with the manufacture of bombs in the Maniktolla garden, was sentenced to death, though subsequently reprieved. His brother, Arabindo, on the other hand, though arrested at the same time, had the good fortune to be acquitted. The work done by the *Yugantar* had lived, nevertheless, after it, and is still living. I shall deal on another occasion with the policy adopted by the Government of India and by the Imperial Government to deal with a situation of which many aspects are still, I fear, but imperfectly understood, either at Simla or at Calcutta. I will only say here that the Indian Explosive Substances Act and Summary Justice Act of 1908, together with the Press Act of the same year and the more drastic one enacted last February, have undoubtedly checked the saturnalia of lawlessness that continued, though with signs of abatement, into the beginning of this year. The Press Act of 1910, especially, has at last arrested

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the poisonous flow of printer's ink and with it the worst forms of crime to which it maddened the feverish blood of Bengal. But some of those who are most intimately acquainted with the inner working of the revolutionary movement hold strongly that none of these enactments had such an immediately sobering effect as the deportation of the nine prominent Bengalis who were arrested at the end of 1908. Such a measure is, I know, very repugnant to British traditions and British sentiment, and in this particular instance it unfortunately included two men whose guilt was subsequently believed not to be altogether beyond doubt. But it struck on the whole just at that type of agitator whose influence is most pernicious because it is most subtle, and whose responsibility is greatest because of his more experienced years and greater social position. Such a measure, however, is only warranted in extreme circumstances and cannot be transformed into indefinite detention. Though the grounds on which Government announced the release of these deportees last winter were even more unhappily chosen than the moment for the announcement, the event seems so far to have justified Lord Minto's confidence, though it is now announced that one of the deported agitators, Pulin Behari Das, of Dacca, has just been rearrested under the Arms Act.

THE LULL

There is still much lawlessness in both Bengals. The continued prevalence of political dacoities and especially the difficulty experienced in securing legal evidence against them are distinctly unfavourable symptoms. There are many peaceful citizens who will give private information as to the outrages committed by these armed hands, consisting mainly of youths of respectable connexions, but that so few have the courage to face terrorism by going into the witness-box shows that the secret societies which inspire such terror have not yet been broken up. On the other hand, it is all to the good that many of those who were ready to coquet with sedition in its earlier stages or who had not the moral courage to speak out against it seem now to be taking heart, and in this respect the reforms embodied in the Indian Councils Act have usefully supplemented the sobering effect of repressive legislation. For one of the stock arguments of "advanced" politicians has been the failure of the "moderates" to obtain any recognition from Government, and the enlargement of the Legislative Councils took the sting out of that taunt. Independently, however, of the reforms, the extreme violence of language and of methods which had come into vogue was bound to produce some reaction. Amongst the educated classes, many respectable fathers of families, whatever their political opinions may be, have taken fright at the growth of turbulence and insubordination in schools and colleges, which were often carried into the home circle; for when once the principle of authority has been undermined the parent's authority cannot remain unshaken. In the same way some even of the "advanced" leaders have been alarmed by the development of secret societies which often attract young men of very good connexions, and they have undertaken to use for the detection and suppression of dacoities the local bands of "national volunteers" whom they formerly helped to organize for the purpose of enforcing the boycott and stimulating unrest. How far, even if unreservedly exercised, the influence of such men as Mr. Surendra-

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nath Banerjea will be as potent for checking the mischief as it was for promoting it remains to be seen. For the present also the boycott is being discountenanced in the same quarters, though Mr. Banerjea, presumably to "save his face," professes to have agreed only to a suspension pending the revision of Partition. But his paper, the *Bengalee*, is almost the only one that pretends to regard the Partition as still an open question. It has been eclipsed by far graver issues of which the further development cannot yet be foreseen.

LIGHT AND SHADE

The return to more sober counsels seems to be confined unhappily to the older generation, and the older generation, even if we include in it the middle-aged, must necessarily pass away. What we have to reckon with, especially in Bengal, is the revolt of the younger generation, and this revolt draws its inspiration from religious and philosophical sources which no measures merely political either of repression or of conciliation, can reach. It often represents a perversion of the finest qualities, as, apparently, in the case of Birendranath Gupta, who murdered Shams-ul-Alam in the Calcutta High Court last January. An English missionary who knew him well assured me that in his large experience of Indian youths he had never met one of more exemplary character or higher ideals, nor one who seemed more incapable of committing such a crime. The oaths and vows administered on initiation to secret societies are not directed only to political ends. They impose on the initiates in the most explicit terms a life of self-denial, and sometimes celibacy; and though these vows do not always avail against some of the worst forms of sensuality, it would be foolish and wrong to generalize from unworthy exceptions. In its moral aspects the revolt of young Bengal represents very frequently a healthy reaction against sloth and self-indulgence and the premature exhaustion of manhood which is such a common feature in a society that has for centuries been taught to disregard physiological laws in the enforcement of child marriage. To this extent it is a revolt, though in the name of Hinduism, against some of the worst results of the Hindu social system, and that it has spread so largely amongst the Brahmans of Bengal shows that it has affected even the rigidity of Brahmanism. Thus whereas we have seen in Kolhapur the Brahmans of the Deccan assert that in this age of darkness there can be no Kshatriyas, their fellow-castemen in Bengal are quite willing to invest Kayasthas with the sacred thread, on the ground that they are really of Kshatriya descent, in order to stimulate martial virtues amongst the Bengalis by reviving for their benefit the old Vedic caste of warriors. Equally significant is the propaganda that has been carried on by Brahmans amongst the Namasudras, a large and mainly agricultural caste, chiefly located in the Jessor District of Bengal and the Faridpore district of Eastern Bengal. The purpose of the propaganda was political, but the inducement offered to the Namasudras in order to stimulate their "Nationalism" was that the Brahmans would relax the rigour of caste in favour of those who took the *Swadeshi* vow, and it is stated that, in several villages where they succeeded in making a large number of converts, the Brahman agitators marked their approval by condescending to have their "twice-born" heads shaved by the village barber—an act which, however trivial it may seem to us,

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constituted an absolutely revolutionary breach with a 3,000-years old past.

RACE HATRED

On the other hand, the constant invocation of the "terrible goddess," whether as Kali or as Durga, against the alien oppressors, shows that Brahmanism in Bengal is equally ready to appeal to the grossest and most cruel superstitions of the masses. In another of her forms she is represented holding in her hand her head, which has been severed from her body, whilst the blood gushing from her trunk flows into her open mouth. A very popular picture of the goddess in this form has been published with a text to the effect that the great goddess as seen therein symbolizes "the Motherland" decapitated by the English, but nevertheless preserving her vitality unimpaired by drinking her own blood. It is not surprising that amongst extremists one of the favourite euphemisms applied to the killing of an Englishman is "sacrificing a white goat to Kali." In 1906 I was visiting one of the Hindu temples at Benares and found in the courtyard a number of young students who had come on an excursion from Bengal. I got into conversation with them, and they soon began to air, for my benefit, their political views, which were decidedly "advanced." They were, however, quite civil and friendly, and they invited me to come up to the temple door and see them sacrifice to Kali a poor bleating kid that they had brought with them. When I declined, one of them who had already assumed a rather more truculent tone came forward and pressed me, saying that if I would accompany them they would not mind even sacrificing a white goat. There was a general shout of laughter at what was evidently regarded by the others as a huge joke. I turned away, though I did not then understand its grim humour, as I do now.

THE INFLUENCE OF WOMEN

The blind hatred of everything English with which the younger generation is so largely saturated can only in most cases be the result of the teaching that have impressed upon them the existence of a fundamental antagonism between Hindu ideals and ours. For a great many, and perhaps the majority, have never come into contact with a single Englishman, and their ignorance even of the system of government under which they live is profound. Not the least ominous symptom is that this spirit of revolt seems to have obtained a firm hold of the zenana; and the Hindu woman behind the *purdah* often exercises a greater influence upon her husband and her sons than the Englishwoman who moves freely about the world. Absolute evidence in such matters is difficult to obtain, but there was a very significant and quite authentic case last year, which I may as well quote here, though it occurred in the Bombay Presidency. Two Brahman-ladies of good position from Bombay were discovered at Kolhapur wearing the garb of *sanyasis*, i.e., mendicant ascetics. They confessed that they had left their homes, to which the police wisely restored them, to invoke the assistance of a great ruling chief of Southern India in a plot to exterminate the hated foreigner. That real *sanyasis* are frequently the missionaries of sedition is certain, and their reputed sanctity gives them access to the zenana. In Bengal even small boys of so tender

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an age as still to have the run of zenanas have, I am told, been taught the whole patter of sedition, and go about from house to house dressed up as little *sanyasis* in little yellow robes preaching hatred of the English.

The question is, can we extricate the better elements from this tangle of passion and prejudice? There are many foul spots in the Hindu revival in Bengal, apart even from tendencies which we cannot but regard as politically criminal. At the same time there runs through it a strain of idealism which probably constitutes its real force, and also our danger. For strangely emotional and often a creature of his senses, the Bengali is accessible to spiritual influences with which the worldly ambitious Brahmanism of the Deccan, for instance, is rarely informed. He is always apt to rush to extremes, and just as amongst the best representatives of the educated classes there was in the last century a revolt against the Hindu social and religious creed of their ancestors which tended first towards Christianity or at least the ethics of Christianity and then towards Western agnosticism, so the present revolt may be regarded in some of its aspects as a reaction against these earlier tendencies, and in spite of its extreme violence it may not be any more permanent. The problem is still full of unknown quantities, but the known quantities are at any rate sufficient to make us realize its gravity.

XIII.—The Punjab and the Arya Samaj

The Punjab, the Land of the Five Rivers, differs as widely both from the Deccan and from Bengal as these two differ the one from the other. It has been more than any other part of India the battlefield of warring races and creeds and the seat of power of mighty dynasties. Among its cities it includes Imperial Delhi and Runjit Singh's Lahore. It is a country of many peoples and of many dialects. It is the home of the Sikhs, but the Mahomedans, ever since the days of the Moghul Empire, form the majority of the population, and the proportion of Hindus is smaller than in any other province of India, except Eastern Bengal. Owing to the very small rainfall, its climate is intensely dry—fiercely hot during the greater part of the year, and cold even to freezing during the short winter months. Nowhere in India has British rule done so much to bring peace and security and to induce prosperity. The alluvial lands are rich but thirsty, and irrigation works on a scale of unparalleled magnitude were required to compel the soil to yield beneficent harvests. At the most critical moment in the history of British India it was against the steadfastness of the Punjab, then under the firm but patriarchal sway of Sir John Lawrence, that the Mutiny spent itself, and until a few years ago there seemed to be no reason whatever for questioning the loyalty of a province which the forethought of Government and the skill of Anglo-Indian engineers was gradually transforming into a land of plenty. Least of all did any one question the loyalty of the Sikhs. Many of them believed the British rule was the fulfilment of a prophecy of one of their martyred *gurus*, and the Sikh regiments were regarded as the flower of the Native Army.

AGRICULTURAL GRIEVANCES

Yet it was in the Punjab, at Lahore and at Rawal Pindi, that the first serious disturbances occurred in 1907 which aroused public

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opinion at home to the reality of Indian unrest and stirred the Government of India to such strong repressive measures as the deportation of two prominent agitators under an ancient Ordinance of 1818 never before applied in such connexion. Local and temporary causes may to some extent have accounted for those disturbances. The regulations issued with regard to the tenure of land in some of the new irrigation colonies were probably unwise and carried out with some harshness. Famine in the unirrigated tracts, and especially the plague, which had desolated parts of the province, had created much misery and bitterness. Other and more remote causes of a social and economic character had also been at work. Nowhere had Anglo-Indian legislation and the introduction of elaborate forms of legal procedure produced results more unfortunate and less foreseen by their authors than in the Punjab. The conversion of the occupants of the land into full proprietors was intended to give greater stability and security to the peasant ownership of land, but the result was to improve the position of the money-lender, who, owing to the thriftlessness of the Indian *rayat* and the extravagant expenditure to which he is from time to time driven by traditional custom in regard to marriages, funerals, and other family ceremonies, he always played a disastrously important part in village life. As M. Chailley remarks in his admirable study of these problems, "the agricultural debtor had now two securities to offer". He had always been able to pledge his harvest and now he could pledge also his land. On the other hand, "a strict system of law and procedure afforded the money-lender the means of rapidly realizing his dues, and the pleader who is himself a creation of that system, was ever at the elbow of both parties to encourage ruinous litigation to his own professional advantage. Special laws were successively enacted by Government to check these new evils, but they failed to arrest altogether a process which was bringing about a veritable revolution in the tenure of land, and mainly to the detriment of an essentially peaceful and law-abiding class that furnished a large and excellent contingent to the Native Army. The wretched landowner who found himself deprived of his land by legal process held our methods rather than his own extravagance responsible for his ruin, and on the other hand, the pleaders and their clients, the money-lenders, who were generally Hindus, resented equally our legislative attempts to hamper a process so beneficial to themselves.

But all these were only contributory causes. There were still deeper influences at work, which have operated in the Punjab in the same direction as the forces of unrest in the Deccan and in Bengal, but differ from them nevertheless in their origin and in some of their manifestations. In the Punjab too the keynote of unrest is a spirit of revolt not merely against British administrative control, but, in theory at least, against Western influence generally though in some respects it bears very strongly the impress of the Western influence which it repudiates. The motive force is not conservative Brahmanism as in the Deccan, nor does it betray the impetuous emotionalism of Bengal. It is less rigid and purely reactionary than the former, and better disciplined than the latter.

THE ARYA SAMAJ

Orthodox Hinduism ceased to be a dominant factor in the Punjab when the flood of Mahomedan conquest swept over the

Land of the Five Rivers. Even Islam did not break the power of caste, and very distinct traces of caste still survive amongst the Mahomedan community itself. But nowhere has caste been so much shaken as in the Punjab, for the infinity of sub-castes into which each caste has resolved itself gives the measure of its disintegration. Sikhism still represents the most successful revolt against its tyranny in the latter history of Hinduism. Hence the relatively slight ascendancy enjoyed by the Brahmans in the Punjab amongst the Hindus themselves, even the Brahmans having split up into so many sub-castes and sub-sub-castes that many a non-Brahman Hindu will hardly accept food cooked by the lower order of Brahmans—and, next to inter-marriage, food is the great test of caste. Nevertheless it is amongst the Hindus of the Punjab that one of the earliest apostles of reaction against the West has found the largest and most enthusiastic body of followers. Swami Dayanand Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj, was a Brahman of Kathiawar; he was not born in the Punjab, and it was not in the Punjab but in Bombay, where, however, it struck no roots, that he founded the Arya Samaj. Only in the later years of his life did the Punjab become the chief centre of his activities. The doctrines he taught were embodied by him in his *Satyarth Prakash* which has become the Bible of his disciples, and in his *Veda Bashya Basmika*, a commentary on the Vedas. He had at an early age lost faith in the Hindu Pantheon, and to this extent he was a genuine religious reformer, for he waged relentless war against the worship of idols, and though his claims to Vedantic learning may have been slight, his creed was "Back to the Vedas." His ethical code, on the other hand, was vague, and he pondered strangely in some directions to the weaknesses of the flesh, and in others to popular prejudices. Nothing in the Vedas, for instance, prohibits either the killing of cattle or the eating of bovine flesh. But, in defence to one of the most universal of Hindu superstitions, Dayanand did not hesitate to include cow-killing amongst the deadliest sins. Here we have in fact the keynote of his doctrines. The sanctity of the cow is the touchstone of Hindu hostility to both Christian and Mahomedan, and the whole drift of Dayanand's teachings is far less to reform Hinduism than to rouse it into active resistance to the alien influences which threatened, in his opinion, to denationalize it. Hence the outrageously aggressive tone of his writings wherever he alludes either to Christianity or to Mahomedanism. It is the advent of "meat-eating and wine-drinking foreigners, the slaughterers of kine and other animals," that has brought "trouble and suffering" upon "the Aryas"—he discards the word Hindu on account of its Persian origin—whilst before they came into the country India enjoyed "golden days," and her people were "free from disease and prosperous and contented." In fact, "Arya for the Aryans" was the cry that frequently predominated in Dayanand's teachings over that of "Back to the Vedas," and Lala Lajpat Rai, one of his most zealous disciples, has stated emphatically that "the scheme of Swami Dayanand has its foundation on the firm rock of *Swadeshi* and *Swajati*."

GOOD INFLUENCES

Since Dayanand's death the Arya Samaj has split up into two sections—the "vegetarians" who, with regard to religious doctrine,

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may be described as the orthodox, and the "meat-eaters," as the latitudinarians. It is difficult to differentiate between the precise tendencies of these two sections, but it is apparently amongst the latter that are to be found most of the progressive and enlightened Aryans who, whatever their political activities may be, have undoubtedly applied themselves with no small success to the carrying out of that part of Dayanand's gospel which has directed to the reforming of Hinduism. Their influence has been constantly exerted to check the marriages between mere boys and almost infant girls which have done so much physical as well as moral mischief to Hindu society, and also to improve the wretched lot of Hindu widows whose widowhood with all that it entails of menial degradation often begins before they have ever really been wives. To this end the Aryas have not hesitated to encourage female education and the Girls' Orphanage at Jalandhar, where there is also a widows' home, has shown what excellent social results can be achieved in that direction. Again in the treatment of the "untouchable" low-castes, the Arya Samaj may claim to have been the first native body to break new ground and to attempt something akin to the work of social reclamation of which Christianity and, in a lesser degree, Islam had hitherto had the monopoly. Schools and especially industrial classes have been established in various districts which cannot fail to raise the *Status* of the younger generation and gradually to emancipate the lower castes from the bondage in which they have been hitherto held. These and many other new departures conceived in the same liberal spirit at first provoked the vehement hostility of the orthodox Hindus, who at one time stopped all social intercourse with the Arya reformers. But whereas in other parts of India the idea of social reform came to be associated with that of Western ascendancy and therefore weakened and gave way before the rising tide of reaction against that ascendancy, it has been associated in the Punjab with the cry of "Arya for the Aryans," and the political activities of the Arya Samaj, or at least of a number of its most prominent members who have figured conspicuously in the anti-British agitation of the last few years, have secured for it from Hindu orthodoxy a measure of tolerance and even of good-will which its social activities would certainly not otherwise have received.

XIV.—The Political Aspects of the Arya Samaj

That the Arya Samaj, which, as I said in my last article, shows the impress of Western influence in so much of its social work, should at the same time have associated itself so intimately with a political movement directed against British rule is one of the many anomalies presented by the problem of Indian unrest.

Many Aryas, indeed, deny strenuously that the Samaj is disaffected, or even that it concerns itself with politics, and the president of the Lahore branch, Mr. Roshan Lal, assured me that it devotes itself solely to moral and religious reform. I do not question that assurance, as far as Mr. Roshan Lal is himself personally concerned, and it may be true that the Samaj has never committed itself as a body to any political programme, and that many individual members hold aloof from politics; but the evidence that many others, and not the least influential, have played a conspicuous part in the seditious agitation of the last few years, both

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in the Punjab and in the neighbouring United Provinces, is overwhelming. In the Rawal Pindi riots in 1907 the ringleaders were Aryas, and in the violent propaganda which for about two years preceded the actual outbreak of violence, none figured more prominently than Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, both prominent Aryas. The immediate effect produced by their deportation in restoring order is in itself corroborative evidence of the share they were believed to have taken in producing lawlessness. Ajit Singh himself is at the present moment a fugitive from justice; against whom proceedings *in absentia* were instituted this winter in Lahore for translating and publishing seditious books that dealt with the making of bombs, the taking of life, the destruction of buildings, &c. In the course of those proceedings letters from Lajpat Rai were produced in Court showing that just about the time of the disturbances he had been in communication with Shyamji Krishnavarma, of *Indian Sociologist* fame, for a supply of books "containing true ideas on politics" for the students of Lahore, as well as for assistance towards defraying the cost of "political missionaries." In one of these letters also Lajpat Rai, after remarking that "the people are in a sullen mood" and that "the agricultural classes have begun to agitate," adds significantly that his "only fear is that the bursting out may not be premature." Lajpat Rai's correspondent was another prominent Arya, Bhai Parmanand, who, whilst he was Professor at the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, was found in possession of various formulæ for the manufacture of bombs, including the same manual that was discovered in the Manicktola Garden at Calcutta.

THE PATIALA STATE TRIAL

In Patiala, one of the Sikh native States of the Punjab, Aryas constituted the great majority of defendants, 76 in number, and many of them, officials and persons of position, who were put on their trial last December for seditious practices. So seriously were the charges felt to reflect upon the Arya Samaj as a whole that one of its leading legal members was briefed on its behalf for the defence. From the speech made by counsel for the prosecution in opening the case it appears that some of the defendants were schoolmasters, who were charged with preaching revolutionary doctrines in their schools and carrying on correspondence of the same character with old pupils; others were charged with circulating papers of the *Yugantar* and *Swarajya* type; others with holding secret meetings and delivering inflammatory lectures; others again with distributing pictures and photographs of well-known revolutionists, including Khudiram Bose, the Mazaferpur murderer. Not only were most of these defendants Aryas, but they were very prominent Aryas, who had founded local branches of the Samaj or been members of committees in the State of Patiala. How far the evidence outlined by counsel would have borne out these charges it is impossible to say, though one may properly assume it to have been of a very formidable character, for after the case had been opened against them the defendants hastened to send in a petition invoking the clemency of the Maharajah. They expressed therein their deep sorrow for any conduct open to misconstruction, tendered their unqualified apology for any indiscreet acts they might have committed, and testified their abhorrence and absolute detestation of anarchists and seditionists and their diabolical methods. His

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Highness thereupon ordered the prosecution to be abandoned, but at the same time banished the defendants from his State and declared their posts to be forfeited by such as had been in his service.

A DAMAGING CERTIFICATE

The large number of Aryas who have unquestionably taken part in the political agitation of the last few years certainly tends to corroborate the very compromising certificate given only two years ago to the Samaj by Krishnavarma himself in his murder-preaching organ. He not only stated that "of all movements in India for the political regeneration of the country none is so potent as the Arya Samaj," but he added that "the ideal of that society as proclaimed by its founder is an absolutely free and independent form of national Government," and Krishnavarma, it must be remembered, had been appointed by Dayanand as a member of the first governing body in the lifetime of the founder and as one of the trustees of his will.

AN EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENT

What makes the question of the real tendencies of the Arya Samaj one of very grave importance for the future is that it has embarked upon an educational experiment of a peculiar character which may have an immense effect upon the rising generation. One of its best features is the attention it has devoted to education, and to that of girls as well as of boys. But it was not till 1898 that the governing body of the Samaj in the Punjab decided to carry into execution a scheme for restoring the Vedic system of education which Dayanand had conceived but had never been able to carry out. Under this system the child is committed at an earlier age to the exclusive care of a spiritual teacher or *guru*, who stands to him *in loco parentis* and even more, for Manu says that "of him who gives natural birth, and of him who gives knowledge of the Veda, the giver of sacred knowledge is the more venerable father, since second or divine birth ensures life to the twice-born, both in this world and eternally." In the *gurukuls* or seminaries founded by the Arya Samaj pupils or *chelas* are admitted between the ages of six and ten. From that moment they are practically cut off from the outer world during the whole course of their studies, which cover a period of 16 years altogether—i.e., ten years in the lower school and six years in the upper, to which they pass up as *Brahmacharis*. During the whole of that period no student is allowed to visit his family, except in cases of grave emergency, and his parents can only see him with the permission of the head of the *gurukul* and not more than once a month. There are at present three *gurukuls* in the Punjab, but the most important one, with over 250 students, is at Kangri, in the United Provinces, five miles from the sacred city of Hardwar, where the Ganges flows out of a gorge into the great plain. A large and very popular *mela* or fair is held annually at Kangri and it is attended by the *Brahmacharis*, who act as volunteers for the maintenance of order and collect funds for the support of their *gurukul*. The enthusiasm is said to be very great and donations last year are credibly reported to have exceeded 300,000 rupees.

Life in the *gurukuls* is simple and even austere, the discipline rigorous, the diet of the plainest, and a great deal of time is given to physical training. As the *chelas* after 16 years of this monastic training at the hands of their *gurus* are to be sent out as missionaries

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to propagate the Arya doctrines throughout India, the influence of these institutions in the moulding of Indian character and Indian opinion in the future cannot fail to be considerable. Some five years more must elapse before we shall be able to judge the result by the first batch of *chelas* who will then be going forth into the world. For the present one can only echo the hope tersely expressed a few months ago by Sir Louis Dane, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, in reply to assurances of loyalty from the President of the Arya Samaj, that "what purports to be a society for religious and social reform and advancement may not be twisted from its proper aims" and "degenerate into a political organization with objects which are not consonant with due loyalty to the Government as established." But neither the spirit of Dayanand's own teachings nor the record of many of his disciples, including some of those actually connected with the *gurukuls*, is in this respect encouraging.

A POPULAR PROPAGANDA

There has been, however, no recurrence of serious disturbances in the Punjab since 1907, and if the native Press lost little of its virulence until the new Press Act of this year, and numerous prosecutions bore witness to the continued prevalence of sedition, the province has been free from the murderous outrages and dacoities which have been so lamentable a feature of the unrest in Bengal and in the Deccan. But none the less there is still a very strong undercurrent of anti-British feeling. It has partly been fostered in the large cities by Bengali immigrants who have come into the Punjab in considerable numbers, and thanks to their higher education have acquired great influence at the Bar and in the Press, but it is rife wherever the Arya Samaj is known to be most active, and the Arya Samaj has already proved a very powerful proselytizing agency. Its meeting houses serve not only for religious ceremonies, but also as social clubs for the educated classes in all the larger towns where they congregate. Access to them is readily given to Hindus and Sikhs who have not actually joined the Samaj, but are attracted by the political discussions which are carried on there with great freedom, and having no such resorts of their own, they are soon tempted to obtain the fuller privileges of membership. In this way the Samaj has made many converts among the educated classes and even among native officials. But its influence is by no means confined to them. It makes many converts among the Sikhs, and not a few among *Nau-Muslims* or Mahomedans who have embraced Islam in relatively recent times and mainly for the purpose of escaping from the tyranny of caste. For the same reason it attracts low-caste Hindus, for though it does not ostentatiously denounce or defy caste, it has the courage to ignore it. Though the Arya leaders are generally men of education and sometimes of great culture, they know how to present their creed in a popular form that appeals to the lower classes and especially to the agricultural population. One of the most unpleasant features has been the propaganda carried on by them among the Sepoys of the Native Army, and especially among the Jats and the Sikhs, with whom they have many points of affinity. The efforts of the Aryas seem to be chiefly directed to checking enlistment, but that they have at times actually tampered with the loyalty of certain regiments is now no secret. Sikhism itself is at the present day undergoing a

fresh process of transformation. Whilst it tends generally to be reabsorbed into Hinduism, the very remarkable movement for sinking the old class distinctions—themselves a survival of caste and recognizing the equality of all Sikhs—is clearly due to the influence of the Arya Samaj.

The evolution of the Arya Samaj recalls very forcibly that of Sikhism, which originally, when founded by Nanak in the early part of the 16th century, was merely a religious and moral reform movement, and nevertheless within 50 years, under Har Govind, developed into a formidable political and military organization. It is not, therefore, surprising that some of those who know the Punjab best and the sterner stuff of which its martial races are made look upon it as a potentially more dangerous centre of mischief than either the Deccan or Bengal.

XV.—Organizations Outside India

In India itself, as we have seen, unrest in its most dangerous forms has hitherto been almost entirely confined to the Deccan, Bengal, and the Punjab. It has spread to some extent from the Bombay Presidency into the Central Provinces, which, indeed, include part of the Deccan, and it has overflowed both from Bengal and from the Punjab into some of the neighbouring districts of the United Provinces. But thanks very largely to the firm and experienced hands in which the administration of the Central Provinces under their Commissioner, Mr. Craddock, and that of the United Provinces under their Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Hewett, have rested during these troublous years, the situation there has never got seriously out of hand. In the South of India there have been a few sporadic outbreaks, quickly repressed, as at Tinnevely and Tuticorin early in 1908, and a year later at Guntur, also in the Madras Presidency, and Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal's crusade in Madras two years ago created an unpleasant but short-lived sensation.

Of greater importance is the question of the support which the extremists receive from outside India. I am not alluding now to the moral support which the Hindu reaction has received from eccentric Americans and Europeans on the look out for any novel religious sensation, or which "advanced" politicians have derived from sympathetic members of Parliament and journalists in England, but to the assistance rendered to them by their own organizations abroad.

METHODS BORROWED FROM THE WEST

The extremists have certainly not been too proud to borrow the methods of Western revolutionists, however loudly they protest against the importation of Western influences into India. They have of all Indians been the most slavish imitators of the West, as represented, at any rate, by the Irish Fenian and the Russian anarchist. Their literature is replete with references to both. Tilak took his "no-rent" campaign in the Deccan from Ireland, and the Bengalis were taught to believe in the power of the boycott by illustrations taken from contemporary Irish history. When the informer Gossain was shot dead in Alipur jail the Nationalists gloried in the deed, which had far excelled that of Patrick O'Donnell, who shot dead James Carey, the approver in the Phoenix Park murders, inasmuch as Gossain had been murdered before

he could complete his "treachery," whereas the murder of Carey had been only a tardy "retribution" which could not undo the past. The use of the bomb has become the common property of revolutionists all over the world, but the employment of amateur dacoities, or armed bands of robbers, for replenishing the revolutionary war-chest has been directly taken from the revolutionary movement in Russia a few years ago. The annals of the Italian *risorgimento* have also been put under contribution, and whilst there is no Indian life of Cavour, Lajpat Rai's *Life of Mazzini* and Vinayak Savarkar's translation of Mazzini's *Autobiography* are favourite Nationalist text-books of the milder order. European works on various periods of revolutionary history figure almost invariably amongst seizures of a still more compromising character whenever the Indian police raids some centre of Nationalist activity. Hence in the literature of unrest one frequently comes across the strangest juxtaposition of names, Hindu deities, and Cromwell and Washington and celebrated anarchists all being invoked in the same breath.

SECRET SOCIETIES

Equally foreign in its origin has been the establishment of various centres of revolutionary activity outside of India. In America there appear to be two distinct organizations both having their headquarters in California, and branches in Chicago, New York, and other important cities. The Indo-American Association runs an English weekly, *Free Hindustan*, which was originally started in Canada and thence transferred to Seattle when it began to attract the attention of the Canadian authorities. The moving spirits are students chiefly from Bengal, who have found ready helpers amongst the Irish-American Fenians. They have also been able to make not a few converts amongst the unfortunate British Indian immigrants who suffered heavily from the anti-Asiatic campaign along the Pacific slope, and some of these converts, being Sikhs and old soldiers, were of special value, as through them direct contact could be established with the regiments to which they had belonged or, at any rate, with the classes from which an important section of the native army is recruited. Large quantities of seditious leaflets circulated broadcast three years ago amongst Sepoys were printed in America. The other organization, called the Young Indian Association, with "head centres" and "inner" and "outer circles" that have a genuine Fenian ring, is even more extreme and is connected with the Indian Red Flag in India, to which Khudiram Bose, who murdered Mrs. and Miss Kennedy at Muzzafferpur, and other young fanatics of the same type belonged. The Young Indian Association seems to devote itself chiefly to the study of explosives and to smuggling arms into India. In Anglo-Indian official circles extreme reticence is naturally observed in these matters, but from other sources I have seen evidence to show that both these associations were in frequent communication with the seditious Press all over India, in the Deccan as well as in Bengal and in the Punjab.

The emergence of Japan has created so powerful an impression in India that one is not surprised to find the Indian revolutionaries, who live for the most part in the dreamland of their own ignorance, looking in that quarter for guidance and even perhaps for assistance. But they have been sorely disappointed. Indian

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students are well received in Japan, but they are in no wise specially petted or pampered, and when they begin to air their political opinions and to declaim against British rule they are very speedily put in their place. Crossing the Pacific from Japan to America last year, I met one who had spent two or three years at Tokyo and was going on to continue his technical studies in the United States. He was a pleasant and intelligent young fellow, and confessed to me that what he had seen in Japan had very much modified the views he had held when he left Bengal as to the ripeness of his fellow-countrymen for independence or self-government. He had received a great deal of kindness from his Japanese professors, but the general attitude of the Japanese was by no means friendly, and there was no trace of sympathy with the political agitation in India. There is an Indo-Japanese Society in Tokyo, but it has no connexion with politics, and the Indians complain that it is run for the benefit of the Japanese rather than for theirs. Those who have joined it in the hope of using it as a base for anti-British operations have certainly got very little for their pains. They occasionally write articles for the very few Socialist papers of Japan, but their effective contribution to the cause is of trifling account.

THE "INDIA HOUSE."

The most dangerous organisation outside India was unquestionably that which had its headquarters at the "India House" in Kensington. It was there that Dhingra appears to have concocted the plot which resulted in the murder of Sir W. Curzon-Wyllie and Dr. Lalcaca, and though the London correspondent of the *Kal*, Vinyak Savarkar, who was arrested this year in London to take his trial on the gravest charges at Bombay, magnified the success of the plot by describing its chief victim as "the eyes of the Secretary of State through which he saw all Indian affairs," there is some reason to believe that Dhingra expected to find at the reception another Anglo-Indian official whom the extremists were particularly anxious to "remove," and only in his absence struck at Sir W. Curzon-Wyllie. There is reason too to believe that it was from this "India House" also that came both the idea of murdering Mr. Jackson and the weapons used by the murderer. Though students from all parts of India were enticed into the "India House," the organization seems to have been controlled by Deccan Brahmans, and in the first instance by Shyamji Krishnavarma, who founded scholarships in connexion with it to honour the Indian "martyrs" executed for murderous outrages in India. When the authorities in London very tardily awoke after the murder of Sir W. Curzon-Wyllie to the dangerous nature of this organization its headquarters were transferred to the Continent, to which Krishnavarma had already removed himself and his *Indian Sociologist* after *The Times* called attention to the nature of his teachings in the early part of 1909.

INCENDIARY LITERATURE

That altogether considerable quantities of incendiary literature have been produced abroad and imported into India through these various organizations is beyond doubt. Sometimes books like Savarkar's "War of Indian Independence of 1857"—in its way a

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very remarkable history of the Mutiny, combining considerable research with the grossest perversions of facts and great literary power with the intensest bitterness—were bound in false covers as “Pickwick Papers” or other equally innocuous works. Other seditious leaflets besides those for the incitement of mutiny in the native army appear to have come from America whilst newspapers like the *Tulwar* and the *Bande Mataram*, which preach the same gospel of murder as Krishnavarma's *Indian Sociologist*, are printed on the Continent of Europe. These papers are either smuggled into India in large parcels or sent through the post in envelopes addressed by name to students in schools and colleges, as well as to schoolmasters, pleaders, Government *employees*—in fact, to all sorts and conditions of people who for some reason or other are supposed to be suitable recipients. They naturally fall sometimes into quite the wrong hands.

A NOTE OF EXULTATION

The importance which the extremists attach to the maintenance of these channels of communication with India appears from the following extract from the March issue of the *Bande Mataram*, which purports to be published in Geneva, and calls itself “a monthly organ of Indian independence” :—

“We must recognize at present that the importation of revolutionary literature into India is the sheet anchor of the party. It keeps up the spirit of all young men, and assures them that the party is living. We must therefore try to strengthen all groups of workers outside India. The centre of gravity of political work has been shifted from Calcutta, Poona and Lahore to Paris, Geneva, Berlin, London, and New York. The Wahabi conspiracy of 1862 was completely crushed because there was no centre in foreign countries where the work could be carried on during the period of persecution.....”

As to the importation of arms into India, the murder of Mr. Jackson, “another Nationalist fete celebrated at Nasik amidst the rejoicings of all true patriots,” furnishes an occasion for similar exultation :—

“We know that the hero possessed Browning pistols. Now these pistols are not manufactured in India, but in Europe. How have they been imported by the revolutionaries? It is clear that this fact is a testimony to the efficiency of our organization and the secrecy of our activity. Besides, the imported arms are not the only weapons on which we have to rely.....”

A REASSURING ADMISSION

Increased vigilance in this country as well as in the Indian Customs and Post-offices is, however, beginning to check these importations, and only two months later the *Bande Mataram* was already compelled to strike a less exuberant note. It declares, of course, that “our movement cannot be repressed so long as there are patriotic Indians living under other flags than the Union Jack,” but it recognizes that the situation “gives rise to anxious thought,” and it winds up in a somewhat depressed tone :—

“We admit that for the present all active propaganda among the young men of India with a view to the acquisition of new workers is exceedingly difficult. But there are hundreds of patriotic Indian students in America and Japan who can be inspired with apostolic

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fervour if only some capable workers are sent among them. The harvest is plentiful, but the labourers are few. We should now realize that, even if the Government succeeds in checkmating us in India at every step, there is ample scope for work for several years among Indians living abroad. We should reflect that steady work is its own reward. We must not imagine that the idea is not making progress because our particular journal cannot be circulated, or because those workers whom we know personally have been lost....."

INDIAN STUDENTS IN EUROPE

It is not only in regard to the introduction of poisonous literature or of weapons into India that the activity of these organizations deserves to be closely and continuously watched. One of their main objects, as the *Bande Mataram* points out, is to gain over young Indians who go abroad, especially those who go abroad for purposes of study. The India Office has recognized the necessity of establishing some organization in London to keep in touch with them and to rescue them from unwholesome influences, political and other. This is a step in the right direction, but much more will require to be done, and not only in London. Committees should be formed in other centres, and public-spirited Englishmen abroad could not do more useful work than by social service of this kind. If we want to do any real and permanent good we must spread our nets as wide as the revolutionists have spread theirs. In Paris, for instance, Krishnavarma has set up, since he migrated to the other side of the Channel, an organization for waylaying and indoctrinating young Indians on their way to England so as to induce them to hold aloof from those who would wish to be their friends when they arrive in London.

The number of Indian students abroad is bound to go on increasing, especially with the growing demand for scientific and technical education for which the provision hitherto made in India is regarded as inadequate. Indian parents and Indian associations that ought to know better are apt to think that if they can only provide for a youth's travelling expenses he will somehow be able afterwards to shift for himself. It is not infrequently the misery and distress to which he thus finds himself reduced abroad that drive the young Indian into political recklessness or, at least, render him peculiarly liable to temptation. British manufacturers might also render valuable assistance. Indian parents complain that, owing to the resentment which crimes like the murder of Sir W. Curzon Wyllie have provoked, there is great reluctance now on the part of British firms to admit Indians as apprentices to their works, and that in consequence they are compelled to go to other countries where they are treated with less suspicion.

If that is so it is certainly regrettable. For if there is one thing that has impressed itself upon me during this visit to India it is that, if we want to retain our hold, not only upon the country, but upon the people, we must neglect no opportunity of arresting the estrangement which is growing up between us and the younger generation of Indians. It is upon this estrangement that the revolutionary organizations outside of India chiefly rely for the success of their propaganda, and nothing helps them more than the bitterness with which young Indians who come abroad often return to India ready for any desperate adventure.

LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

THE INFLUENCE OF EUROPEAN SCIENCE ON INDIAN THOUGHT

Mr. Kanwar Sain contributes a very interesting article on the above subject to the August number of the *Hindusthan Review*. The writer begins by an interesting retrospect of the intellectual condition of India prior to her coming in contact with Western influence in the 16th century. Says Mr. Sain :

“ The state of learning in India during the 16th century was by no means insignificant and compared very favourably with that of contemporary Europe. Emerging from the back waters of the waves of Afghan domination, India was destined to become one Empire under the Great Moghal as she had been once before under Asoka the good. Religious reforms and intellectual movements which went hand in hand had made for a decided advance in thought. Buddhistic enlightenment had been a great awakening in all phases of Indian life. And the counter reformation of Shankaracharya had given a vast lift to the thought of succeeding ages. And now following in the wake of Ramanuja, Ramanand and Chaitanya in Bengal, Kabir in the Central Provinces, Guru Nanak in the Punjab and Dadu in Gujrat, broke the ice of prejudice and preached the gospel of divine love and charity. The great epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, put on a new garb in the spoken vernaculars and penetrated into the hearths and homes of the masses. Original poetry of higher order began to appeal to the universal passion. And science flourished once more. From the principal centres of classical learning such as Kashi (Benares) and Nuddea radiated the best and highest thought in the land. Besides Sanskrit grammar, drama and poetry—the excellence and wealth of which are acknowledged by the present-day scholars—were taught exact sciences such as mathematical astronomy of a very high order. The heliocentric view of our solar system was not unfamiliar to astronomers. Treatises such as *Lilavati*, *Surya Siddhant* and *Siddhanta-Shiromani* were the text books of the time. And the study of the six grand systems of Hindu Philosophy was a Pundit's chief delight and occupation. Eternity of matter, transmigration of soul according to Karma, and unity of the multiform Deity were the well-settled articles of Hindu belief. Side

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by side with the current of Hindu culture, there had been advancing for some time past in this country a steady wave of Graeco-Mohammedan learning. In the *makhtabs* and mosques, *maulvis* taught not only their religious scriptures, but also a great deal of Greek philosophy and ethics in Persian and Arabic. Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, and a host of Arabic commentators and encyclopædists such as Avicenna and Averros were made familiar to students. Sufism was in full swing. Taken all in all Indian thought had accepted the proposition that there is one primary substance which abides amidst the general flux of things."

Mr. Sain, however, admits the slow progress of Western science in India during the 16th and 17th centuries which he attributes to the two following reasons :

" First, because European science was yet in its infancy, and was no match for Indian philosophy. And secondly, because the servants of the Dutch, Portugese and British East India Companies were better traders than teachers."

The writer then points to the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Sir William Jones in 1783 as having marked the period of transition in advancement of Western learning in India and describes its progress in the following terms :—

" It was, however, not till the character of the British East India Company had changed from that of a mere trading association into a sovereign organization in India towards the end of the 18th century that a more or less steady influx of Western science may truly be said to have commenced. The growing supremacy of the British nation in India almost synchronized with the rapid advance and development of Arts and Sciences in Europe. It was about this time that the illustrious Macaulay proposed the Indian Education Bill ; and with the establishment of public schools and colleges and the introduction of a free Press may be said to have dawned a new age in the intellectual history of India. The passing of the Universities Act in the memorable year, 1857, gave promise of a brighter day. The Punjab University, although originally intended to impart only Oriental learning, yielded to the force of circumstances and included within its curriculum the science course also. Now in the heyday of public education we have Natural Science forming an optional or elective subject in the Arts Faculty, and a compulsory subject in the Science Faculty, of all the Indian Universities. And there are turned out year after year thousand of students more or less acquainted, if not imbued, with scientific ideas."

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Mr. Sain then recalls some of the leading concepts which each of the sciences has presented to us and considers how they have reacted on Indian thought :

"To begin with chemistry which treats of the constitution of matter and its transformations. It informed us that the material world was composed of certain distinct elements—some eighty or more of which have since been discovered—that the smallest possible particles of these elements entering into chemical combination—and called the atoms—were indivisible, immutable and indestructible entities. Dalton's so-called Atomic theory illumined the domain of theoretical chemistry much as Newton's Law of gravitation did that of mathematical astronomy. Important as these discoveries were, still the Indian scholar did not consider them as necessarily revolutionizing his old notions derived from ancient text and tradition. For were not somewhat similar views suggested if not laid down in some of the ancient authors? Long ago the Vaishashik school of atomic philosophy taught the indestructibility of the ultimate particles of matter of which all substances are made up. Speculations as to *Juz'oi la yatajazza* has found place in Arabic writings also.

"Chemists of the 18th and early 19th centuries considered that elements were inconvertible one into the other, and that animal and vegetable products were totally distinct from minerals. Modern chemistry has, however, broken down the barrier between Inorganic and Organic bodies—and has proved the possibility of the preparation of "Organic" products from purely mineral ingredients.

"In the sphere of theoretical chemistry, no discovery was perhaps so promising, from the Indian point of view, as the now well-known "Periodic Law," formulated by a Russian chemist, Mendeljeff. Mendeljief classified and tabulated all the elements—some 70 odd in number—under seven headings, and discovered that the properties of elements are, for the most part, a periodic function of their atomic weights. The strength of a theory may be tested by its power of prediction. And judged in this way, this theory came out remarkably successful. Certain insurmountable gaps in the table of all the then known elements led to the irresistible inference that there must be other elements to fill these gaps. And thus the existence and properties of these elements were predicted long before they were actually met with. Thanks to Mendeljief's prediction, these elements have since been actually discovered. With the enunciation of this law, there dawns on the Indian mind the possible nay probable, oneness of the underlying

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principle of all the numerous elements. Crook's electrical experiments on highly attenuated gases and vacua were tackling the same problem from another point of view and converging to the same focus. Rontgen's so-called X-rays illuminated many a dark vista of the field of atomic science. And last of all has come Radium with its almost dazzling splendour and significance. These discoveries coming in rapid succession have kept the Indian student almost in breathless expectation of the declaration by European science of that principle of Unity amidst diversity so boldly, consistently and logically propounded by the Vedant philosophy—and so generally accepted by popular Hinduism.

"Modern physics has given us an insight into the character and working of the Forces of nature. Gravitation, we are told, is a universal principle which governs the earth, the sun and the stars alike in their unerring orbits. Mechanical force, sound, heat, light, electricity and magnetism are all different forms of Energy—convertible one into the other with exact and invariable equivalents. This energy has an inherent tendency to run down to a dead level. So that the mighty sun which gives heat and light and life to our earth and a host of other planets will, in course of time, burn itself out to become cold and extinguished and will bury his dark head in some unknown corner of space. These doctrines of the conservation and degradation of energy constitute an advance on ancient thought. Inklings of these views too may be discovered in older philosophers. And the two grand propositions of the conservation of matter and energy combined read very much like a material counterpart of the no less grand Hindu doctrine of Karma—if not of the Transmigration of soul. Indeed, the under-current of orthodoxy which is still observable in the Hindu mind holds these doctrines as an analogical proof of his theological creed.

"The same remarks apply to the modern theories as to the existence and properties of what is called Luminiferous Ether—the medium of the propagation of light, heat, electricity and magnetism. Ether is supposed to permeate intramolecular, as well as interstellar space, to be infinitely elastic and yet infinitely rigid—imponderable and yet capable of bearing stresses and strains, twists and vibrations of extreme rapidity. Since after the days of Newton and Young, until a few years ago, light used to be regarded as an undulatory longitudinal vibration in this Ether, and electricity and magnetism were considered to be but twists and strains in the same medium. Professor Lodge endeavoured to explain electrical

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phenomena on mechanical principles. But Rontgen's discovery of his "X-rays" and Mme. Curie's of Radium, have, I believe, largely upset these received theories as to the character of Light and Electricity. "Back to Newton" seems to be the watch-word in the front ranks of men of science. Lord Kelvin's "vertex theory," as a possible explanation of the variety among elements is now scarcely tenable in its entirety. Crook's view of the particles of Ether being themselves of light—the so-called "Electrens"—now holds the field.

"Between the conflicting theories and hypotheses the lay mind is tossed to and fro, and out of sheer fatigue settles down either into a sort of intellectual indifference or scepticism. Discussing the effect of these views, a writer in the *Theosophic Gleaner* observes that "we seem to be led very nearly to the metaphysical ideas about the manifest universe being a delusion, an appearance according to Kant, or *Maya*, according to the Vedantin.....For is it not true that we see the manifestation of reality and not the reality itself? What shadows we are and what shadows we pursue.

"But the more ardent and imaginative the student the more clearly does he perceive that every old theory exploded means an idol broken for the glory of that One of whom Science and Philosophy can but predicate the existence, but cannot give any definition."

The writer then concludes this interesting paper with the following account of the nett result of practical science on India :

"Practical science has had its share of influence on young India in either of its two-fold aspects. In its brighter phase, it has hailed a J. C. Bose, a P. C. Roy and a Gajjar ; and in its darker phase it has given birth to the gang of terrorists and bomb makers of to-day. Like Alladin's wonderful lamp of the fable, science has opened the fascinating realm of wealth, luxury and power. And attracted by this prospect New India has launched on the sea of industrial and economic reorganization, with all its hopes and fears. Technical schools, workshops and laboratories are the order of the day. When, however, physical sciences that lend a command of nature's blind and stupendous forces are taught indiscriminately to raw youths uncontrolled by a religious or moral discipline—as is the case too often alas ! in the non-sectarian Government schools and colleges—it is no wonder that a mixed and perverted sense of mystery, curiosity, recklessness, patriotism and martyrdom, should draw the half educated dabblers in Chemistry and Physics into the

whirlpool of explosives. However reprehensible and regrettable the workings of this gang of fire eaters may be from the political and social point of view, from the scientific standpoint one cannot but marvel at the remarkable aptitude and skill displayed by these youngmen in their manufacturing so dangerously difficult weapons as bombs, apparently without a single accident to themselves. And it is to be deplored that their talents should have been wasted in such unworthy pursuits.

"It seems to me that while the Indian mind is singularly bold and imaginative in the domain of Philosophy and Poetry, and is most quick to perceive resemblances, it is somewhat lacking in *precision*, and resents limitation necessitated by a patient study of facts and figures. And great must be the debt of gratitude to such sciences as engender in our minds a habit to be accurate. Both chemistry and physics have offered us instruments the use of which has awakened us to an appreciation of this invaluable sense."

THE ENGLISH IN THE COURT AND CAMP OF SIVAJI

Mr. J. L. Chatterji continues his article on the above subject in the August number of the *Hindusthan Review*, the first part of which we noticed in our July number. Mr. Chatterji relates in this number some more incidents in connection with the remarkable career of the great Mahratta patriot in the following manner :

"The year 1674 witnessed a great event. It had cast its shadow before, but it was to materialise in that year. It startled the bigoted-despot on his glittering Musnad at Delhi, bringing home to him that while he was playing a losing game his redoubtable enemy was steadily forging his way ahead. The mountain rat had not only defied his power but had made for himself a mighty dominion impregnated with inaccessible hill-forts, and was actually ascending a throne with due pomp and ceremony. The Deccan was pulsating with a new life, and the dreaded name of Sivaji was resounding in every hill and dale and homestead throughout India. . . . The coronation of Sivaji was the climax of the drama—a master-stroke which served to dispel the illusions of his foes and give a powerful impetus to the terrible forces which he was directing with an unerring precision. Rairee or Raigarh focussed the eyes of all India and loomed in the rugged horizon as no other fort had loomed ever before in this country.

"The town of Karwar, where the English had a factory, was

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burnt down in 1675, because the castle of the Moghal Governor did not surrender on the first summons. The order was given by Sivaji in person. The English factors, however, were received by the Rajah with civility and were protected from violence.

"The erratic genius of Sivaji early perceived that without a fleet he could not long hold his own against his enemies, and he lost no time in constructing one in spite of the numerous difficulties in the way. The fleet stood him in good stead in the naval encounter against the joint efforts of the English and Siddi of Jinjerah to displace Sivaji from Kenary.

"Sivaji could not be displaced from Kenary by the joint efforts of the English and the Siddi of Jinjerah. Eventually the Deputy Governor was obliged to admit the right of Sivaji to occupy the island on his granting permission to the Company's factors at Rajapur to return to Surat. In the middle of March, 1680, a treaty was concluded between Sivaji and Bombay which confirmed the treaty of 1674 made by Oxinden, and provided for immediate payment by Sivaji of what remained due of the compensation then allowed for the Company's losses at the sack of Rajapur in 1673. The English agreed not to permit the Siddi's fleet to winter in the harbour, but under the condition of not attacking the opposite shores.

"Practically the last exploit of Sivaji took place in December, 1679, the year of the occupation of Kenary, when he set off from Rairee with a chosen body of horse and suddenly appeared in the country between Aurangabad and Brampore, where, joined with the forces of the Raja of Benares, they committed all kinds of devastation. Dongong, where the English had factors, Chupra and other great marts were attacked and Brampore shut its gates.

"Sivaji died rather suddenly in 1680. A rapid readjustment of the situation seemed imminent; Sivaji left unworthy sons, but his Peshwas kept up the terror of his name and the brightness of his glory until jealousy and treachery, the real causes of India's ruin, came into play and wrecked the empire as they had done several times before. The stability of the Mahratta power could not be shaken within one hundred and fifty years of Sivaji's domination."

The writer concludes this interesting sketch of one of the greatest men India has ever produced with the testimony of some reputed authorities as to the character and powers of the great Marhatta.

Ferishta, the Persian Historian, says of him :—

"Sivaji was a soldier unequalled, skilled in the arts of Government and a friend to men of virtue and religion. He planned his

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schemes wisely, and executed them with steadiness. He consulted many on every point, but acted according to that advice, which, after weighing in his own mind, he thought best applicable to his designs. No one was ever acquainted with his determinations but by the success of their execution. . . . Sahji, the father of Sivaji, was for a long time in prison. On being released in 1667, through Sivaji's prowess and intercession, he visited his son. Sivaji, notwithstanding his remonstrances, ran ten miles on foot by the side of his palanquin ; and on his alighting at his palace, seated him on Musnud ; while he himself took his slippers, and stood among the menial attendants. Sahji spent two months with his son and first wife in mutual interchange of affection. Sivaji on this occasion obtained the deserved applause of all mankind for his conduct to a parent, who had hitherto, from his birth, shown him no marks of affection, but rather treated him as an alien of the family."

Orme, the great historian, records as follows :—

"His private life was simple, even to parsimony ; his manners void of insolence or ostentation ; as a sovereign he was humane, and solicitous for the well being of his people, as soon as assured of their obedience; for he gathered them, as we have seen, by degrees. . . . In personal activity he exceeded all generals of whom there is a record ; for no partizan appropriated to services of detachment alone, ever traversed as much ground as he at the head of armies. He met every emergency of peril, howsoever sudden and extreme, with instant discernment, and unshaken fortitude ; the ablest of his officers acquiesced to his eminent superiority of his genius ; and the boast of the soldier was to have been Sivaji charging sword in hand. Thus respected, as the guardian of the nation he had formed, he moved everywhere amongst them with unsuspecting security, and often alone, whilst his wiles were the continual terror of the princes with whom he was at enmity, even in the midst of their citadels and armies. Whensoever we shall obtain a history of his life, written in his own country, he will doubtless appear to have possessed the highest resources of strategem, joined to undaunted courage ; while, although equal to the encounter of any danger, always preferred to surmount it by circumvention ; which, if impracticable, no arm exceeded his in open daring. Gallantry must lament that it should once have been tainted by the blood of assassination."

On hearing of Sivaji's death, Aurangzeb observed :

"He was a great captain, and the only one who has had the

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magnanimity to raise a new kingdom, whilst I have been endeavouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of India. My armies have been employed against him for 19 years, and nevertheless his State has been always increasing”.

NOTES ON SELF-RULE IN THE EAST

The Editor of *The Modern Review* continues his article on *Self-Rule in the East* in the September number of his Review and cites some more testimony of European historians to prove the existence of republican form of government in ancient India. He quotes Dr. Leitner who speaks specially with reference to the Punjaub :

“The Republican, if aristocratic, instincts of the province (Punjab) are subdued under a practically irresponsible bureaucracy of aliens in measures, feelings, interest and knowledge, although ennobled by good intentions. For say what one may, the traditions which have maintained Indian society for thousands of years, are Republican. If its fabric, shaken to its foundation, is to be consolidated in a manner worthy of British rule it must be by the spread of Republican institutions. That these are not a novelty may be shown by a brief reference to the three great communities that inhabit the Punjab.”

Dr. Leitner begins with the Sikhs : “All their affairs, secular and spiritual, * * * were regulated at the four great ‘Takhts’—literally Boards, Platforms, or Thrones—of Akhalghar, Anandpur, Patna, and Abchalnagar, where every Sikh, great or small, had a voice, for did not Guru Govind himself, after investing four disciples with the ‘pahal’, stand in a humble attitude before them to be invested in his turn? Again, whenever Sikhs meet in the guru’s name there is the *fish* Takht, and it is not long ago that at one of them the idolatrous practices, justified by the Durbar of Amritsar, were condemned by the consent of the faithful assembled at Akhalghar. * * * Men and women, clergy and laity, of sacred and profane descent, all is merged in the one standing of ‘*Sikh*’,—learner or disciple.”

“The Mahomedans in so far as they are Sunnis and people of the congregation (Ahljamas’ at), have no *raison d’être* if they do not acknowledge the elective principle in political matters, the ground on which they separated from the adherents of the hereditary principle, the Shiahhs. Indeed with the latter the Sovereign has sunk below the priesthood, whilst with the former the greatest ruler is only acknowledged if he rules theocratically.

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The experience of their institutions, the absence of class or caste in pure Muhammadanism, and the partial success of the "Umuma" Turkish Parliament, so long as it lasted, not to speak of the Council of all races of the revered Al-Ma'mun and other Khalifas, the autonomy of every race and creed under Turkish rule, are the examples, if not proofs, to be held out for *our* (British) encouragement in the noble task which the Government has undertaken, if not for the guidance of our Muhammadan fellow-citizens.

"The Hindus are an agglomeration of innumerable commonwealths, each governed by its own social and religious laws. Each race, tribe and caste, cluster of families and family, is a republic in confederation with other republics, as the United States of Hinduism, each jealous of its prerogatives, but each a part of a great autonomy with Panchayets in every trade, village, caste, and subsection of caste invested with judicial, social, commercial, and even sumptuary authority discussed in their own public meetings. What did it matter who the tyrant was that temporarily obscured their horizon and took from them the surplus earnings which his death was sure to restore to the country? Even now, if the bulk of the lower castes did not settle their differences at the Councils of their Boards, and if the respectable and conservative classes did not shrink from attendance at Courts of Justice, we might increase the area of litigation a hundredfold and yet not do a tenth of the work that is still done by the arbitration of the 'Brotherhoods'."

After this, the writer quotes the following views of Mr. Anstey :

"We are apt to forget, when we talk of preparing people in the East by education and all that sort of thing, for Municipal government and Parliamentary government, that the East is the parent of municipalities. Local self-government, in the widest acceptance of the term, is as old as the East itself. No matter what portion of that country, there is not a portion of Asia, from West to East, from North to South, which is not swarming with municipalities ; and not only so, but like to our municipalities of old, they are well bound together as in a species of net-work, so that you have ready-made to your hand the frame-work of a great system of representation, and all you have to do is to adopt what you have there.

"Take Bengal ; open that most admirable of all collections of State papers, the celebrated Fifth Report of the Committee of 1811, and read there if you wish to know of what mighty thing the municipal system of India is capable.....Can any man who has in his memory the marvellous history of the Sikh Commonwealth tell me that the natives of India are incapable not only of

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sending delegates to a Council sitting in Calcutta or Bombay or Madras or Agra, but if the emergency required it, of governing themselves? What was the case of the Sikh Commonwealth? Who were the Sikhs when their prophet first found them out? Poor miserable starvelings from Bengal, of whom their great founder, knowing well the stuff from which Asiatics were made, looking with a prophetic eye into the future, said, 'I will teach the sparrow to strike the eagle.' In comparison with the great dynasty of Aurangzebe, it was the sparrow, as compared to the eagle, and in less than a century the sparrow did strike the eagle.

"Let us not be frightened by that bugbear, incapacity; there is no nation unfit for free institutions. If you wait for absolute perfection, the world will come to an end before you have established your free institutions; but you must take the world as it is, and there is no nation so ignorant but knows its wants; or some of its pressing wants; there is no nation so poor, but it has some proprietary or possessory interests for the perfection of which it is solicitous; and there is no nation which is not entitled, therefore, with a view to its own wants, or what it conceives to be its wants and interests to be heard in its own defence".

Mr. R. H. Elliot wrote in *Fraser's Magazine* for April, 1872 :

"In former times there existed in India reigning powers that lived on the resources of the people; though these powers levied taxes and waged war on each other at pleasure, the internal management of affairs was left to the village communities, and the people had the power of modifying their customs in accordance with what seemed to them to be expedient. Now this power we have entirely taken away from them and not only have we done this, but we thrust our meddling noses into all the details of life, and refine here and reform there, and always, it must be remembered, with increased and unceasing taxation. It still, however, remains to explain how we have deprived them of the power of modifying their customs: and this has been done simply by seizing on the existing customs as we found them, writing them down, and turning them into laws which the people have no power to alter in any way. And, to make matters as bad as they can be, where we have found gaps we have filled them up with a kind of law-stucco of express rules taken very much at haphazard from English law books. The old rights of communities of Hindoos have thus been entirely absorbed by our Government, which has now deprived the people of every particle of civic power. * * * We thus see, as was very clearly pointed out in Maine's *Village Communities*

only the other day, that if the people have gained some benefits from us they have also lost others ; and we need hardly add that the results of this entire deprivation of free action are altogether deadly and destructive to the very existence of the most valuable powers of man."

Mr. Chatterji concludes his article with the following observations on the existence of village self-government in Southern India and Municipal Administration of Chandra Gupta, made by Vincent Smith in his *Early History of India* :—

"The records published by him [the late Mr. Sundaram Pillai] show that at the beginning of the twelfth century, Travancore, a Southern Kerala, formed part of the Chola empire of Rajendra Chola—Kulottung, and to all appearance was well governed and administered. The details of the working of the ancient village associations or assemblies are especially interesting, and prove that the government was by no means a mere centralized autocracy. The village assemblies possessed considerable administrative and judicial powers, exercised under the supervision of the crown officials.

"Certain long inscriptions of Parantaka I. [a Chola King, 907 A. D.] are of special interest to the students of village institutions by reason of the full details which they give of the manner in which local affairs were administered by well-organized local committees, or panchayats, exercising their extensive administrative and judicial powers under royal sanction. It is a pity that this apparently excellent system of local self-government, really popular in origin, should have died out ages ago. Modern governments would be happier if they could command equally effective local agency. The subject has been studied carefully by two native scholars, whose disquisitions are well worth reading. Whenever the mediaeval history of Southern India comes to be treated in detail a long and interesting chapter must be devoted to the methods of Chola administration.

"The administration of the capital city, Pataliputra, was provided for by the formation of a municipal commission, consisting of thirty members, divided, like the war office commission of equal members, into six Boards or Committees of five members each. These Boards may be regarded as an official development of the ordinary non-official *panchayat*, or committee of five members, by which every caste and trade in India has been accustomed to regulate its internal affairs from time immemorial."

We hope Mr. Ramananda Chatterji will further pursue his researches on this question of absorbing interest and bring before

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the public all the testimonies recorded on it by Greek historians as may be found in Mr. MacCrindle's translations, in the Chinese pilgrims' journals of the middle ages, and the Pali texts from which Prof. Rhys Davids has drawn so copious materials of Indian history. Even dramas like the *Mrichakatika* and the aphorisms of Chanakya can be laid under contribution as well as our folk-tales and story-books like the *Hitopadesa* and the *Pancha-tantram*. Early English literature on India is also abundantly strewn with references on this question. Evidently this is a vast and interesting field for Mr. Chatterji to work in.

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In a recent issue of *The National Review* are published two articles on India in the first of which "A Casual Observer" discusses the success of the policy pursued by the outgoing viceroy and incidentally gives an outline of the situation that preceded the present regime. The writer begins by giving some weary details as to the impressions an Englishman generally has on his first landing in Bombay, which is so well-equipped with modern conveniences that the traveller "may find himself wondering that the transition from the West should seem to him such a trifling matter" and that "the railways and lines of ocean steamers are mixing the nations of the earth like wine in a bowl. They are mingling the greens and blues and pinks of the map as an artist mingles the colours on his palette." But the writer points with satisfaction that although the wine may be mingled, and the colours mixed, "the variety of flavours in the bowl are still distinct, the colours on the painter's palette are not yet blended so as to be indistinguishable. The nations of the world are still separate, and are likely to remain so for some time to come. In India this is self-evident; the Oriental is an Oriental after an education at Harrow and Cambridge, and the Englishman is an Englishman although his family has been in Calcutta since the days of Warren Hastings". And this ethnological truth our "Casual Observer" seems to have found out at last to explain the secret of success of British rule in India; he expatiates eloquently upon the virtues of the Britisher in successfully fighting off what seems to him the contaminating evil influences of the Indians :—

"The success of British rule in India lies in the fact that it is British. Arabians, Persians, Mongols, Spaniards, and Portuguese have in turn believed that they have conquered India. As

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a matter of fact, India conquered them—by making them Orientals. England sends out fresh blood every year, and those who urge upon us that no country can be kept or held unless it is colonised have ignored the teaching of history in this matter. Government from home may not seem at first sight to be the best sort of Government, but we must remember that India is a country whose blandishments must have been felt before their danger can be realised. It is a land of luxury, and few of its conquerors have not yielded to the passion for soft living which its climate engenders. It is a land where wealth is easily obtained, and few of its conquerors have not sold a portion at least of their souls in order to obtain it. And it is a land of dreams—dreams of philosophy, dreams of religion, dreams of the senses, visioned forth by the worship of the God of Pleasure in wide palaces beside lotus-covered lakes and gardens full of shade. . . . Into this land of dreams and of soft quiet spirits—into this place of luxury and soft living and carelessness of life, and passive acquiescence in fatality—comes the Britisher in tweed clothes, and with, perhaps, a couple of portmanteaux containing the whole of his worldly effects. He is not affected by environment, and would despise himself if he were influenced by it. Even in the matter of climate he is independent, and it is only comparatively lately that he has submitted to wearing a topee or to having a punka. . . . Even to-day he has hardly yielded an inch in the matter of relinquishing British habits. He eats a substantial meal in the middle of the day with the thermometer at 110° in the shade ; and he takes violent exercise in the afternoon as he has been brought up to do. He puts in a good eight hours' work every day, and often more, no matter what the weather is like ; and if the casual observer asks whether it is true economy that valuable officials, whose places it is hard to refill, should break down as frequently as they do from overwork, the answer probably is that the officials themselves have no complaint ; or we may even hear that they like it. We are very conservative in India in the matter of our appointments, and the "one-man" post of twenty years ago is still filled by one man, although the work may have increased fourfold.

"The Britisher believes in work, and to a lotus land of ease and pleasure, and fatalism, and dreams he has come, watch in hand, telephone on table, and an engagement book, a large calendar, and a whole row of new pens on his desk. His life is punctuated by mail-day, and he must be as ready for it as for the day of judgment : dates of sailing are as unalterable as the crack of doom, and even

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where his work is named useless red-tapeism, the Britisher calls it duty and intends to do it."

And what a grim humour there lurks behind the writer's following observations on the incapacity of the Indians to do any work for themselves when, in fact, more often than not, they are hardly given any chance to prove their ability at all :—

" India victimises another's vitality far more than it is victimised by it. It conquers by passivity, and now, as ever, it likes to have its work done for it. From road-making to palace-building ; from city drainage to financial control ; on famine commissions, plague commissions, cholera commissions, through every department of State, the Britisher is the hard-working man, while he is not always the best paid. In India, neither the best houses nor even the best horses belong to him ; but he is a man not fond of grievances, and as has been said, he likes hard work and has an overwhelming sense of duty."

The writer further defends the Anglo-Indians against the charge of lack of imagination in the governance of India the evils of which he holds to be exaggerated by the critics, including, we may presume, Lord Morley himself. He observes :

" History shakes a solemn finger of warning at this lack of imagination in the Britisher. No mark, it says, has ever been made in India except by men endowed with the inward vision. To which the answer of history seems to be : that the men thus endowed have made their mark in India by acts of almost unbelievable cruelty and by drenching the land in blood. Some imagination may have been required to found dynasties which ignored the individual and raised palaces over heaps of slain men. But such dynasties very soon came to an end. Imagination may soar to brave deeds, but it is not the power which holds and keeps. Nor does imagination as a rule seem to be necessarily connected with fair play, so while admitting that the absence of it may be a disadvantage, we must urge that the unimaginative Englishman does play a fair game."

The " Casual Observer " then recites the oft-repeated shibboleth that the representative form of government is unsuitable to the east in as much as the bulk of the population having a " mind with its curious indefiniteness, passivity and its fatalism, believes in the individual far more than it does in any supposed or imagined scheme of Government."

Speaking of the representative form of government the writer muses over the present situation, and, apparently oblivious of the

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world-wide movement for freedom and responsible government, characteristically lays all blame for sedition and unrest now prevailing in India only to the door of the faulty system of education now in vogue in our country. He refers to it in the following sneering tone :

“The situation seems to be conditioned to a great extent by antiquated notions of education. Education in India is to this day stamped large with the name of Macaulay. Now, his system of education was designed, purposely or otherwise, for the manufacture of Babus, *i.e.* educated clerks. And gradually the Babu has overrun the literate world of India. He has become in numbers far too many for the appointments that are available for him in the different departments of government services or in practice at the Bar. He is out of work and educated. And the result necessarily is discontent, and discontent in its aggravated form means revolt and sedition.”

To the agriculturists, however, the writer holds a torch of hope in the development and expansion of their produce under the ægis of the British Government. We are told :—

“It is only with the assistance of Government that the eyes of the agricultural classes are being opened to the possibilities of their hereditary calling. In every province an agricultural department has been started, supervised by a central director whose special aim it is to educate the Indian cultivator in his art, and to bring nearer to him modern improvements and modern implements, and above all to make clear to him the value of irrigation. Until to-day, the Indian cultivator has trusted to Providence to protect the land from famine. It has not occurred to him to forestall the consequences and sufferings entailed by a failure of rains.”

To allay the discontent of the “Babus,” however, the “Casual Observer” has some sane advice to offer :—

“Technical arts in India are yet in their cradle. But the development of technical education, the establishment of native industries financed by native capital and managed by natives themselves will, it may be hoped, open fresh fields of endeavour to a large number of educated persons who are now out of employment. As technical education develops, discontent must be minimised.”

The “Casual Observer” then follows with an appreciative sketch of the Viceroyalty of Lord Minto :—

“Lord Minto followed on a period of almost blistering efficiency in India, with its sequel of irritation and unrest. No doubt the unrest was world-wide, and can be traced to the result of that wave

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of feeling which swept across Asia from Japan, and moved to their very foundations the minds of the people of China and French China, of Turkestan, India, Persia, Turkey, Egypt, and North Africa, and reached as far as the Atlantic shore of Morocco. There was a breath of freedom in the air, a palpitating sense of great things to come, and India was as deeply stirred as her sister nations. It was impossible that this should not be so, but it must be admitted that the first expressions of freedom are never graceful and are frequently dangerous. Freedom is dependent for its very existence upon just laws. Yet by a curious paradox, its first expression is almost always one of lawlessness.

"Now, lawlessness must be suppressed, although the freedom which it so paradoxically expresses deserves to be encouraged. This, it seems to us, has been the task of the Viceroy of India, and we doubt very much whether any other man but he could have accomplished it. Every one knew that when he took over the reins of government there was danger abroad. There were mutterings of sedition, vague rumours of disloyalty, and whispers of coming trouble everywhere. The general unrest brought with it a train of distrust, and there was a growing feeling both at home and abroad that the whole of India was in a disturbed condition. Lord Minto saw at once that this was not the case, and he proceeded slowly and carefully, but absolutely unfalteringly, to separate the sheep from the goats, and to brand the goats unmistakably and indelibly. The great majority of Englishmen cast the whole of the literate and thinking classes under the terrorists' banner. Lord Minto saw from the first that this judgment was false, and he kept to his two lines of policy without wavering. He never confused or confounded a desire on the part of the natives of India to be admitted to a share in the government of the country with those wilder spirits who started a propaganda of sedition and terrorism. In honour he was held to fulfil our promises to the Indians, and to satisfy their every legitimate aspiration, and he has done this even in face of the fact that there has been a seditious campaign on foot. He steadily refused to be terrorised either by the terrorists themselves or by those who called out for reaction or sweeping measures, while he ruthlessly exterminated by every weapon that the law gave him, men and bodies of men concerned in the propagation of outrage. Perhaps no Viceroy has ever had a harder task. Lord Canning had to suppress the Mutiny, but in the Mutiny enemies were met in the open: our enemies in India to-day work underground. Lord Canning, too, had a freer hand. Not even tourists in his day had

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discovered infallible systems of right government, and the East was regarded from a respectful distance. India to-day is not so much under the lens as under the microscope.

"Every one knows how India ought to be governed, but there may be some who have escaped the spirit of India, and have ignored the fact that personal devotion is as important a matter as it was in the days of feudalism in England. When Lord Minto took over the Viceroyalty, the dissatisfaction of the native princes, their jealousy of our interference in their affairs and suspicion of our real purpose in India were, to our minds, a far more significant as well as a far more dangerous menace to our rule in India than the sedition of more recent times.

"One-fourth of the country is held by Indian rulers who manage their own states, and their present loyalty and content is no small matter of thankfulness among us, nor is their faith and their friendship a small matter for one man to have succeeded in obtaining."

The writer then concludes his article with the following homily on the ethics of British rule in India: "For this land, which has been the dream of conquerors, has yielded not more to the sword than to the fine honour and personal courage of men who play the game fairly whether in peace or war—plain men who stick to the telegraph when the City is in the hands of the enemy; persistent men like Salkeld carrying the port-fire to blow up the Kashmir Gate and handing it on as he falls to a corporal who, as he dies, ignites the powder. And men who, even where heroic deeds are denied them, work patiently and rule justly, and who are amongst those not few in number, who do their work faithfully, and say very little about it".

In the second of the two articles on India published in *The National Review*, the writer discusses the nature of the task the new viceroy will be called upon to address himself to during the next five years. After a very warm eulogy paid to Lord Hardinge as a successful diplomat the writer observes that his appointment is "a bold and novel departure from precedent, but it is an exemplary departure. We want the best man available for the Viceroyalty, and he should always be chosen without regard to politics at all."

Referring to the diplomacy Lord Hardinge is expected to use in view of the recent developments in Tibet and the far East, the writer observes:

"Sir Charles Hardinge has touched the Orient at more than one point, and is familiar with those larger Asiatic issues with which the future of India is so inseparably bound up. He will not be prone to contemplate Indian affairs solely as an isolated problem.

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His wide experience in diplomacy, moreover, will enable him to treat the princes and chiefs of India with that careful consideration and sympathy which is their due. It was never more important than now to remain on the best possible terms with the feudatories of India. Their interests are our interests. They are concerned, equally with ourselves, in stemming the tide of opposition to all constituted authority, now visible among the Indian peoples. In the time of trouble, they should be our best support. Some of them are not very well satisfied with the present trend of policy. They hear India talked of, and see it legislated for, as though the Indian Empire consisted of British India alone. They have not the smallest intention of abandoning their hereditary rights or of submitting their territories to "constitutional" rule. They know their own countrymen too well for that. They are inclined to think just now that their interests are rather lost sight of, and they need reassuring. Sir Charles Hardinge is the man to do it. These remarks are by no means intended as a criticism of the broad principles which have underlain recent legislation. They are only meant to recall the fact that British India is not the whole of India."

Regarding the policy Lord Hardinge will be expected to follow in dealing with the present discontent in India, the writer says :

"Whether the new Viceroy is strong in constructive statesmanship really does not matter. India has recently passed through two successive phases. There was the period of Lord Curzon, who strengthened and stimulated every branch of the Administration. Then came the period of Lord Minto, which has been identified with the conferment of larger liberties upon the people. Probably India has had enough, perhaps a little more than enough, of constructive statesmanship for the present. The duty of Sir Charles Hardinge will be to see that the work of Lord Curzon is not allowed to lapse, and that the enlarged institutions granted since his departure are worked and developed smoothly and efficiently. He will be under no necessity, nor will it indeed be advisable, to associate his term of office with any further new departures upon an extensive scale. His training makes him both prudent and cautious. He has to consolidate and develop, rather than to initiate. If he governs India with strength, firmness, vigilance, and sympathy, he will have done all that is expected of him, and he will have deserved well of his countrymen and of India."

The writer then gives some specific details of what he seems to call the policy of consolidation and development, as distinguished from that of construction and organization, and, apparently taking the

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cue from Lord Curzon's recent speech in the Civil Service Dinner about the growing distaste of the Englishmen towards the Indian Civil Service, observes :

"One of his first duties will be to restore the shaken confidence of the Civil Service, a task he is well qualified to undertake. The Civil Service feels that at present it is belittled and misunderstood, and that it does not receive the support to which it is entitled." In this connection the writer gives a fling at what he calls Lord Morley's policy of "breaching the bureaucracy" as his Lordship expressed in his speech on the memorable debate in the House of Lords on the Indian Council Bill."

The writer then raises a note of warning against the policy of "advancing too rapidly," and culls a lesson from the experience of Egypt for the benefit of the English people and the English Press in a way which, we are afraid, will sound a little too hortatory even to the writer's own countrymen :—

"If we ever have trouble in India, it is in England that the chief danger will lie. We have just had an example of the kind of thing that will occur, in the case of Egypt. Our policy in Egypt has been recently upon wrong lines. We have tried to advance too rapidly, just as we are doing in India. . . . In the fifties the Press of England did not possess a tithe of the power it wields to-day. . . . Not a single English journal of any standing protested against the too rapid extension of privileges to the Egyptians, which brought about the recent political crisis. Very few papers have taken an informed interest in those portions of Lord Morley's reforms which are tending in a similar direction in India. They ignore these comparatively dull matters until the really lurid moments arrive, and then they breathe fire and slaughter. The press of a great Imperial race should be more alive to its Imperial responsibilities. It should discuss, for instance, the politics of India with care and insight while things are comparatively quiet, and in the hour of commotion its principal duty should be to see that the public do not form an exaggerated idea of the perils of the situation. If Indian affairs were always regarded in this spirit, we should never have had a widespread agitation for the despatch of Lord Kitchener to India 'to keep the natives in order.'" Very wise words indeed.

The writer then outlines in brief the reforms in the various branches of administration that will invite Lord Hardinge's attention and urges the policy of letting the man on the spot alone, in the following words :

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"The principal issue of his Viceroyalty seems likely to be the growing interest of intelligent Indians in economic questions, which is certain to produce a strong demand for fiscal autonomy. He has also to carry further the work of educational reform inaugurated by Lord Curzon, and to broaden the policy of scientific agricultural development, which is still in its infancy. He seems destined to have financial complications, owing to the growth of expenditure and the decline of the opium revenue. Above all, he will be fortunate indeed if he gets through the next five years without having to face a campaign on the frontier, where the influx of arms among the tribesmen has produced a marked change in the situation. That he will confront his heavy responsibilities with courage and determination is certain. The extent of his success will probably depend upon whether he is sufficiently left alone. The troubles of India, as of Egypt, are often largely the result of excessive interference from home."

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Most abstruse philosophy mellowed with a fervent spirit of intense devotion and faith in the Infinite has been the singular feature of the learned address delivered at Berlin by Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra as a delegate from the Bengal Brahmo Samaj before the Congress of Free Christianity and Religious Progress recently held in that City. Principal Maitra begins by expressing satisfaction at the "intellectual and moral advancement and a growing spirit of toleration" among the leading assailants of the theory of God and the First Cause, and proceeds to observe :—

"John Stuart Mill admits that science has no evidence to offer against the immortality of the soul, and he argues with great force against the view that, as all things in Nature perish, it cannot be otherwise with man. "Mind," he says, "is in a philosophical point of view the only reality of which we have any evidence, and no analogy can be recognized or comparison made between it and other realities, because there are no other known realities to compare it with." Of greater value is the statement of Comte that the order of Nature "would be far more compatible with the hypothesis of an intelligent will than with that of a blind mechanism." Mill admits that "the adaptations in Nature afford a large balance of probability in favour of creation by intelligence." Of still greater importance are Mill's vindication of religious hope as "legitimate and philosophically defensible," Spencer's insistence on the reality

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of the Infinite, and Comte's acknowledgment of the need of worship."

Principal Maitra then attempts in the following manner to beat hollow the logic of the critics of theism and all sceptics by referring to the possibility of man's communion with God as apprehended in the Hindu philosophy :—

"The basic truth of religion is that the Infinite reveals itself to man. It can never be comprehended, but it can be apprehended so as to create a living relationship between man and God. The longing of man is answered by the condescension of God. In ancient Hindu thought, the truth that communion is rendered possible, not by the power of man, but by the power of God, is thus expressed :

नाममात्मा प्रपन्नमेव सखी
न विद्यता न बहुना श्रुतेन ।
ममेवैव ब्रह्मते तेन सख्य-
सख्येव आत्मा ब्रह्मते तन्म खात् ।

"This Self cannot be gained by the Vedas, nor by understanding, nor by great learning. It can be gained by him only whom it chooses. This Self reveals its body (nature) to him." (*Kathopanishad*, I, 2.23.)

"Great spiritual teachers, so far from regarding the attempt to know God as a fruitless quest, have urged men to seek that knowledge as the one thing needful. The *Upanishads* : तं वेद्यं पुच्छं वेद— "Know that Being [literally, Person] who ought to be known." (*Prasna* VI, 7.) नातः परं वेदितव्यं हि किञ्चिन् "There is nothing higher than this to be known," (*Svetasvatara* I, 12), ब्रह्मविद्या सर्वविद्यामहिम्ना— "the knowledge of Brahman, the foundation of all knowledge." (*Manduka*, I, 1, 1.) अपरा ऋग्वेदी यजुर्वेदः सामवेदीऽथर्ववेदः त्रिषाकस्त्रीषाकश्च निदक्तं हन्दी ज्योतिषमिति । अथ परा यया तद्वचनं मन्त्रिनम्वदी । "The lower knowledge is the *Rig-Veda*, *Yajur-Veda*, *Sama-Veda*, *Atharva-Veda*, *Siksha* (phonetics), *Kalpa* (ceremonials), *Vyakarana* (grammar), *Nirukta* (etymology), *Chhandas* (metre), *Jyotisha* (astronomy) ; but the highest knowledge is that by which the Indestructible (Brahman) is apprehended."

As to the ethics of the Vedantic philosophy the lecturer notes :

"Purity of heart has been felt to be the indispensable condition of communion with the Supreme Being :

नाधिरतोदुषरिताद्यान्नास्ती नासमाश्रितः ।
नामानमानक्षी नापि ब्रह्मनेनैवनाश्रुयान् ॥

(*Katha*, I, 2, 24.)

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"He who has not turned away from his wickedness, who is not tranquil, and subdued, or whose mind is not at rest, can never obtain the Self even by intelligence."

Mr. Maitra then draws a happy parallel between the conception of the God-head by Wordsworth and in the Upanishads :

"The Hindu sage speaks of the joy of knowing God as अनिर्वच्यं—*"ineffable bliss."* (*Kuthopanishad*, 11, 2, 14). And Wordsworth

"was only then
Contented, when with bliss ineffable
He felt the sentiment of Being spread
O'er all that moves and all that seemeth still."

It must have been a precisely similar experience which prompted the aspiration uttered in the opening words of *Ishopanishad* : ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वम्—"All things are to be overspread by God."

Referring to Herbert Spencer's observations that "in the cultivated theology of the present day, a God understood would be no God at all," the lecturer points to the same thought more beautifully expressed in ancient Hindu theology : यो न वेद वेदं न वेद वेदं न वेद वेदं न वेद वेदं—*"I neither do not know it nor know it"*: he among us who understands this, knows it (Brahman)." (*Kenopanishad*, 11, 2) ब्रह्मन् न वेद सः—"It (Brahman) is known to him who thinks he does not know it, not known to him who thinks he knows it." (*Ibid*, 11, 3). The consciousness of the Infinite is not a thing of to-day. It has swept down the ages like a golden stream of thought from the dim past."

Thus noting the points of contrast between Hindu theism and European scepticism, Mr. Maitra proceeds on to discuss how "the realization of God as the One in the many, as immanent in man and nature," is declared by the ancient Hindus "to be a source of abiding peace." He quotes :—

अपाविपादो जवनो गहीता
पश्यत्यवचः स पश्यत्यवचः ।
स वेति वेद्यं न च तस्मात्ति वेत्ता
तमापुरयाम् पुष्टं महानाम् ॥
अवीरवीर्यान् महीती महीयाम्
आत्मा गुह्यायां निहितोऽस्य जनीः ।
तज्जगत् पश्यति बीतभीता
आतुः प्रसादात्प्रहितामनीयम् ॥

"Grasping without hands, hasting without feet, he sees without

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eyes, he hears without ears. He knows all things knowable, but there is no one to know him. They call him the first and great Person. The Self, smaller than small, greater than great, is hidden in the heart of the creature. One who has left all grief behind, sees the Lord, free from desire, and (his) glory, by the grace of the Creator (the Lord)." (*Svetasvaturopanishad*, III, 19, 20.)

निखीऽनित्यानां चेतनश्चेतनाना
मेकीवद्भूनां यो विदधाति कामान् ।
तमात्मन् वेदनुपश्यन्ति धीरा
सोषां शान्तिः शान्तौ नेतरैषाम् ॥

"The Eternal in the transient, the Consciousness of conscious beings, who, though one, fulfils the desires of many,—to the wise who see Him in themselves, not to others, belongs eternal peace." (*Kathopanishad*, II, 2, 13.)

सत्येन सत्यसपसाद्यैष आत्मा
सम्यग् ज्ञानेन ब्रह्मचर्येण नित्यम् ।
अन्तः शरीरे ज्योतिर्गोचोहि शुद्धी
यं पश्यन्ति यतयः स्वीचदीषाः ॥

"By truthfulness, indeed, by penance, right knowledge, and abstinence must that Self be always gained ; the Self whom anchorites purged of their sins see is bright and like a light within the body. (*Mundakopanishad*, III, 1, 5).

न चक्षुषा गृह्यते नापि वाचा
नायोर्देवैः सपसा कर्षणा वा ।
ज्ञानप्रसादेन विपश्चल-
स्तन्मु तं पश्यते निष्कलं ध्यायमानः ॥

"He is not apprehended by the eye, nor by speech, nor by the other senses, nor by penance or good works. When a man's nature has become purified by the serene light of knowledge, he sees that Indivisible one by meditation." (*Ibid*, III, 1. 8.)

"Only a glimpse of the glory of God could have inspired utterances like the following :

न तत्र सूर्योभाति न चन्द्रतारकं
नेमा बिभ्रतीभानि कुर्वीत्यमग्निः ।
तमेवमानं मनुभाति सूर्य
तस्य भासा सर्वमिदं विभाति ॥

"The sun does not shine there, nor the moon and the stars, nor these lightnings, much less this fire. After that shining One does everything shine. All this shines by His light." (*Svetasvaturopanishad*, VI, 14 ; *Mundaka*, II, 2, 10.)

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यतो वाचो निवर्त्तन्ते । अप्राप्यमनसासह ।

आमन्द् ब्रह्मचीविद्याम् । न विनैति कुतश्चन ।

“He who knows the bliss of that Brahman, from whence all speech, with the mind, turns away, unable to reach it, fears nothing.” (*Taittiriyaopanishad*, II, 9.)

यो वै भूमा तत् सुखं नात्ये सुखमस्ति । सूत्रेव सुखम् ।

“The Infinite is bliss. There is no bliss in anything finite. The Infinite only is bliss.” (*Chhandogyaopanishad*, VII, 23.)

Speaking of the affinity of Greek and Indian philosophies the lecturer observes :

“Plato, like the spiritual teachers of ancient India, regards God as the highest object of knowledge, and he views all finite loveliness in the light of the supreme loveliness of God. “In the world of knowledge, the essential Form of Good is the limit of our inquiries, and can barely be perceived ; but, when perceived, we cannot help concluding that it is in every case the source of all that is bright and beautiful.” One can speak thus, only when the light of the Divine Beauty has dawned on one’s soul. And it is in the contemplation of that Beauty that the Hindu and the Greek mind are both awakened to a consciousness of immortality. Communion with the Supreme discloses a relationship too sacred to terminate with earthly life. *Svetasvatara* : तमेव विदित्वातिश्चत्येति, “By knowing Him alone does one pass beyond death.” Plato : “If man had eyes to see the true beauty, the Divine beauty, pure and clear and unalloyed.” “Do you not see that in that communion, only beholding beauty with the eye of the mind, he will be enabled . . . to be immortal.”

Speaking of how the realization of God was effected in the lives of two prominent men of the Brahmo Samaj of India, Principal Maitra observes :—

“It is a matter of the deepest thankfulness to us that in the Brahmo Samaj there have been seekers of God whose inmost experiences are in entire harmony with these precious testimonies on the intimate nature of man’s relationship to God. By example as well as by precept they have taught men to seek abiding peace and joy in communion with the Supreme Being. And this teaching has borne precious fruit in the lives of those from whom it has met with loyal acceptance. The hymns of Rammohan Roy are marked by an austere simplicity of faith. They remind us of the transitoriness of all earthly things and urge us to seek to know the Infinite Spirit pervading all finite things, the one revealed in the

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many. And this faith, at once so simple and lofty, was a source of deepest spiritual joy to this great man. Tears often would flow down his cheeks as he listened to a hymn, and he would sometimes embrace others joyfully in such moments of fervour. The severe moral discipline his faith imposed on him is shown by the fact that prayer was with him a constant habit: he told Miss Hare that whenever an evil thought entered into his mind he prayed. And the great lesson of the life of Devendra Nath Tagore, who breathed a new life into the Brahmo Samaj when it lost all vitality after its founder had passed away, is the deep blessedness of communion with the Infinite. His Autobiography, a work of unique value, is as wonderful a story as any that ever was written of remarkable conversion, brought about by his having suddenly experienced a feeling of heavenly joy and peace, and followed by years of passionate seeking, which was crowned by a lasting union with God. He was the instrument chosen by God for enriching the spiritual life of the Brahmo Samaj with the lesson of communion—a lesson impressed on our minds by a life abounding in wide space of silence and seclusion filled by deep spiritual blessedness. Absorbed in meditation or rapt in communion, he would sometimes entirely forget his surroundings. He would wander far from human habitations along a lone mountain path while darkness spread over the earth, or would remain seated for hours in the open air insensible to the fierce rays of the blazing tropical sun."

The lecturer concludes his soul-stirring speech with the following words on the mission of Universal Theism :—

"A lofty spiritual theism is destined to be the common faith of all humanity. It is true, as we have said before, that there has been religion without a longing for the Infinite. But that longing marks the highest stage in the ascent of faith, and that can not be a universal religion which does not seek to satisfy it. For universal religion must rise to the level of the highest experience of the soul ; it must satisfy the deepest longing of our nature ; it must enable us to know and feel the best that man has known and felt. It is a spiritual law that we are bound to seek the highest that is accessible to us. And the soul of man has risen to the loftiest height, it has known the deepest blessedness only in communion with the Infinite."

ARTICLES

LORD MORLEY AND OUR LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS

In Lord Curzon's time, and generally under the Conservative Administration, our political demands were generally brushed aside, and if ever an explanation was offered we were told that oriental countries were not suited to western methods of administration, that the bureaucracy best understood the requirements of the country, that the educated community did not represent the real mind of the people, and it was the Government and its officials alone that were competent to look after the mute millions of the land, and keep them in peace, contentment and prosperity.

With the advent of the Liberal Government and of him "who once was John Morley" on the field, this point of view was changed. The right of the educated community to voice the opinion of the people was acknowledged, liberal professions were made regarding the rights of the people, and times without number, the intention has been given expression to, which Mr. Mantagu calls 'a desire to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people'.

With such professions there was reason to feel much gratified, and some of Lord Morley's speeches in which he gave expression to these ideas were hailed with gratitude by the people. Now that a few years of Liberal rule have been enjoyed by our people it does not seem that the change has been anything very marvellous.

Before the Partition of Bengal our political demands were summed up in a few resolutions of the Congress. Since the Partition, our aspirations have considerably been extended. Apart from the wild talk about absolute independence and things of that sort, there can be no question that as a people we have learnt to aim at something very high up, in fact at nothing short of Parliamentary government or *swaraj* in the sense in which Mr. Naoroji used it in Calcutta in 1906. But, apart from these, our grievances have been considerably added to during Lord Curzon's days. The Partition of Bengal, the Universities' Act, the Calcutta Municipal Act and other measures have been added to the roll of grievances of which we want redress.

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The Liberal Government may be pardoned if it is not yet prepared to go the whole hog with us in the matter of Indian Home Rule. The idea, though not of quite recent conception—for we read of it in an article in the *Hindu Patriot* of 1858—has not been sufficiently general till recently, and in such matters it takes a great deal of time before ideas are well infused into the mind of those who rule a State. Even in England the Reform Bill took a great deal of time and the Irish Home Rulers are still fighting their battles with the end not yet in sight. But judged by these professions it would be pardonable to expect that the Liberal Government would go some length in meeting our demands which are more than a decade old and some of them as old as a quarter of a century.

Now let us look at the facts. Take first our demand for an expansion of the Legislative Councils. One of the first things that the Liberal Government recognised was the justice of our demands in this respect. Let it be said to the credit of Lord Morley that in his famous despatch on the subject his Lordship gave expression to wholesome liberal principles on the subject and if those were realised in practice it would indeed have been a great step forward towards recognising our claims to self-government. But one by one those noble principles were whittled down, and when the Indian Councils Act was passed it was regarded with great trepidation by the representatives of the people. For not only had Lord Morley fully accepted the pernicious principle of class representation, but the principles enunciated in the Act were left to be worked out into a practical scheme by regulations framed by the Government of India. This new method of legislation, where the greater and the most essential part of the measure is left to be worked out by the bureaucracy, has been very strongly condemned by legal journals in England as tending to throw dust into the eyes of the popular legislature and add to the growing powers of the Bureaucracy. In the case of India such procedure might naturally give rise to the gravest apprehensions. And the event showed that those apprehensions were not unfounded. For the Reforms which were actually carried into effect were a most ridiculous travesty of Lord Morley's original intentions and constituted more a retrograde step than a forward move. Under this scheme the representatives of the general body of people are nowhere ; the majority of the seats are filled on a scheme which is, if possible, worse than nomination. The members of the Councils generally feel that they are there to look after special interests and the *general interests* of the community

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more often than not go by the board. The result would be that as time goes on there would not only be nothing in the Council to regulate or check the acts of the bureaucracy but these special interests must needs come into sharp conflict with one another in such a way as to lead at no distant time to a grave political situation. The Council is now, as it ever was, a merely advisory body. Even as such, it is not in a position by reason of the disproportionate distribution of seats to give expression to the opinion of the people at large. Besides the opinion of the people which the Councils are supposed to represent would be reduced by a process of triple filtration to something altogether different from the opinion of the people at large. The opinion of the majority of the Council would be as true a reflection of public opinion as the image on mirrors in a Laughing Gallery.

The fact of it is that the people have been sorely disappointed. When Lord Morley's Reform Despatch was published, the leaders of moderate opinion hailed it with almost unmeasured delight. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal on the other hand characterised the reforms as 'political lolly-pops.' There can be no question that the moderate leaders were right and Mr. Pal was wrong in the view they took of Lord Morley's despatch. But the Government of India has done everything in their power to justify Mr. Pal's opinion and to discredit the moderate leaders in the eyes of their countrymen.

The separation of judicial and executive functions was the next matter taken up, and a feeble attempt was made at an experiment, as if the experiment was never yet made in the history of the world or even in the administration of India. But so was the experiment conducted that the most vital principles underlying the idea were set at defiance. The only thing that seems to have been done was the reduplication of the post of the District Officer, leaving the rest of the present system intact. The idea was wrong to start with. The essential part of the scheme is that the entire administrative machinery should be separated from the judicial system with the High Court at its head. Without this the scheme of allotting judicial work alone to some officers who now perform both judicial and executive functions would be merely fruitless expenditure. That is what the Government seems to have found it out to mean and the result is that the scheme of separation is permitted to hang fire indefinitely.

Then we shall take up the question of free primary education. We were told that we were to have free primary education. It has

however all ended in smoke.* Our persistent demands for the improvement of the administrative machinery guiding higher education has not been attended to and the bureaucratic control over education is daily growing tighter.

The Partition of Bengal, the sorest grievance in the heart of our people, remains where it was for no more cogent reasons than that it is a 'settled fact,' although it could be proved to the hilt that

* In March last Mr. Gokhale moved a resolution in the Viceregal Legislative Council "recommending that a beginning should be made in the direction of making education free and compulsory throughout the country." In stating that the Government of India could not accept the resolution Sir Harvey Adamson, then Home Member of the Executive, mentioned that two or three years ago, when the finances of the country were more prosperous than at present, a suggestion of Mr. Gokhale's that fees in primary schools should be remitted was referred to the local Governments, and they had very carefully ascertained the opinions of educational officers and other authorities. The reports of the local Governments have now been published in a Blue-book extending over 300 pages, and the weight of testimony is decidedly against the proposal.

Both Sir George Clarke and Sir John Hewett, probably the two ablest heads of provincial administrations in India at the present time, are opposed to the change. The Bombay Government consider that the freeing of primary education would be premature and harmful to the extension of education. The "strongest hope" is expressed that the Government of India will not press upon the Presidency the adoption of a scheme which, in view of the present paucity of schools and the wretched circumstances of the majority of the teaching staff, might produce results little short of disastrous. Similarly the Commissioner in Sind—administratively a portion of the Bombay Presidency—observes that there is ample scope for the expenditure of any additional funds that Government are likely to be in a position to allot to primary education on such objects as the further multiplication of schools and the provision of better paid teachers, better accommodation, and better appliances of all kinds, all of which are undoubted and crying needs.

In the United Provinces report, Sir John Hewett points out that, while in England an illiterate man is hopelessly handicapped in earning his daily bread, in India for the great majority of the population literacy is not a necessity. He does not believe that any appreciable number of would-be scholars are kept away from school owing to the levy of fees. The fees in the lower primary stage vary from three pies (a farthing) to one anna (a penny) per month, and rarely exceed one anna in the upper stage. The making of education free would not reach the very large class who are indifferent to the benefits of instruction, and who keep children at home to earn a living, nor would it reach the still larger class that have no school at hand to which to send their children. If the State gives primary education free, it should be empowered to require that every child should avail himself or herself of it, and that before education can be made either free or compulsory it must be general.

The view of the Punjab Government is that the chief *desideratum* is to afford additional facilities to the children of agriculturists, instead of relieving the classes who now pay school fees. The Bengal, the Burma, and the Central Provinces Governments are also quite opposed to the project. The Madras Government consider that the possibility of giving effect to the scheme depends very largely upon the financial aid which the Government of India will be able to offer, and they point out that a largely increased grant to the provincial revenues would be required. The Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam report that local opinion is favourable to the abolition of fees, though many experienced persons are doubtful of the ultimate results, viewed from the financial standpoint. The report of the North-West Frontier Government, in the name of the late Sir Harold Deane, observes that the short-sightedness of the agricultural classes as to education will be remedied by time, and it may well be that the establishment of free elementary schools will in itself hasten the day of wider appreciation.

LORD MORLEY AND OUR ASPIRATIONS

divided Bengal could with ease be reunited without unsettling any of the settled facts very seriously.

Our claim for reduction of military expenditure and home charges and our demand for placing the salary of the Secretary of State on the British estimates have been quietly ignored and all talk about the drain on India on account of home-charges, which was quite legitimate politics in Lord George Hamilton's time, has been ferretted out within recent times as blatant sedition which must be put down by drastic repressive measures.

There is only one matter in which Lord Morley's Government may well claim to have made a generous attempt to satisfy popular demands, viz. in the employment of Indians to the higher offices of the State. It is true that with one or two exceptions the choice has fallen on people who have definitely set their face against popular opinion, but still the anxious solicitude displayed by Lord Morley for the employment of Indians to all offices—a solicitude which is perhaps far more displayed in appointments which do not come under the public gaze than in those that do—for this Lord Morley deserves our most grateful thanks.

Looking at this catalogue of the achievements of the Liberal Government, even without considering the considerable set-off that must be made against it on account of measures that have deprived the people of cherished rights which they obtained under British rule—even without this set-off it would seem there is precious little in all this to rouse enthusiasm to lend colour to professions about meeting the legitimate aspirations of the people or to the programme of rallying the moderates which Lord Morley put forward some time ago. But looking at it more closely there is very little in all this to wonder at. For has not the Under-Secretary of State added the important adjunct of 'legitimate' to the aspirations which the Government wants to satisfy? Now, who is to judge which aspiration is 'legitimate' and which not? Surely the Government; and it may very well be that the Government does not look upon our demands in these respects as 'legitimate.'

I think this answer would be a perfect settler. For if you keep to the government the discretion of deciding what aspiration of the people is legitimate and which not, you may perhaps complain that the Government has not properly exercised its discretion, but you cannot say that because the Government has not satisfied a particular aspiration, it has gone back upon its promises or professions. It would be far different if the Government were to say that it would satisfy popular demands as such without

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considering whether it is legitimate or not. That is the true liberal principle, but that is not what the Liberal Government has ever possessed to apply to India. We want of course that this principle should be applied, but if we want this aspiration to be satisfied we should have to show that it is legitimate, so that we are in the predicament of a man seeking to outstrip his own shadow.

If we cannot say that Lord Morley and his Liberal supporters have not acted up to their promises with regard to India we can perhaps say that they have not acted in the precise manner in which people would expect them to act. We may point out that in refusing to accept our programme and to satisfy our demands Lord Morley has not acted up to his principles of his younger days, that in according his sanction to repressive measures of the sort that have been introduced into the country within the past three years and in sanctioning the deportation of people without a trial or the least suggestion of a charge against them he has flatly contradicted the principles of his life-time. Mr. Wedgewood was perfectly justified in deploring on a recent occasion in the House of Commons the fall of "who once was John Morley" and we are sure that but for the personal physical identity, posterity would fail to recognise in the present Secretary of State for India, the Editor of the *Pull Mall Gazette* and the champion of Ireland, the disciple of John Stuart Mill, and the confidential adviser of Gladstone.

This charge had been made before and Lord Morley's answer is a matter of public history. The only thing that Lord Morley could say in reply was : " I have thought over the matter and I find that my anchor holds." One may be pardoned if he refuses to accept the *ipse dixit* of even Lord Morley on his own moral consistency. When people fall from eminence by slow stages the retrograde motion is better discerned by on-lookers than the subject himself. In such a predicament the illusion of the anchor holding is a common failing and is often not a very safe guide. This attitude of Lord Morley reminds us of a story we have often heard of a very worldly man who had permitted himself an indulgence by way of playing chess. While he was absorbed in the game, Fortune was daily slipping out of his fingers. One day the crash came. He was deep in a most difficult game when a kindly neighbour brought him the information that his great barn had caught fire. The poor man started up at the communication, but instantly calmed down and observed with a most confident smile " But ah ! I have got the key with me !"

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It was an evil day for him when Lord Morley sat at the chess board of the India Office. When the bank of his political principles is making a bonfire big enough to startle the rest of the world, he sits still in the perfect confidence that his 'anchor holds.'

Nares C. Sen Gupta

SOME ASPECTS OF THE INDIAN ECONOMIC PROBLEM

It is a happy sign of the times that in our country people are paying today more attention to the discussion of economic problems than they were hitherto doing. Until recently the only fields of our public activity were religion, social reform, and politics. Men who have become famous in the recent history of our country are those who have fought for improvements in our religion, or for the reform of our society or the development of our political liberties. None of our distinguished publicists came forward until a few years ago to elevate the economic condition of our people or to offer solutions for the difficult economic problems of our country. It was only incidentally that these problems were discussed on the platform of the National Congress, and even then the political leaders confined themselves naturally to questions of public finance—national taxation, national expenditure, the administration of the railways and the like. But now a change has come upon us. The economic problem, the problem of the poverty of the Indian nation, is engaging the attention of the people of our country. There is everywhere the idea that with the industrial regeneration of our country our greatness as a nation will become firmly established. Our public men now speak more frequently on industrial questions; our journals are more active than ever in offering solutions to our economic difficulties. There is an ambition on the part of many Indian students to form a separate school of economics with a definite industrial policy formulated for the permanent welfare of the country. More than all these, the rise of factories, the construction of mills, the revival of cottage industries, the introduction of new industries, all these go to prove that the industrial problem is receiving more attention now than ever. The formation of co-operative credit societies, of agricultural banks, of joint-stock companies, and the rise of a number of Indian banks, prove that the people are growing more and more active in the economic sphere.

One cause of our increased economic activity is very clear.

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We have now come into contact with nations who are economically more advanced than we are. There can be no difference of opinion on the subject that the nations of the West, especially the English and the American, possess better organisations for the development of their material resources than we have. Machinery up to date in character, the system of joint-stock companies, the existence of a separate class of employers of capital and labour, the various institutions of banking and insurance are a few of the many advantages which they possess over us. In these respects we are far behind them. The result is that when we come into contact with them as we actually do now, we are not able to compete with them successfully. It is the sense and knowledge of our failure in competition with the more efficient races that is the cause of our increased activity at the present day.

A sudden shock has been as it were given to the stability and the conservatism of our society. Peasants and farmers, who were hitherto content with the time-honoured methods of production, are now eager—though it be to a small extent—to introduce improvements into their industries; the people in the rural tracts and villages, who hitherto produced commodities only for immediate and direct consumption, now produce commodities for a wider market and are bent upon selling their produce for the largest amount of profit. A ryot is not merely a cultivator of the soil but also a trader, and sometimes also a speculator. This change in the methods of production and in the characteristics of the producers is perhaps the one direct outcome of our contact with the West. And then not only has a shock been given to the conservative instincts in us, but, taking the country as a whole, the struggle for existence has grown keener. People work harder, earn more money, but are not able to satisfy their wants even though they have not changed their standard of life in many cases. In other cases however there has been a growth in the wants of the people, and the resources at their command and their activities have not kept pace with these wants. It is from circumstances like these that difficulties have arisen in our country. Unless we adopt the more efficient methods of production, unless we are able to satisfy our wants, we are sure to be defeated in our struggle for existence. How to do this is the economic problem which has been engaging the minds of our public men during the last few years.

It was at first thought that a study of western economics would enable us to overcome this difficulty; and the Government, as is well known, took its motto from the policy of the British liberals

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and the Manchester school and rigidly adhered to these doctrines as it still does at the present day. But soon it came to be recognised that Indian conditions are quite different from those of Europe, and the policy to be adopted must likewise be different. The late Mr. Ranade insisted upon this and many others followed him. And today it is well that we all realise the essential difference between the economic problem in India and the economic problem in the West.

To the people of the west the problem relates specially to the distribution of wealth. The material resources of those countries have been so well developed, and the forces and the agents of production so well organised, that the amount of wealth produced has grown by leaps and bounds and the nations of the West are to-day many times richer than their ancestors of a hundred years ago. Among them there has been a growth in the wants, but there was also a simultaneous growth in their activities so that they have been able to satisfy their wants. But to them the difficulty occurred in a quite different sphere. The influence of the capitalists has grown enormously ; in the industrial world they have become relatively stronger ; and the competition between them and the labourers employed by them has been a competition not between equals and therefore the capitalists have, so far, been always successful in the struggle. Though the labourers are getting more wages now than before they are not getting according to their deserts. Hence the conflict between capital and labour. This has given birth to socialism. In one word, therefore, the economic problem in the West is this : the total amount of wealth produced is very large, but owing to some derangement in the working of the economic organism it is not equitably distributed between the capitalists and the labourers ; the labourers try to get more and the capitalists to give less. How to restore harmony between the two is the question daily discussed in industrial centres and constitutes a principal economic problem.

But to us in India the problem is of a far more fundamental character. The population is growing ; the wants of the people are also increasing ; but the amount of wealth produced in the country is not equal either to satisfy the new wants created, or to maintain the increasing population at the old standard of comfort. The people are growing poorer and they are also growing miserable. It is not so much as one class of people growing poorer and the other class growing richer but the fact is that a whole nation is growing poorer day by day. What should be done in order to make our country wealthier, to raise the standard of comfort among our

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people, and to make them less miserable and more happy ? This is *our* problem, and clearly it is quite different from the problem in the West. Hence the inadequacy of the solutions offered by the economic conditions of the West.

That there has been a growth in the wants of our people, and that many of our people are unable even to maintain their old standard of living is clear. Statistics would help us a great deal in investigating this question in detail but all the statistics required are not available. There are so many articles—necessaries, comforts and luxuries,—the want of which we now intensely feel and the utility of which was unknown to people forty or fifty years back. In food, in housing, in dress, and in general enjoyment our needs have become more numerous. Tea, coffee, cocoa, cigarettes, aerated waters and liquors ; the chairs, tables and other household furniture ; the different kinds of dress we wear ; the newspaper, the theatre, the circus and railway travel ; these are so many sources of our enjoyment which we deem indispensable for maintaining our self respect and dignity in society today. But there are other cases where our people are not able to maintain their accustomed standard of comfort and to provide themselves with the simple needs of life. The rise in the price of commodities and especially of the necessities of life, the frequency of the famines, the growth of towns and the temptations amidst which the poor and the ignorant millions generally lead their lives, make it much more difficult for the majority of the population to escape from frequent starvation.

This being the economic problem in India it has manifested itself in various aspects. To some it is the problem of the unemployment of labour ; to others it is a problem of the absence of diversity in the industries of our country ; to some others it is one of wastefulness of labour encouraged by the uneconomic method of poor relief and charity prevailing in the land, and to others again it is mainly a problem of finance, the problem of the 'drain'. Every one of these and many other aspects have to be considered before the problem could be understood in its full significance.

We have so far recognised that there is a wide disparity between our wants and our activities. Our activities are very few and they are not of a very high order of excellence. And therefore we are not able through them to satisfy our growing needs. The question to be discussed is, wherein lies this defect ? Is it in the nature and the physical features of our country, or in the nature of the people inhabiting the land, or in the laws and customs followed by

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the nation, or in any other source which we have not yet discovered ? Students of even the elementary principles of economics, and even those who are not acquainted with this subject at all, know that there are some agents of production and that the poverty of nations is to be attributed to some defects existing either in these agents or in their organisation for productive purposes. Land, labour, and capital must preserve a certain degree of efficiency, and must be capable of growing more efficient before a country could become rich and remain prosperous ; these must be utilised skilfully in order that a maximum amount of benefit might be gained from the minimum amount of labour. These general principles must be borne in mind before we investigate into some aspects of our economic problem.

India, according to general opinion and the opinion even of scientific experts, is a country abounding in all natural resources—fertile land, rich mines, navigable rivers, thick forests, and other like gifts of nature. Then the population in the country is very large ; the labourers are industrious, simple in their life, and economical in spending their incomes. And comparatively speaking labour in India is very cheap. Everywhere there are large numbers of people available for work at a low rate of wages. Only if an enterprising and expert business man with a large amount of capital at his disposal comes forward to employ the labourers, then the natural resources of the country may be developed to a much greater extent, the country grow richer, and the standard of life made higher. Under the present state of circumstances prevailing in the country, these two factors seem to be essential before there can be any great economic advancement. Enterprise and capital are the two factors, and it is the absence of these more than any other thing that has led to the impoverishment of the people.

That these two factors are wanting does not require a large amount of effort to understand. The very fact that the natives of the country tried little to develop the material resources of the land, that inspite of the cheapness of labour the rich mines have not at all been worked by them, goes to show that we are wanting in enterprise. We have left everything to be done by foreigners ; the richest merchants in the country are foreigners ; the richest mining companies are foreign in origin ; the rich estates of tea and coffee are worked by foreigners. And then we have another spectacle to be seen everywhere. Large numbers of unemployed labourers are found throughout the country ; but we always hear of the complaint that labour is wanting in factories. This shows that labour is immobile, that no one has the enterprise to leave

his home, to go from place to place in search of his fortune, and take opportunity of the demand there is for labour. Our view is very limited ; our world is circumscribed and narrow. It is this want of enterprise that is in a great way responsible for our poverty.

M. Venkatarangaiya

SOME VILLAGE DEITIES IN THE SOUTH

Angalamman is the special deity of the Sembadavans and the pujari at this temple belongs to that caste. Sembadavans are fresh-water fishermen and boatmen. Angalamman has a famous temple at Malaiyanur and at Sittalur in the South Arcot District ; and she, according to Sembadavans legend, is or was a girl of their community with whom Siva once fell in love. They state that they were thence called Sivan-padavan, (Siva's boat-men), and that the name Sembadavan is a corruption of this term. The annual festival to Angalamman, which takes place in February or March at the said villages, is of much local repute. The festival is availed of as a favourable occasion for the exorcising of evil spirits. Women who are "possessed of devils", in the inexplicable manner so common in this country—the letters of the Jesuit priests in *La Mission du Madure* give many striking instances of its prevalence in their time—are believed to obtain relief from the affliction by going to the burning-ground at Angalamman's feast, and seizing and gnawing the human bones found lying there. It is also stated that the risk of falling under the influence of uncanny spirits may be warded off beforehand in the same manner. The village of Malaiyanur is the place of the largest cattle-fair at the time of the big annual festival, and Mr. Francis considers that this is the biggest market in the district, those at Tiruvannamalai and Mailam coming after this in their magnitude. An unusual item in the events at her festival at Malaiyanur is the *smasana kollai*, "looting in the burning-ground." The people who go to the feast cook large quantities of grain of various kinds, and this is all set out in the burning-ground and offered to the goddess, who is brought there. Then a signal is given, and all those present scramble wildly for the food and each carries off as much of it as he or she can seize.

In the words of Mr. Francis,—“Temples to Angalamman are guarded by a 'Viran' called Pavadai Rayan. Several different stories are told to account for his origin, but they agree in declar-

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ing that he was a great devotee of the goddess, and gave his life to please her. The usual version says that he was out hunting one day and accidentally shot an arrow into an ant-hill in which she happened to be living. He took a pick-axe and began digging out the arrow, and in so doing he unwittingly wounded the goddess, of whose presence there he was unaware. Overcome with remorse, he asked what he could do to atone for his sin. The deity replied that he could get her some food, as she was hungry. Instantly he disembowelled himself with the pick-axe and offered her his vitals. Angalamman was so pleased with his devotion that she ordered him always to remain near her, and his image consequently invariably appears outside her shrine. His influence with her is supposed to be still so considerable that he takes an important part in the casting out of the devils who are exorcised by her powers."

Among a number of minor deities worshipped by all classes of Hindus in the south are Aiyandar and Madurai-Viran. Aiyandar is extremely popular as a village deity in the district of Madura and South Arcot. He always resides in a sacred grove, no twig of which can be removed on any pretence, and in front of his shrine are usually found a number of horses, elephants and other animals made of pottery placed there by the devout to assist him in his nightly peregrinations in the village. The Kusavans, "the potters," whose special duty is to do puja in Aiyandar's temples, make the earthen horses and images which are placed before these buildings. Outside the Aiyandar temples are seated a set of guardian demons with dread-inspiring appearances.

Madurai-Viran is a deified hero. He is the deification of a historical character, a man who was a servant of one of the poligars of Madura and after of Tirumalai Naidu, the great king of that town. Before the shrine of Madurai-Viran devils are exorcised from men and women. Madurai Viran is perhaps the most generally worshipped deity. Curiously enough, Madurai-Viran is held in much less honor in Madura, his own country, than in South Arcot. His little shrine just north of the eastern entrance to the great temple at Madura is held in considerable repute and children are often named after him and his famous wife, Bommi.

The precise character of these deities (Aiyandar and Madurai-Viran), both collectively and individually, is very differently represented. These deities have special temples and images; but sometimes the temple is merely an unenclosed clearing under a tree, the place of an image being often taken by a spear fixed

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upright in the ground. Mere bricks, however, and sometimes even the tree itself are adored as representing the spirit. These deities can only be successfully propitiated by the sacrifice of fowls and goats, but others of them (Angalamman is one for instance) dislike the sight of the blood when, therefore, as often happens, their images exist in close proximity and the offering up of a living animal to one of them is necessary, a curtain is hung before the shrine of any of them which disapprove of such rites so that they may not see what is going on. Some account of these deities has been given in the *Gazetteer* of South Arcot, in which district they are even more popular, and the description being generally applicable to these deities in Madura, is repeated here below.

"Aiyanar is undoubtedly one of the early aboriginal gods of the Dravidians. So popular is he, however, with the masses—there can be hardly a village in South Arcot which has not a shrine to him—that the Brahmins have taken him into the orthodox Hindu pantheon and given him an Aryan pedigree, saying that he is the son of Siva and Vishnu (when the latter was once a woman for a period) and calling him in consequence Harihara-putra. His abode, as described before, is either a rude temple or a spot marked by a trident or an image and is always in a sacred grove. It is heinous sacrilege to remove even a twig of these groves and they have often in consequence grown into impenetrable thickets which show what forest the country would produce if only it was left in peace for a few generations.* Besides the god are usually images of his two wives, Puramai and Pudkalai (or Poikalai,) outside his shrine stand a number of great figures of Virans, or demons, and with them are the numerous horses, elephants, tigers, and other animals which are characteristic of his shrines and have been provided for him by those whose vows to him have been heard and answered. His duty is to guard the village from harm and he rides round it at night on the vehicles the pious have thus provided and sees that all is well. It is unlikely to meet him when he is so engaged and in consequence his shrine is always at some little distance from the village.

"In big towns the worship to him may be perfunctory, but in the smaller villages it is performed daily with a primitive piety which is impressive. As the twilight gathers, the pujari rings a little bell at the shrine, and at the sound the villagers wend their

*See, for example, the typical Aiyanar temple and grove just beyond the fourth milestone from Cuddalore on the Nellikuppam Road. The crowd of white chickens which have been dedicated to this god and flock about the entrance to the grove and under the big banyan opposite constitute an unusual sight.

SOME VILLAGE DEITIES IN THE SOUTH

way to the place. The congregation assembled, the priest sprinkles water over the images of the god and his two wives, places flowers upon them, and burns camphor before them, making many obeisances as each act is carried out. The simple ceremonies concluded, he hands round to the line of villagers a tray of holy ash, and each man solemnly places a little of this between his brows and on either side of his neck and silently goes his way.

“The horses and elephants which are the sign of an Aiyanar shrine are often expensive affairs of wood, stone or painted brick and chunam twenty feet high and more, the cost of which runs to as much as Rs. 200. Simpler offerings are smaller images, some eight feet or so in height made by the village potters of hollow burnt clay. Sometimes—as at Mailam in Tindivanam Taluk and Veludaiyanpattu in Cuddalore—huge sandals are presented to the god for use in his nocturnal wanderings and are hung to the trees in front of his shrine. *Exvoto* figures of children who are supposed to have been granted by him in answer to the prayers of childless wives, of legs and arms and other portions of the body which he is supposed to have cured of pain, and of people of all ages and both sexes who have been freed from disease by his good offices are also to be found among the horses and elephants, and the total number of all these images will often run into scores and even hundreds.

“Besides guarding the village and delivering those afflicted by sickness, Aiyanar is also held in some villages (Mavadandal, three miles east of Vriddhachalam, is an instance) to have the privilege and power of settling disputes. One of the two contending parties draws up in due legal form a statement of his case. ‘The petition of X, of the village of Y, against A, of the village of B, hereby sheweth : Whereas’, etc., etc., and affixes it to the trident of the Aiyanar’s shrine. If his petition is true and he has justice on his side, the other party, it is believed, will soon (unless he speedily comes to terms) find himself, his relations or his property afflicted with some evil. A settlement is accordingly usually made without loss of time before the god, and is ratified by offerings at his shrine.

“The Virans, or demons, outside Aiyanar’s shrines are enormous figures of painted brick and plaster of semi-human shape but possessing fearsome attributes such as huge dog-teeth and so forth. They are usually put up in fulfilment of vows and there are several kinds of them, each with its own name and story. They are Aiyanar’s servants and their duty is to go round the village with him at nights. The most popular of them is Madurai-Viran,

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or the demon of Madura. There is very little doubt that he is an actual historical personage, and probably the others are similarly men who from their striking personalities or their devotion to the deity have been raised to the position of lesser gods. Madurai-Viran's life and adventures are even now dramatised and acted at festivals to Aiyanar. The popular account of him, which is confirmed in part by one of the Mackenzie mss., says that he was a servant of Bomma Nayak, a poligar who was one of the 72 chiefs placed in charge of the 72 bastions of Madura. He ran away one day with his master's daughter, Bomma Nayak, and being pursued by the enraged father and a force of men, slew them all with his own hands. His images now usually represent him with Bomma Nayak at his side and the head of her father under one of his feet. Viran afterwards entered the service of the Nayaks of Trichinopoly and Madura and did several deeds of daring, such as clearing of Kallar highwaymen the road which ran between the two towns, repelling an attack on Madura and so forth. He finally became the trusted lieutenant of the great Tirumalai Nayak, ruler of Madura."

Draupadi is the special favourite deity of the Pallis who call themselves Vennikula Kshatriyas or Agnikula (fire-race) Kshatriyas, and even go the length of declaring that they are Brahmans. Draupadi temple is the scene of an annual fire-walking festival in the district of Madura. The shrine at Sholavandan, a village twelve miles west of Madura on the South Indian Railway line, is famous for this festival which attracts a large concourse of people chiefly from the surrounding districts. Fire-walking is often performed at the shrines of Draupadi in almost all the Districts south of Madras.

Draupadi, as is well known, was the joint wife of the five Pandava brothers of the Mahabharata. The eldest of these was named Dharmaraj. His image frequently appears in Draupadi's temples, which are consequently often known as Dharmaraja kovils. They are very numerous in the southern districts, and the priest at them is very generally a Palli by caste and Pallis take the leading part in the ceremonies at them. The Pallis say it is because both the Pandava brothers and themselves were born of fire they are therefore related to one another. Outside the buildings is often found a figure of Pothuraja, "the king of buffaloes," a person of ferocious aspect who holds a dagger in his right hand and a human head in his left. The stories accounting for his connection with Draupadi are varied and conflicting and none authentic; and hence they are not of much historical importance.

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Festivals to Draupadi always involves two points of ritual—the recital, or acting, of a part of the Mahabharata (which sometimes lasts for as many as ten consecutive days), and a fire-walking ceremony. The first of these is usually done by the Pallis, who are very fond of the great epic and many of whom know it uncommonly well. The second, the fire-walking—the more serious ordeal of the two—is appropriated to a feast to Draupadi, because she used to live one year with each of her five husbands in turn, and at the end of that period she purified herself by passing through fire. The rite is performed with all ceremony at all her shrines. It has lately been introduced at the festivals to some of the other goddesses, but, in such cases, the fire-pit must be lit with a brand brought from a Draupadi temple. The fire-walking is done by Mahomedans during the Mohurram. A short description of the method of fire-walking will not be out of place here. A pit is dug 20 feet long by 20 feet wide and logs of wood and coal are thrown into it : when this pit is lighted, people walk over it just in the usual way. That is the whole process and no one has ever been seen to be hurt by it and it is on account of this fact, it is believed, that the authorities have taken no steps to stop it. Abbe Dubois says that “others, whose weak limbs do not permit of their running over the hot embers, cover the upper part of the body with a wet cloth, and holding a chafing dish filled with burning coal, pour the contents over their head. This feat of devotion is called the fire-bath.” I have not seen this in the fire-walking ceremonies I saw in more than half-a-dozen places, nor have I heard of such a custom, or an equivalent term in Tamil. The persons selected to undergo the ordeal observe rigid fasting for a few days before the ceremony takes place.

The practice of taking oath before these shrines to settle disputes is common. The party makes a solemn affidavit of the truth of his case in the presence of the goddess, holding some burning camphor on his hand. Having made his statement, he blows out the flame with the object that if he is lying the goddess will snuff him out in the same manner.

P. R. Venkatesala Naidu

The Progress of the Indian Empire

PROVINCE BY PROVINCE

BENGAL

One need feel no hesitation whatever in congratulating the promoters of the United Bengal Provincial Conference on the success of their enterprise. Yes, it was an enterprise indeed, considering the difficulties they had to face and the demoralization they had to contend against. Among a very wide class of educated people, thanks to the terrorists and the political dacoits, politics has become taboo today ; with others indifference and apathy remains as thick as ever. Not a very inconsiderable class is held back by the fears of the Government and the prying inquisitiveness of the Criminal Intelligence Department. Under circumstances such as these, the success of a provincial conference almost reads like a phenomenal achievement. Calcutta or, for the matter of that, any other town in these provinces has gone without any public meeting for a long time, and if the Provincial Conference had done nothing more than to break the monotony of this silence it should have deserved public congratulation. But the last Conference has done something more than that ; it has succeeded in reviving public interest on many questions of public interest, and enabled the leaders to take their followers in the country into their confidence regarding these matters. It is really unfortunate that, along with the anarchists and extremists, the constitutional party in these provinces have equally felt the pressure of repression ; it was an evil day that Sir Lancelot Hare took into his head to suppress the various district Conferences which were being organised in several districts of Eastern Bengal during the last spring. The people were therefore generally under the impression that it was not the suppression of this or that party which the Government really intended, but the suppression of all public opinion in these provinces which was really the object it aimed at. It is therefore a matter of great pleasure to record the fact that the Conference has successfully disabused the public mind of such erroneous and unjust impressions. That public meetings organised by the moderate party are allowed to be held within the jurisdiction of Sir Edward Baker and are prohibited on the Eastern side of the Ganges is in itself one of the strongest facts against the Partition of Bengal which we urge on the attention of Lord Morley.

PROGRESS OF INDIAN EMPIRE (BENGAL)

However that be, we are glad that the provincial Conference has been held at all and has freely expressed itself on every important public question of the day. The resolutions adopted by the Conference did not mince matters any way, and covered a wide field of administrative and political questions. Of course, most of the speeches were of the usual clap-trap sort and were more of a declamatory and denunciatory character than of an informing or illuminating sort. It may be a rather large order to expect sane and sober speeches in an atmosphere charged with electricity and in a province where emotion always gets the better of judgment. Some of the speeches were clearly tinged with a touch of extremism. On the whole, the atmosphere was much clearer than in the previous three conferences, and the speeches delivered were not half so silly as those which were allowed to be made either at Hughly or Pubna. The resolutions adopted in the last Conference were happily more clearly worded and tersely put than in any other previous session of the Conference. There was no ambiguity or vagueness about them nor any asking for the moon. Though for ourselves we do not see the necessity or utility of a resolution for the extension of a system of self-government like that of the British colonies in this country just at the present moment, we do not think it is quite the "give us the moon" sort of a demand, notwithstanding what Mr. Valentine Chirol has to say on our fitness for self-government. The one item in the list of resolutions which we cannot comprehend, and which we have tried often to understand without much avail, is a demand for a system of national education 'on national lines and under national control'. We have repeatedly urged in these pages that education is perhaps the last subject in the world which can be, or should be, run on 'national lines'; and if there will be people so disposed as still to indulge in the luxury of education on 'national lines' they must also, in that case, be prepared to take the consequences in a 'national' spirit of resignation.

Coming now to the speeches of the chairman of the Reception Committee and the President of the Conference one finds with a certain amount of surprise the closeness of the grounds covered by them. Both dwelt on anarchism and police rule. Both made some very sensible observations on the Reform Regulations; and while Mr. Ambica Charan Mozumdar had a good deal to say about the Partition, Rai Yatindra Nath Chaudhury made no mention of it. The Partition still remains the greatest grievance of the Bengalee people, no matter whether it is looked upon by our Anglo-Indian critics

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as either 'a dead ass' or a 'King Charles' head', and the President of the Conference would have ignored one of his primary functions if he had not given adequate expression to the public feeling on the subject. No sane man can take any exception to the very pregnant observations Mr. Mozumdar made on the question and his criticism of this measure bears an air of freshness and vigour. On the police, and particularly on the Criminal Intelligence Department, Mr. Mozumdar has been a little bit too hard. Certainly it is difficult to speak with any amount of restraint on the conduct of these two departments, with no end of house-searches and arrests going on without any sense of discrimination or propriety. But still it must not be forgotten that they are doing their duty under exceptionally trying circumstances, and an unsparing condemnation of them indirectly tend to encourage anarchy and the forces against law and order.

Of course the best speech in the Conference, both as regards matter and form, was the one delivered by Mr. Surendranath Banerjea in the Conference on the last day. Rising to move a vote of thanks to the trusted and veteran leader of East Bengal, the President of the Conference, Mr. Banerjea availed himself of the opportunity to traverse the entire range of contemporary politics from the unrest down to swadeshi and the partition. Speaking of the unrest, Mr. Banerjea said : " Sir, I know of no higher achievement of the British rule, no nobler or more beneficent memorial of British administration, than the great intellectual and moral awakening which is visible in our midst. It is the proudest temple of British rule in India." Nearly three-quarters of a century ago Macaulay had anticipated this result of Western education and and Sir T. Madhava Rao characterised in similar words the organisation of the Indian National Congress at Madras in 1887. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea proceeded with characteristic vigour to denounce violence and defend constitutional methods of agitation, offering to all young men in the country some very sane and wholesome advice with a view to arrange the social forces so as to render the recurrence of dastardly crimes impossible. Referring to the Partition, Mr. Banerjea said :—

" It has been said by the veracious correspondent of the *Times* that the sentiment about the Partition is on the wane, apparently because the manifestations of feeling about it have not been so frequent. You enact a law which, to put it very mildly, discourages public meetings, you proclaim whole districts,—and then you say that the feeling against the Partition has disappeared. The trans-

PROGRESS OF INDIAN EMPIRE (BENGAL)

parent dishonesty of such a plea must be apparent to the most obtuse."

Considering the apathy that has recently come over Bengal in the matter of the Congress, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea deserves the thanks of all patriotic workers in the country for the eloquent appeal he made to the delegates of the Conference to attend the next session of the Congress at Allahabad in large numbers. "By remaining aloof, you cannot influence the Congress. By joining it in considerable force you cannot fail to guide its deliberations. Bengal has contributed not a little to the upbuilding of the Congress. Are we going to go back upon our work and undo it?" In three months' time, we shall see the response made to this appeal.

The Report of the Bengal Co-operative Credit Societies for the year 1909-10 has just been published and reveals a very encouraging condition of things and phenomenal development. In 1905-06 there were 4 limited liability urban societies and 53 cash rural societies with a membership of 2606 and a total capital of Rs. 32,000. In 1906-07 the number of cash rural societies had increased by 120, bringing the total of all societies to 181 with 7884 members, and a total capital of Rs. 1,10,000. In 1907-08, there were 9 limited liability and 10 unlimited liability urban societies, and 326 cash-lending and 5 grain-lending rural societies, in all 350, with 12,094 members and a net capital of Rs. 2,25,000. The next year 2 central societies were established and the number of limited liability urban societies was 13, and of unlimited liability concerns 16; the cash-lending rural societies increased to 359, while there were 5 grain-lending societies, making altogether 395 societies with 14,603 members in the rolls, and a total capital amounting to Rs. 3,65,000. In the year under report, the number of central societies had increased to double that of the previous year, and there were 12 more limited liability and 6 more unlimited liability concerns than in 1908-09. The number of cash-lending rural societies also showed an increase of 97, while the grain-lending societies were 4. Altogether there were 511 societies last year with 22,871 persons as members and a capital of Rs. 6,96,963. These figures are particularly noteworthy in view of the fact that for the last 3 years the attention of the Registrar has been given chiefly to consolidation of the work in existing centres, and that expansion in new areas, though not deliberately discouraged, has been very cautiously permitted. Not the least important feature in the progress of the

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movement last year was the formation of two new unions in Darbhanga and Cuttack to solve the problem of finance and supervision. Local capital has increased greatly, and it is satisfactory to observe that the Unions are likely to attract this capital in increasing sums. But perhaps the most encouraging individual feature of the year's work is the growing tendency of members to make deposits in their societies. A striking case is cited where a palki-bearer at Khulna came with the sum of Rs. 1,200 to deposit in the Khulna Union. The total amount deposited has trebled itself during the year, having risen from Rs. 21,926 to Rs. 64,349.

It was about three years ago that we called public attention in these pages to the spirit of self-glorification indulged in by a large section of our contemporaries. In that article we happened to point out some of the features of the *Modern Review* which appeared to us at the time to be highly objectionable. Since that criticism appeared, the *Modern Review* dropped those features and has been conducted all these years with singular judgment and dignity. It breaks our heart now to find a relapse of its old features in its editorial pages of the last month. In the editorial section of its September issue, we find the editor reproducing in *extenso* some very pleasant compliments paid to him by one of our Anglo-Indian contemporaries of Calcutta. We never knew Mr. Ramananda Chatterji to be so vain as to care for such compliments and much less to emulate the example—a most pernicious and undignified example—set by the editor of the *Hindustan Review*. It is a pity that Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee should fall a victim to the temptation of self-advertisement, and if a journalist like him should not maintain the dignity of the Press, what should we expect from the lesser fries?

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

OUR MOST PRESSING GRIEVANCES AND THE UNREST

One of the most curious features about the comments of English journals on what they choose to call the 'Indian unrest' is the total absence of all reference to the fact that the Government has not contributed to a small extent to the growing discontent in this country. Some of the English journals tell us that it is our education which is mainly at the bottom of the mischief. Others tell us it is the result of a pan-Asiatic awakening. Others again hold forth the view that it is the last attempt of Brahmanism to regain its sway and influence over the Indian world. But very few critics lay any stress on the fact that it is the policy of persistently over-looking Indian public opinion and the belittling of the educated community that is greatly responsible for the unhappy tension of feeling that now exists.

It is a most difficult and complicated problem—the question of Indian unrest. The man who tries to look at the question from the standpoint of an Indian sun-dried bureaucrat or from the point of view of the Imperialist writers of the English press is bound to prove a most incompetent adviser on the subject. The Indian again who looks at the question from merely the nationalist standpoint is likely to prove equally misleading. But the man who knows the defects of both and is conversant with the temperament of the rulers and the ruled alike is perhaps the only person competent to form correct opinions on the subject. Lord Morley has tried to enter into the skin of the Indian, but he has not yet succeeded in getting into the skin of the sun-dried bureaucrat. That is why he has failed in his administration of India, and that is the rock on which the ship of the Indian State has well-nigh grounded on many previous occasions.

The more Lord Morley has been anxious to get into the skin of the Indian the more has been the solicitude on the part of the English press to run the Indian down and turn the lime-light upon him. The result has been that real issues have been confounded and the defects of the Indian administration over-looked while that of the Indian magnified. The other side of the lantern is hardly presented to the English readers and very few people have an idea of what it is like. Indeed, unless this other side of the lantern is seen and realized, no solution of the Indian problem can be looked forward to with any confidence.

This other side of the lantern is a very sickening show. Time and again the constitutional party in India, otherwise known as the Moderate party, has pointed out to Anglo-Indian rulers the plague-spots of the Indian administration. Time and again has attention been drawn to the various grievances of which the Indian people desire a redress. In season and out of season has it been hammered to the attention of our rulers that the emancipation of the Indian intellect, the development of the Indian resources, the

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conditions of our labour and trade have received scant consideration from the powers that be. Over and above this, the educated people keenly feel the flouting of their opinion and the habit of the tin-gods to ignore all their representations. Laws passed in a hurry, repressive measures adopted without due consideration of Indian feeling, and the exasperation of public feeling by suppressing conferences have added to the disappointment of the situation. No distinction has been made between the terrorists and the Moderates, and though the Reform Scheme was intended to be a step in advance in responsible Government, it has totally failed to please the constitutional party.

Our grievances are many and have been variously expressed on different occasions and different circumstances and from year's end to year's end. It is just possible that the Government does not see eye to eye with us on all questions of public importance, but that is no reason why all our grievances should go by the board, some as settled facts, some as not legitimate aspirations and others as the result of mischievous agitation.

Have we then indeed no grievances which the Government may really consider as just and legitimate? If there are any, we ask, what has the Government done to redress them? The matter of the separation of the judicial and executive functions has been hanging fire since the days of Lord Lansdowne, and still the reform seems to be as distant to-day as when the scheme was first broached. The administration of criminal justice in this country has in very important cases been tainted with the evil associated with the system. In many cases people have had their faith in the purity of justice much shaken; the Government knows this and has found it to be a sore grievance with the people, and instead of removing their grievance it has been treating the subject as if it is a question of no moment. A former Viceroy of India considered the separation as 'a counsel of perfection' but found the financial condition of the country standing in the way of giving effect to it. This was when the Government of India was struggling with a bad exchange and years of recurring deficit. Since then, in Lord Curzon's time, the Government came by a cycle of fat years in which heavy surpluses were the order of the day. In spite of these surpluses and in spite of the enormous military expenditure incurred during the period, the money was *not* found to carry out this reform. Under circumstances such as these, the people feel disappointed and naturally begin to grumble. If Lord Curzon found money enough in the Exchequer to create a new province and a new administration, couldn't he have found the money to separate the judicial from the executive functions in the same district officer?

Take again the case of police reform. Police oppression is almost as ancient as the foundation of British rule in India. The high-handedness of the Police has been, and is still being, equally felt by the prince and the peasant. Instead of making the police the servant of the public as everywhere in the civilized world, the Government has almost made the police the master of the situation in India. Deportations take place on their secret reports and no end of state trials and prosecutions are started at their instance. The only reform the public have cried so far for is to take away

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arbitrary powers from the hands of the police and to minimise the scope for their high-handedness. The result of the public agitation in the matter has been to confer more and more powers upon the police instead of taking them away from the service. In whatever part of the globe the police have been allowed a long rope, there discontent prevails as keenly as in India. It may be difficult to govern an alien people without an agency like the police, but it is still more difficult to make a people happy and contented by placing the police over their heads. We have not hitherto cried for an impossible reform of the police. We have only asked the government to throw before them less temptations to be mischievous. If the Government indeed cares for the welfare of the people as it pretends to do, why should it not address itself to the solution of the problem from the right point of view? It is moonshine to think of improving or reforming the police without reducing its powers or making it less innocuous for mischief.

In the matter of free primary education our disillusionment has been complete. There was a time when the people looked forward with confidence to the introduction of a system of free primary education in the country. When Sir Edward Baker was the Finance Member of the Government of India the difficulty to give effect to the measure was money; today a ponderous blue-book has been published on the subject and we find that, instead of money being the difficulty, it is the opinions of the various Local Governments that do really matter and stand in the way. The people gape and wonder at these opinions and feel staggered. If the Gaekwar of Baroda with limited means and lesser opportunities can find it possible to introduce a system of free primary education into his territories, why should it be so hopeless a problem in British India?

Speaking on the question of education, one can not condemn too strongly the system of secondary or higher education which is now being pursued at least in the University of Calcutta in consequence of the regulations which have recently come into force. A large class of students from the middle classes find themselves completely precluded from availing of the only system of high education which obtains in this country. One of the very important recommendations made by the Famine Commissioners of 1878 was the throwing up of new avenues of livelihood before the people of this country. Instead of having any new avenues opened up since that recommendation was made, we find a numerous section of the youth of our country kept out from the seats of learning. What an amount of discontent has not this engendered amongst a section of our people? And the Government knows as well as the Indian leaders of the people that this is just the class of the people to placate whom ought to be the first consideration of the State. These impressionist youngmen, sons of a tropical climate, bearing an oriental temperament, ask for bread—some means of livelihood—and in return they find the door of education shut against them.

The observations that Mr. Nares Chandra Sen-Gupta makes in another section of this number in connection with the Reform Scheme together with the resolution passed on the subject at the last session of the Bengal Provincial Conference will show how

keenly the educated community feel the defects of the regulations which have brought the Indian Councils Act of 1909 into operation. The claims of the educated community and the middle classes are completely ignored in the scheme. No arrangements find a place in it for the adequate representation of the professional classes, and the worst of all, a blow is aimed at the unity of the Hindus and the Mahomedans. Who, excepting the most short-sighted and selfish Indians, can feel satisfied with a scheme like this?

As regards the Partition, we have been told so often by responsible ministers of His Majesty that if 'new facts' could be produced, the Government would see its way to modify it. Dozens of new facts have been produced to show that the Partition, as it has been carried out, has proved to be a most baneful measure. It has been the father of most serious political complications in the country and recently it has been pronounced by Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson as the source of serious financial strain upon the Government of India. New facts or no new facts, the Partition seems to be a settled fact—an unalterable decree like some of the laws of the Medes. It has come to stay, no matter what it may cost the people or the State. The orientals may be a bad lot and unversed in the principles of free institutions, but they still believe in the virtue of consistency and have nothing more than contempt when they find one's professions running counter to his practices.

The last point we want to touch is the course of repressive legislation which has been so unfortunate a feature in the recent history of India. We shall not say the Press or the Platform of India have either been gagged or muzzled, but we are prepared to say this that some of the most elementary rights of citizenship which we hitherto had learnt to associate with British rule in India have most needlessly and most unceremoniously been encroached upon on very flimsy grounds. You cannot reach the terrorist or the anarchist, however you choose to describe him, by legislation; for he does not work with many or in the light of day. It is only the innocent that you can get at and the grievance is much the more serious because the innocent suffers for the guilty. It may be an Asiatic doctrine of government—to make no distinction between the innocent and the guilty; but what a pity that one should begin to associate western government with a principle of so dubious a wisdom.

In conclusion we shall urge upon our English critics to remember that though the Indians have lived long under foreign yoke they have not yet ceased to feel and think as human beings do in other parts of the world. Treat them as men and the Indian problem will become easy of solution. Treat them as they are being treated now, the question will remain insoluble for ever.

NOTICE

The next number of '**The Indian World**,' besides the diary of the month and the editorial note, will be confined entirely to the reproduction of the remaining articles of Mr. Valentine Chirol in the *Times* on "Indian Unrest." Ed. I. W.

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Vol. XII]

OCTOBER—1910

[No. 67

DIARY FOR SEPTEMBER, 1910

Date

1. The Bombay Provincial Co-operative Conference opened today at the Council Hall, Sir George Clarke delivering the opening address in which he said that the number of Societies had risen from 41 in 1905 to 1,84,889 in 1909.

The Ticca Gariwallas of Calcutta go on strike today.

Mr. H. S. L. Polak, representative in India of the Transvaal Indians, with a large number of the Transvaal Deportees, sails from Bombay today for South Africa.

2. Today's *Gazette of India* publishes a notification embodying the revised rules framed by the Government of India for the extension of the appointment of Members of the Provincial Civil Service to appointments reserved for the Indian Civil Service.

The Madras Government issues a notification saying that the post of an Under-Secretary to the Madras Government shall hereafter be open to be filled up by a Deputy Collector.

3. Great distress is reported to prevail in Stockport owing to the closing for seven weeks of a number of Cotton Mills employing 1,300 hands in consequence of bad trade with India.

The Calcutta Ghari strike collapses today.

A bill to amend the Rangoon Police Act of 1889 is introduced into the Burma Legislative Council.

It is reported today that the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma has sanctioned the constitution of a new P. W. D. Division to be in charge of the embankment and waterways system in certain localities in Burma.

A circular letter has been issued to the District and Branch Agricultural Associations by the Honorary Secretaries of the Madras Central Agricultural Committee suggesting various methods of improving agricultural industries in the Province.

4. It is reported today that a despatch shortly goes to the Secretary of State regarding the extension of the domestic financial powers of Local Governments based on the recommendations of the Decentralization Commission.

5. Tenders for the Calcutta Municipal Loan of 30 lakhs are opened today, the total tenders being 64½ lakhs, the average accepted being just under 98½.

7. Criminal statements of the United Provinces published today show a great reduction in crime of graver kinds during 1909, the number of death sentences having risen from 81 to 82, transportation sentences decreasing from 326 to 211.

8. At a public meeting held this evening at Rangoon, the King Edward Memorial Committee unanimously decide to erect a statue in a prominent part of the town.

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8. The 86th birthday of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji is celebrated today.

It is reported today that as a result of the question raised at the Nainital Sanitary Conference an enquiry into the cause of the high rate of infant mortality has been instituted by the U. P. Government.

It is reported today that the Indo-Afghan camp at the Khariachi Valley has been broken up on conclusion of the settlement of claims between the Turis and the Jajil, the local tribes on the Kurrum border.

9. The Government of India publishes a resolution regarding the scope of enquiries during the coming Census into the position of certain industries in various provinces.

The annual meeting of the St. John's Ambulance Association is held to-day at Simla under the presidency of Sir O' Moore Creagh.

It is officially announced today that H. I. M. the German Crown Prince lands at Bombay on the 14th December and leaves Calcutta enroute to the Far East on the 14th February next.

It is announced today that the Government of India have accepted the suggested procedure whereby the questions and answers in the Legislative Council will henceforward be laid on the table and will not be read aloud. The supplementary questions and answers alone will be read aloud.

Kunjabihari Ganguli, who was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment by the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta in the *Matri Puja* sedition case in July last, is remitted the remaining portion of his sentence and ordered to be released by Sir Edward Baker.

The annual report of the statement of the Madras Central Urban Bank Ltd., for the year ending in June 1910 shows a net profit of Rs. 14,070.

The constitution, rules and objects of the Gaya Prasad Life Saving Fund, established with the endowment of Rs. 20,000 made by Lala Gaya Prasad for the purpose of granting rewards to persons who display bravery in saving or attempting to save human life in the U. P., is published to-day.

Reports published today show that the number of deaths from suicide in U. P. during the past year amounted to 2,900; 760 of these were males and 2,140 were females, against 3,320 in the preceding year.

It is reported today that the Government of India are at present considering the re-organization of the Border Military Police.

11. In course of a search into the house of Mr. Lalit Chandra Choudhury near Munshigunge in Dacca some bombs and swords are seized by the Police.

Mr. Nasavanji Cooper, speaking at an "At Home" to Parsis in Holborn Restaurant in London, appealed to the more fortunately situated Zoroastrians in India to help their co-religionists in Persia in founding hospitals and schools. Sir George Birdwood said Persia offered an enormous field for enterprise to the educated Parsis of Western India.

12. The returns published today show that the Customs Revenue for the past five months have yielded a gross revenue of 4 crores against 9 crores budgeted for the whole year.

13. The Viceroy and Countess of Minto are entertained at a garden party at Simla by the members of the Mahomedan Community.

A report published today by Dr. Spooner, Archaeological Superintendent, Frontier Circle, contains description of mounds discovered in course of the excavations, "belonging to the Kushan period, containing sculptures inscribed either of Buddha or of the Budhisattvas, pottery, silver and copper coins much of which he finds new to science."

Mahendra Nath Chatterjee, the printer of the *Yugantar* leaflets, is sentenced by Mr Swinhoe to four months' rigorous imprisonment.

A serious railway disaster takes place near Mutgi on the Hyderabad Godavery Railway, the engine and break-van of a train having been submerged into a nullah the bridge over which was carried away.

13. At a meeting held at the Carmichael Library, Benares, held in connection with the coming Congress, Mr. Arundale of the Hindu College observed that the students should study politics and prepare themselves for the burdens of citizenship.

The following Press *Communique* is issued from the Commerce and Industry Department for the information of the importers to Australia :—The attention of the Government of India has recently been drawn to an extract from the Commonwealth of the *Australia Gazette* in which the following conditions and restrictions have been imposed in respect of the importation of corn sacks into Australia :—That the sacks shall comply with the following standard :—Size; 4 inches weight when baled 2½ lbs. and substance 3 porter and 9 shot ; (2) that the bales containing the sacks shall be plainly branded or marked with the trade name, measurement, weight porter and shot of the sacks therein contained and (3) that the importation of corn sacks contrary to the foregoing condition is prohibited.

14. Reports published today show that the total exports of wheat from Karachi from 1st January to 12th September 1910, amount to 13,623,891 cwts as compared with 11,535,544 cwts. during the corresponding period of 1909.

Mr. Ismail Hossain Siraji, author of a Bengali book, *Analprobha*, is sentenced by the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment under Sec. 124A.

15. The Special Tribunal of the Bombay High Court, consisting of the Hon'ble Chief Justice, and Chandravarkar and Heaton J. J., commence hearing the Nasik conspiracy case against 38 persons in three batches.

Today's *India Gazette* notifies the prohibition of bringing by sea or by land into British India of any copy of the printed book entitled *The Infamies of Liberal Rule in India* issued by the Executive Council of the Social Democratic party in England.

"The Ranade Industrial and Economic Institute" is formally opened today at Poona by Sir George Clarke.

At a meeting of the Indian Telegraph Association held at Allahabad Mr. Burton, the General Secretary, urged the abolition of the system of recruitment for the department in England and advised its members to become members of the Anglo-Indian Association.

At a meeting of the Karimgange Municipality in Sylhet a resolution is passed regretting the undue interference of the Divisional Commissioner of Surma Valley in the affairs of the Municipality.

16. A farewell party is given to Lord and Lady Minto by the Indian Community of Simla.

17, 18. The Bengal Provincial Conference hold its annual session in Calcutta under the presidency of Mr. Ambica Charan Mozumdar of Faridpore.

18. The Railway Conference meets at Simla, the Hon. Mr. Burt presiding.

The proceedings against four Brahmin youths of Satara arrested on charge of conspiracy against the king commence to-day before Mr. Bonus, the District Magistrate.

19. A special committee of the Calcutta Corporation unanimously pass a resolution recommending the construction of houses for the poor that are likely to be displaced by the operations of the impending Improvement Bill.

Mr. Aswini Kumar Dutt presents a gold ring to a boy at Barisal, 8 years old, who saved a lad of equal age from a watery grave at great personal risk.

20. The Transvaal Supreme Court delivers a judgment of great importance in course of which it is held that a minor born and resident

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in India is not entitled, because his father is domiciled in the Transvaal, to registration under the Asiatic Act.

The Committee appointed by the Government of Bengal on the *Pan* scare in Calcutta generally dismiss the alleged cases of fatality as unfounded or greatly exaggerated.

The Commissioner of the Multan Division issue an appeal for public help towards the amelioration of the destitute in Dera Gazi Khan which is doomed to destruction owing to the erosion of the Indus.

21. The 1st report of the sugar-cane crop of 1910-11 in the Madras Presidency published to-day shows that on an average of the five years ending 1908-09 the area under sugar-cane in the presidency has represented 31 per cent. of the total area under sugar-cane in British India.

The first report of the Indigo Crop of 1910-11 in the Madras Presidency shows that on an average of the five years ending 1908-09 the area under indigo in the Madras Presidency has represented 31.7 per cent., of the total area under indigo in British India.

The Maharajah of Patiala allots Rs. 10,000 in the Education Budget for the spread of primary education.

22. It is reported to-day that Bhai Haris Singh, M.A., of the Edinburgh University and Sirdar Rajah Singh, the spiritual leader of the Sikhs of Vancouver, waited upon the Governor-General of Canada to represent to him the grievances of the Indian Settlers. His Excellency gave them a patient hearing.

The income-tax statistics for the Madras Presidency for the year 1909-10 show that the net amount collected during the year was nearly 30 lakhs.

A largely attended public meeting is held at Poona under the presidency of the Hon. Mr. Lamb to devise measures to perpetuate the memory of the late Emperor by erecting a suitable memorial.

The hearing of the Nasik Conspiracy Case, Mr. Savarkar being an accused, commences in the Special Tribunal of the Bombay High Court.

A notification embodying some changes of rules regarding the recruitment of assistants in the Government of India Secretariats is issued to day.

23. The annual flower, fruit, and vegetable show of the Agri-Horticultural Society of Western India is opened today at Poona by Sir George Clarke.

The Tongu Mail Service between Kohat and Peshawar is reported to have been suspended owing to frontier disturbances.

24. Mr. Provash Chandra Deb is sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment on the charge of secretly publishing the *Yugantar* leaflets.

25. A bulky blue book is issued in London dealing with Asiatic Legislations in the Transvaal up to August 8th.

26. Rama Krishna Pillai, the editor of *Swadesabhimant* in Travancore, is deported from that State by a royal proclamation.

27. Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, the first Mahomedan Baronet, is given a public entertainment by the Bombay Presidency Moslem League in presence of His Excellency Sir George Clarke.

It is reported today that a detachment of the 40th Pathans has arrived there from Dera Ismail Khan to re-inforce troops sent to the interior of Waziristan.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

A Reef on Sand

During recent boring experiments it has been found that the Pamban Reef between the mainland of Madras and the island of Rameswaram, over which the swing bridge for the Indo-Ceylon railway connection is proposed to be erected, is thin and rotten, the reef being practically a series of stone blocks resting on sand.

Witch-Burning

There recently happened to be an epidemic of cholera in a village called Jehangirpur under Sheohar thana in Behar. Some of the residents of this village, who suspected a Hindu woman named Rajwatia to be a witch and the cause of the epidemic, got her out of her house, beat her to death, and burnt her dead body to ashes in the presence of her son.

Sedition in Words

In the office of a certain paper at Khulna (Bengal) is the following list of seditious words hung up to warn the sub-editors not to use them : lathi, guns, cannon, Barisal, Bengal, Bengalis, Surendranath Banerjea, mutiny, Aravindo Ghose, Savarkar, Dhingra, Khudiram, bomb, picric acid, partition, boycott, Durga Puja, Matripuja, Motherland, Samiti, national independence, constitutional agitation, force, brute force, unity, strength, united Bengal, Ajit Singh and Lajpat Rai.

White Snakes in Manipur

Something weird and wonderful is always occurring at Manipur. 'A few days ago,' writes a correspondent, 'an European gentleman while going on hunting expedition, saw a white snake, 3 feet in length, creeping on the grass. The Naga coolies were desired to kill it, but they hesitated, at first, to do this, as such insects are worshipped by them. On remonstrating and convincing them of the stern necessity of killing it, they reluctantly delivered a lathi blow, but with no effect, as the serpent was gliding fastly. Seeing what happened, the officer dismounted and struck his walking cane with full force on the head of the serpent and thus all was over with it, but not so completely when it received many lathi blows. It is rumoured that the shattered head of the snake will be sent to some museum. The cobra was purely white.' But this, surely is not to be wondered at. Other things besides snakes might be forgiven if they turned livid in an unpleasant situation such as that in which the unfortunate 'insect' found itself.

Orthodox Sea-Voyage

We are glad to learn from our contemporary of the *Indu* of Bombay that the project of the orthodox sea-voyage has assumed a tangible *shape*, and promises in every way to be a success. The conception of the scheme is due to Mr. Goverdhandas Gokuldas

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Tejpal of the firm of Messrs. L. M. Tejpal and Co. The party we are told, will be 400 strong, consisting of both sexes. They will leave Bombay in a special steamer in the last week of April and return home three months later. The steamer will touch at Aden, Port Said, Messina, Naples and Marseilles, and arrangements will be made to see *en route* such interesting places as Cairo, Mount Vesuvius and the ruins of Pompeii. The arrangements on board will be of the strictly orthodox type. The food will be strictly vegetarian, and only Brahman cooks will be employed. The cooking arrangements will conform to provincial styles of living. About forty Brahman cooks and double the number of other servants will be employed. The party will reach England in time to witness the Coronation festivities. In London, special houses will be engaged for the party. During the six weeks' halt, arrangements will be made for special tour in various parts of Great Britain and Ireland, or those who are willing, may take a trip to the Continent. These special trips, however, will involve extra charges. For the return voyage the whole party will reunite at Marseilles whence they will sail direct for Bombay. The charge per head will be Rs. 2,500, including board and those who wish to have single cabins, will be required to pay a little extra charge. Of the Rs. 2,500, which is the minimum charge, Rs. 500 are payable on application, and the balance in two equal instalments in November and March next. We are informed that the party of 400 has been nearly secured, so that those who wish to avail themselves of this unique offer should lose no time in placing themselves in communication with Mr. Governdhandas Gokuldas Tejpal at No. 59, Hornby Road, Fort Bombay.

Causes of Death in India

A statistical abstract relating to British India from the year 1899 to 1908-9 was issued recently in the form of a Blue-book. The volume contains a mass of statistics as to area and population, judicial matters, finance, &c. Dealing with the number of deaths registered during the year 1908, it is stated that in a population of 226,409,600 there have been 8,653,007 deaths. Each of these figures is the highest in the last ten years. There were 591,725 deaths from cholera, which is the greatest number recorded, excepting in 1900 and 1906. Deaths from cholera increased from 103,988 in 1907 to 170,694 in 1908, while in the case of plague, on the other hand, there is an enormous decrease, there being 113,888 deaths as compared with 1,166,223 in 1907, which was an abnormal year, the figures for 1906 being 300,355. Deaths from fevers show a considerable increase, 5,424,372 persons dying in 1908, as compared with 4,464,881 in the previous year. During the last 10 years the number of deaths due to fevers has never been less than four millions, but they have never been over five millions before. During 1908 there were 909 persons killed by tigers, 302 by leopards, 269 by wolves, and 19,738 by snakes. The largest number was in the Province of Bengal, where of 8,436 persons killed 455 owed their death to tigers and 7,402 to snakes. In the same period 98,307 head of cattle were killed, 28,258 by tigers, 43,427 by leopards, 10,163 by wolves, 2,767 by hyenas, and 10,700 by snakes. The number of wild animals destroyed amounted to 17,926 and 70,494 snakes, while £10,494 was paid in rewards for destruction.

To Rangoon by Rail

It seems a curious anomaly, in these days of rapid transit, that there should still remain an important, rich and extensive province of the Indian Empire to reach which from any other portion of the Peninsula it is necessary to travel by sea, albeit the province in question is joined by land, which presents no insurmountable physical features which tend to make railway connection either impossible or expensive. The desirability of establishing land communication by means of the railway between India proper and Burma has however, long been recognized. It was in the eighties and early nineties that the Government of India showed most enthusiasm over the matter of connecting Burma and India by rail, and it was during that period that surveys of no less than three different projects devoted to that end were undertaken and completed. The first of these three contemplated the laying of a metre gauge line from Chittagong down the coast to the Burmese port of Akyab, and thence inland to Minhla on the Irrawadi River. The proposal was that the line should follow the Aeng Pass route, and its total length, from Chittagong to Minhla, would be 450 miles, the estimated expenditure involved amounting to Rs. 7,00,00,000. The second project contemplated an altogether inland line, starting from Lumding, a station on the Assam-Bengal Railway, running thence through the State of Manipur through Hammu to Kyathim, a distance of 385 miles on the metre gauge at a cost of Rs. 6,50,00,000. The third survey contemplated the laying of a line still further to the north, namely from Makum, now a junction of the Assam-Bengal and Dibru-Sadiya Railways, via the Hukong Valley to Mogaung, a station near the terminus of the main line of the Burma Railway, and in the heart of Upper Burma. The distance between the two points named, according to the proposed route, would be 284 miles, and the expenditure was estimated at Rs. 3,83,00,000. A fourth survey, projecting the most southerly route of all, was proposed by the Government of Burma so recently as the year 1905, and it gave practical effect to its earnestness in the matter by carrying out, from provincial funds, a survey from Prome in Burma to Zadabin and Taungup, and a reconnaissance from Zadabin to Zibingyi. Then the Railway Board stepped in and caused the completion of the survey from Zadabin to Chittagong to be made. The survey of the whole project has now been completed, and so far as the route is concerned, this, in reality, differs very little from the first proposed Chittagong-Akyab-Minhla (Aeng Pass) route. The Chittagong-Akyab section is still contemplated, and the length of the fourth proposed route will be some 490 miles, the estimated cost amounting to Rs. 8,41,94,021. It is now fourteen years since the Government recorded its opinion that no line between India and Burma was likely to be a commercial success and that none was demanded by either military or political influences. The Assam-Bengal Railway is a veritable white elephant to the State. The yearly loss on its working is steadily between thirty and forty lakhs of rupees. It is doing its part in opening up and assisting in the development of Eastern Bengal and Assam, but it is designed to carry a traffic far in excess of that which it now receives or is ever likely to receive under the prevailing conditions. It requires more traffic and can only look

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for it from one direction. That direction is the immense area of undeveloped and dormant country through which the boundary of India and Burma passes.

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

An Electrical Enterprise

An Indian company is being formed for the generation of electricity by water storage at Lanauli, in the Western Ghats, for transmission to mills and factories at Bombay. The company is to have a capital of 170 lakhs of rupees (£1,133,220), 70 per cent. of which has been already subscribed. The scheme is to furnish 30,000 horse-power, with a reserve of 10,000 and possibilities of expansion to 50,000. It is the biggest industrial enterprise inaugurated in India except the Tata Ironworks. The issue is under the auspices of the Tata firm.

The Distribution of British Trade

The Statistical Report of the Customs and Excise Department recently issued shows how British trade was distributed among various countries last year and in the preceding four years. The main facts brought out in this statement, though familiar to the student of trade statistics, are not perhaps sufficiently appreciated by the general public. Few people, for example, realise that India is far and away the best customer of British goods and that Germany and the United States come next. India brought last year British goods to the value of £43,000,000, Germany bought £32,000,000 in value and the United States nearly £30,000,000. India keeps the lead all the time ; Germany and the United States come close together for the second place ; then Australia and France, followed at an interval by Canada. Another remarkable fact which few people realise is that year after year British exports to foreign countries in the aggregate become almost exactly double British exports to British possessions.

Paper and Woollen Goods Industry in India

A comparative study of the figures relating to the production of paper and of woollen goods in Indian mills show that the paper mills, which were nine in 1908, now produce more and more paper, but the rate of increased production does not keep pace with the increasing demand in India. The total value of the output increased from 61.5 lakhs in 1904 to 75 lakhs in 1908, but the corresponding value of imports for the two years was 61.5 lakhs and 94 lakhs respectively. In the year 1904, the value of paper manufactured in the country and of that imported from abroad was thus equal. But the rate of increase of production in the country has lagged much behind that of imports, the value of the imports having increased during these years by 53 per cent. and the value of manufactures by 23 per cent. The figures relating to woollen goods indicate the fluctuating character of the trade. The first fact to be noted is that the imports of woollen goods and shawls is very much greater than the production of the Indian mills. The value of imported woollen goods has remained for some years at about eight times that manu-

factured in the country. There was a record production in the year 1905, with a corresponding rise in value. But in the two subsequent years, there was a striking diminution in production owing to the high price of wool. However, 44 lakhs worth of woollen goods were produced in 1908, which showed that there was some improvement in the situation. Woollen goods exported from India consisted of carpets and rugs of the value of about 23 lakhs, of which about three-fourths went to the United Kingdom and the major portion of the remainder to the United States.

Protective Tariff for India

In the interview which that enterprising American journalist, Mr. Frank G. Carpenter, had with Lord Minto, his Lordship opened out his mind on this subject much more freely than in many of his State utterances :—

Lord Minto thought, writes Mr. Carpenter, that Indians would be benefited by a protective tariff and that if it could have the proper protection India might soon be manufacturing not only for the markets of China and the Far East, but for the world. His Excellency referred to the Swadeshi movement, the watch-cry of which is 'India for the Indians' and which advocates the boycotting of all goods not made by native labour. The Viceroy said he was surprised that the Swadeshi agitators had not made the protective tariff their watch-cry instead of the boycott, and that protection would have seemed a natural demand. I asked him whether such a tariff could be instituted. He replied he thought Great Britain would not allow it on account of the objections of Manchester and Birmingham which sell so largely to the Indian market.

More remarkable indeed is what Sir Edward Baker is reported to have stated to the same interviewer, as published in the *Times Democrat* of New Orleans :—

'I would give them,' said Sir Edward Baker, 'a protective tariff. I would encourage the establishment of factories and favor them in every way as to the making of goods for India in competition with those of Europe, Japan and other parts of the world. What India needs is industrial development, and a protective tariff would bring that about. As it is, we are tied up by the manufacturing industries of Great Britain. We can levy no duties to speak of upon our imports of cottons. We once had a tariff of 5 per cent, but the Manchester mill men objected, saying that it ruined their trade. They demanded that an excise duty be added to equalize our competition, and the result was that the duty was reduced to 3½ per cent. that amount being levied on all goods made in India. Do you wonder that the natives object? A protective tariff would foster our industries and we could in time build up a mighty industrial empire.'

The Indian Cotton Industry

It is gratifying to notice that about three-fifths of the yarn produced in India was utilised in the country, the remaining being exported, the imports of yarn from the United Kingdom and other places amounted to about 6 per cent. of the total production in India. Coming to the quantity of cotton goods, grey and other kinds, woven in India, we find the improvement still more marked. The total quantity has increased from 115 million lbs. in 1901-02 to 184 million

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lbs. in 1908-09, and the improvement has been kept up throughout, though the rate of increase has not been uniform. The quantity of woven goods imported into India is, of course, much greater than that produced in India, but the remarkable fact, full of significance to the future development of this industry, is that the percentage of production in India to importation from abroad has been steadily growing up. The average percentage of production of grey and bleached good to the quantity imported in the period 1896 to 1901 was 19·3, and this went up to 26·3 between 1902 to 1906. The percentage for the next two years was 31·9 and 32·7 and it reached the very encouraging figure of 43·1 in the year 1908-09. The percentage in the case of coloured piece-goods has been, of course, very gratifying, though not equally good. It was 21, 23·5 and 29·2 for the three years respectively ending with 1908-09. Bombay, of course, stands first in respect of the quantity of woven goods, the mills in that province producing about 84 per cent. of the whole quantity in British India. The United Provinces and the Central Provinces come next with 5 per cent. each, and Madras with 4 per cent. Grey (unbleached) goods, such as shirtings, longcloths, dhutis, T-cloths, domestics, sheetings and chadurs represent 80 per cent. of the whole production of woven goods. Madras, however, produced in 1908-09 about 63 per cent, Central Province 30 per cent. and Bombay 19 per cent. of woven goods other than grey goods. These results have been arrived at without taking into account the figures for the Native States, where also the swedeshi impulse could not well have been without its effect. We find that in Mysore, Indore, Baroda, Bhavnagar, Hyderabad, and other States, the production of yarn has increased from 20 million lbs. average for the years 1901-06 to 28 million lbs. in 1908-09, while the total quantity of woven goods during the same period rose from 5 millions and a half lbs. to 8 million lbs. That such rapid and welcome development has fallen to the lot of the Indian cotton industry, in spite of the dead weight of the excise duty levied on cotton goods woven in India ever since the year 1896, is a striking tribute to the industrial awakening in the country. The amount realised by the excise duty has increased from 11 lakhs of Rupees in 1896-97 to 36 lakhs of Rupees in 1908-09.

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

Among the voluminous literature which the so-called Indian unrest has generated in England, the place of honour must be given to the very remarkable and highly interesting series of letters which Mr. Valentine Chirol has written for the *Times* and every one of which has been faithfully reproduced in these pages since August last. Mr. Valentine Chirol is perhaps one of a very few Englishmen who has attempted to study the Indian situation by coming out to India and placing himself in contact with all sorts and conditions of people in this country and who has taken the trouble to obtain first-hand informations regarding the more noteworthy of our institutions, organisations, industries and activities. In spite of all this trouble, assiduity and care, Mr. Valentine Chirol has committed several very serious errors of omission and commission and is responsible for more lapses of accuracy than he probably cares to know. The fact of the matter is that Mr. Valentine Chirol did *not* come out to India with an *open* mind, but came out with a strong prejudice against the political aspirations of intellectual India and all his many-sided activities and, what is worse, with a brief on behalf of the Indian bureaucracy and the Moslem community. Not that he has been intentionally unfair to any body or class, but with his tinted glasses he has found every Hindu movement or activity of the educated class, whether it be in the Punjab or in the Eastern Bengal and Assam, tainted with sedition. In his rage against Brahmanism, he makes some unwarrantable statements which have been properly made the subjects of very severe comments in the Indian Press. He is so hard upon the Indian students that he does not so much as even scruple to assert that some of them live in 'brothels.' He does not see any good or a sense of responsibility in the Indian National Congress and damns it, after the fashion of its Anglo-Indian critics, as a Hindu movement that has outlived its last vestige of justification by the expansion of the Legislative Councils in India. He inveighs against the Arya Samaj and the Chitpawan Brahmins as strongly as the most hostile sun-dried bureaucrat in the service of India. He thinks Bengal is seething with secret murderous societies and that its contagion is fast spreading in the other provinces. He defends the existing land revenue system in India

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and has several flings at the Permanent Settlement of Bengal not as an economic error but as a political blunder. He has not a word to say in condemnation of police rule in India and of the combination of judicial and executive functions in district officers. He sympathises from the bottom of his heart with the Mahomedan apprehensions of 'Hindu designs' and 'British partiality' which some obliging followers of the Prophet confided to him under the shadow of the great Kutab at Delhi. He seems to think that Hinduism is a great upas tree from which has spread all the evils against which British administrators are contending at the present moment and that from Dan to Beersheba everything is barren in the Hindu world. He does not believe that the Indian Press has been 'gagged' by the new Press Act or that 'executive self-government' is either possible or conceivable for India at any time. He makes capital out of a sectional apotheosis of Sivaji and thinks that Tilak is the centre of the entire political activity of the educated classes all over India. Though he chooses to throw out a kindly word or two for Mr. Gokhale, he ignores the entire moderate party in India of which Mr. Gokhale stands as one of the principal and accredited leaders. In his letter on the Anti-Partition Agitation in Bengal, Mr. Valentine Chirol makes a most unjustifiable and unjust attack on the moderate party in Bengal :—

"For if for a short time Sir Bampfylde Fuller's successor was spared, the Government of Eastern Bengal was compelled before long to take more vigorous measures than he had ever contemplated, and the agitation, which had hitherto refrained from exhibiting its more violent aspects in Bengal proper, not only ceased to show any discrimination, but every where broadened and deepened. The veteran leaders, like Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, ceased to lead or be swept away by the forces they had helped to raise, were compelled to quicken their pace like the Communist leader in Paris who rushed after his men exclaiming :—*Je suis leur chef, il faut bien que je les suive*. The question of Partition itself receded into the background, and the issue, until then successfully veiled and now openly raised, was not whether Bengal should be one unpartitioned or two partitioned provinces under British rule, but whether British rule itself was to endure in Bengal or, for the matter of that, anywhere in India."

'This is silly as well as *false*, but we shall not stop to point out in this article all the many serious lapses of truth and accuracy which mar the importance and the interest of this interesting contribution to the literature of the Indian unrest, and shall proceed to point out

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the questions in which Mr. Chirol sees eye to eye with the main body of educated men in this country. In the matter of the greater diffusion of high and technical education, of the opening up of more numerous avenues of employment and the establishment of industries, and on the iniquitousness of the countervailing excise duties on Indian cottons and on a protective tariff, Mr. Chirol practically endorses the views that obtain to this day among the educated Indian community. He waxes warm on the baneful effect of one of the recommendations of the Public Service Commission appointed by Lord Dufferin in 1886. Mr. Chirol points out with great truth and righteous indignation to the mischief caused by the bifurcation of the Educational Service into a superior and a subordinate grade and proceeds to observe :

“ The Public Service Commission, not a single member of which was an educational officer, produced a series of recommendations which had the effect of changing very much for the worse the position and prospects of Indians in the Educational Department. Before the Commission sat, Indians and Europeans used to work side by side in the superior graded service of the Department, and until quite recently they had drawn the same pay. The Commission abolished this equality and comradeship and put the Europeans and the Indians into separate pens. The European pen was named the Indian Educational Service and the native pen was named the Provincial Educational Service. Into the Provincial Service were Indians holding lower posts than any held by Europeans and with no prospect of ever rising to the *maximum* salaries hitherto within their reach. To pretend that equality was maintained under the new scheme is idle, and the grievance thus created has caused a bitterness which is not allayed by the fact that the Commission created a similar grievance in other branches of the public service.

Mr. Valentine Chirol, or for the matter of that any sound economist, cannot, of course, believe in the theory of the ‘soaking drain’ of Indian wealth to England started a long time ago by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, but it is puerile to characterise it as a ‘nationalist legend.’ However, we are glad to find Mr. Chirol in the same boat with us with regard to some of the items of our “home-chages :”

“ I shall be much surprised if the Government have not to listen to the voice of the enlarged Councils, in regard to various “home charges” with which the Government of India have from time to time very reluctantly agreed to burden Indian finance at the bidding of Whitehall. The Indian Nationalist Press has not been alone in describing the recent imposition on the Indian

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tax-payer of a capitation allowance amounting to £300,000 a year to meet the increased cost of the British soldier as "the renewed attempt of a rapacious War Office to raid the helpless Indian Treasury," and even the increase in the pay of the native soldier which Lord Kitchener obtained for him does not prevent him and his friends from drawing their own comparison between the squalor of the quarters in which he is still housed and the relatively luxurious barracks built for Tommy Atkins under Lord Kitchener's administration at the expense of the Indian taxpayer. It is no secret that the Government of India have also frequently remonstrated in vain when India has been charged full measure and overflowing in respect of military operations in which the part borne by her has been governed less by her own direct interests than by the necessity of making up with the help of Indian contingents the deficiencies of our military organization at home. It was no Indian politician but the Government of India who expressed the opinion that :—

"The Imperial Government keeps in India and quarters upon the revenues of that country as large a portion of its army as it thinks can possibly be required to maintain its dominion there ; that it habitually treats that army as a reserve force available for Imperial purposes ; that it has uniformly detached European regiments from the garrison of India to take part in Imperial wars whenever it has been found necessary or convenient to do so ; and, more than this, that it has drawn not less freely upon the native army of India, towards the maintenance of which it contributes nothing, to aid in contests outside of India with which the Indian Government has had little or no concern."

Mr. Valentine Chirol evidently does not belong to the "Manchester School" or the "Little Englanders" and shares with us fully the sense of injustice which we feel at the imposition of the excise duties on Indian Cottons :—

"No measure has done greater injury to the cause of Free Trade in India or more permanent discredit to British rule than this excise duty on Indian manufactured cotton, for none has done more to undermine Indian faith in the principles of justice upon which British rule claims, and, on the whole, most legitimately claims, to be based. In obedience to British Free Trade principles, all important duties were finally abolished in India at the beginning of the eighties, except on liquors and on salt, which were subject to an internal excise duty. In 1895, however, the Government of India were compelled by financial stress to revive the greater part of the old 5 per cent. tariff on imports, including cottons, but under

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pressure from England they had to agree to levy a countervailing excise duty of 5 per cent. on cotton fabrics manufactured in Indian power mills. After a good deal of heated correspondence the Government of India were induced two years later to reduce the duty on cotton manufactured goods imported from abroad to $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. with the same reduction of the Indian excise duty, whilst cotton yarns were altogether freed from duty. This arrangement is still in force. Rightly or wrongly, every Indian believes that the excise duty was imposed upon India for the selfish benefit of the British cotton manufacturer and under the pressure of British party politics. He believes, as was once sarcastically remarked by an Indian member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, that so long as Lancashire sends 60 members to Westminster the British Government will always have 60 reasons for maintaining the excise duty."

Regarding the position of the Indians in South Africa, Mr. Chirol is not disposed to mince matters. He says :—

"Indian immigrants may not always be drawn from desirable classes, there may be differences of opinion as to the wisdom of the attitude taken up by some of the Indians in South Africa, and Englishmen may sympathize with the desire of British and Dutch colonists to check the growth of another alien population in their midst. But that the Indian has not received there the just treatment to which he is entitled as a subject of the British Crown, and that disabilities and indignities are heaped upon him because he is an Indian, are broad facts that are not and cannot be disputed. The resolution adopted by the Imperial Council with the sanction of the Government of India was formally directed against Natal because it is only in regard to Natal that India possesses an effective weapon of retaliation in withholding the supply of indentured labour which is indispensable to the prosperity of that colony. But the Indian grievance is not confined to Natal ; it is even greater in the Transvaal. Still less is it confined to the particular class of Indians who emigrate as indentured labourers to South Africa. What Indians feel most bitterly is that however well educated, however respectable and even distinguished may be an Indian who goes to or resides in South Africa, and especially in the Transvaal, he is treated as an outcast and is at the mercy of harsh laws and regulations framed for his oppression and often interpreted with extra harshness by the officials who are left to apply them. This bitterness is intensified by the recollection that before the South African War the wrongs of British Indians in the Transvaal figured prominently in the catalogue of charges brought by the Imperial Government against the Kruger *regime* which precipitated its downfall. In prosecuting the South African War, Great Britain drew freely upon India for assistance of every kind except actual Indian combatants. Not only was it the loyalty of India that enabled to be embarked hurriedly at Bombay the British troops who saved Natal, but it was the constant supply from India of stores of all kinds, of transport columns, of hospital bearers, &c., which to a great extent made up throughout the war for the deficiencies of the British War Office. There are monuments erected in South Africa which testify to the devotion of British Indians who, though non-combatants, laid down their lives in the cause of the Empire. Yet as far as the British Indians are concerned the end of it all has been that their lot in the Transvaal since it became a British Colony is harder

than it was in the old Kruger days, and the British colonists in the Transvaal who were ready enough to use Indian grievances as a stick with which to beat Krugerism, have now joined hands with the Dutch in refusing to redress them."

Though Mr. Chirol has imbibed all the Anglo-Indian prejudices against the educated Indian and the system of education that has brought him into being, he does not seem to subscribe to the dictum that the best remedy of the present difficulty would be to withdraw higher education from the country. "We want the Western educated Indian," says Mr. Chirol. "We have made him and we cannot unmake him if we would." It is not high education, therefore, that should be stopped, but better education that should be provided.

"We are too deeply pledged now to the general principles upon which our educational policy in India is based for even its severest critics to contemplate the possibility of abandoning it. But for this very reason it is all the more important that we should realize the grave defects of the existing system, or, as some would say, want of system, in order that we may, so far as possible, repair or mitigate them. There can be no turning back, and salvation lies not in doing less for Indian education, but in doing more and in doing it better."

In his concluding article, Mr. Chirol admits that "we must *continue* steadily to extend the area of civil employment for Indians in the service of the State" and afford Indians "increased opportunities of military employment." The Indian Army, as at present constituted, "does not offer a career that can attract Indians of good position" and it would be well, Mr. Chirol thinks, if a scheme were put forward "for the gradual promotion of native officers, carefully selected and trained, to field rank in a certain number of regiments which would ultimately be entirely officered by Indians." He sums up some of his other recommendations in the following words:—

"To rescue education from its present unhealthy surroundings and to raise it on to a higher plane, while making it more practical, to promote the industrial and commercial expansion of India so as to open up new fields for the intellectual activity of educated Indians, to strengthen the old ties, and to create new ones that shall bind the ancient conservative as well as the modern progressive forces of Indian society to the British Raj by an enlightened sense of self-interest, are slower and more arduous tasks and demand more patient and sustained statesmanship than any adventures in constitutional changes. But it is only by the successful achievement of such tasks that we can expect to retain the loyal acquiescence of the princes and peoples of India in the maintenance of British rule."

We have thus seen that, among many comments and criticisms of Indian affairs of today which are puerile and silly, Mr. Valentine Chirol has pointed out rather courageously to some of the plague-spots of British rule in India. For these he deserves thanks of the Indian community; and if the Government of India were to devote its best attention and efforts to redress the grievances so forcibly pointed out by him, half of the so-called unrest in this country would disappear in no time.

SELECTIONS

MR. VALENTINE CHIROL AGAIN

INDIAN UNREST

XVI.—The Indian National Congress

It is impossible to acquit the Congress of having contributed to the growth of active and violent unrest, though the result may have lain far both from the purpose of its chief originators and from the desire of the majority of its members. Western education has largely failed in India because the Indian not unnaturally fails to bring an education based upon conceptions entirely alien to the world in which he moves into any sort of practical relation with his own life. So with the Indian politician, who, even with the best intentions, fails to bring political education which he has borrowed from the West into any sort of practical relation with the political conditions of India.

The Indian National Congress assumed unto itself almost from the beginning the functions of a Parliament. There was and is no room for a Parliament in India, because, so long as British rule remains a reality, the Government of India, as Lord Morley has plainly stated, must be an autocracy—benevolent and full of sympathy with Indian ideas, but still an autocracy. Nor would the Congress have been in any way qualified to discharge the functions of a Parliament had there been room for one. For it represents only one class, or rather a section of one class—the Western educated middle, and mainly professional, class, consisting chiefly of lawyers, doctors, school-masters, newspaper-men; an important and influential class, no doubt, but one which itself only represents an infinitesimal fraction—barely perhaps one hundredth part—of the whole population. To what extent it is really representative even of that small section it is impossible to say, as the members are not returned by any clearly defined body of constituents or by any formal process of election. Originally it attracted the support of not a few non-Hindus, though the Hindu element always largely preponderated, and a small group of distinguished Parsees, headed by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who has always enjoyed universal esteem, together with a sprinkling of Mahomedans, helped to justify its claim to be called National, in so far as that appellation connoted the representation of the different creeds and races of India. But gradually most of the Mahomedans dropped out as it became more and more an exponent of purely Hindu opinion.

In a wider sense still, the Congress could never be called National in the Western democratic sense of the term, for whatever exceptions it may have been willing to make in favour of individuals there can be no question of popular representation in India so long as the Hindu caste system prevails under which whole classes numbering millions and millions are regarded and treated as beyond the pale and actually "untouchable." From time to time a few

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enlightened Hindus recognize the absurdity of posturing as the champions of democratic ideals so long as this monstrous anomaly subsists, but whilst professing in theory to repudiate it the Indian National Congress has during the whole course of its existence taken no effective step towards removing it. Nor is the Congress any more representative of the toiling masses that are not "unclean." No measures have been more bitterly assailed in the Congress than those which, like the Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900, were framed and have operated for the benefit of the agricultural and other humbler classes—*i.e.* of the real "people of India," in whose name the Congress speaks so loudly and with so little title.

THE "LINE OF LEAST RESISTANCE"

An earlier generation of Hindus had fully recognized the urgency of social problems, like that of the "depressed" castes, and had realized that until Indians had brought their own customs and beliefs to some extent into line with the social customs and beliefs of the West they could not hope to raise their political life on to the Western plane. The Indian National Congress unfortunately succumbed to the specious plea put forward in an evil hour many years ago by a distinguished Hindu, Mr. K. T. Telang, who had himself hitherto been regarded as an enlightened social reformer, that the "line of least resistance" was to press for political concessions from England where they had "friends amongst the garrison," instead of fighting an uphill battle for social reforms against the dead-weight of popular ignorance and prejudice amongst their own people.

Do not, however, let us throw the blame wholly upon the Congress. For, like Mr. Telang, it has been induced to put its trust in "the friends amongst the garrison," Englishmen often of widely different types and characters, like Bradlaugh and Hume, and in more recent days Sir Henry Cotton and Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, and upon them must rest no small responsibility for the diversion of many of the best talents and energies of educated India from the thorny path of social reform into the more popular field of political agitation.

THE UNREALITY OF THE CONGRESS

What has been the result? A self-constituted body of Indian gentlemen who have no title to represent the people and a very slender title to represent the upper classes of Indian society, but who, as I have already said, doubtless represent to some extent a considerable and influential section of Western educated opinion, might have given very useful assistance to Anglo-Indian legislators and administrators, had they devoted themselves to the study of those social problems in the solution of which it is peculiarly difficult and dangerous for an alien Government to take any initiative. Instead of that, they set before themselves a task that was impossible because they had no *status* to perform it. They were fighting all the time in the air, and their proceedings therefore lacked reality.

The Congress was not only an irresponsible body, but it was never steadied by a healthy divergency of opinions and the presentation of conflicting arguments. It was not even a debating society,

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for all represented practically the same interests, held the same views, made the same speeches, which there was no one to question or to refute. Hence the monotony of the proceedings, the sameness of the speeches, sometimes marked with great ability, and generally delivered with much eloquence and fervour, at the short annual sessions. Every one knew beforehand that every speaker would attack the policy of Government, whether he dealt with the ancient stock grievances or with some new question raised by the legislative and administrative measures of the current year; and every one knew also that all the others would applaud. There was no other way of bidding for popularity and making a mark than by achieving pre-eminence in the arts of pungent criticism and exuberant rhetoric. The divisions which ultimately almost shipwrecked the Congress very rarely showed themselves on the surface of its proceedings till nearly 20 years after its birth.

THE IRRECONCILABLES

The attitude of Government who had accepted the Congress's assurances of loyalty, and recognized its aims, as defined by it to be "perfectly legitimate in themselves," was laid down for the first time officially in 1890, under Lord Lansdowne's Viceroyalty, in terms that were certainly not hostile :—

"The Government of India recognize that the Congress movement is regarded as representing in India what in Europe would be called the more advanced Liberal Party as distinguished from the great body of Conservative opinion which exists side by side with it. They desire themselves to maintain an attitude of neutrality in their relations with both parties, so long as these act strictly within constitutional limits."

To the principles of that declaration the Government of India has strictly adhered ever since, even when, as in 1905, the Congress might have been deemed to have overstepped those constitutional limits by endorsing the Bengalee doctrine of boycott.

Though the majority of the Congress probably glided unconsciously or without any deliberate purpose from its earlier attitude of remonstrance and entreaty into violent denunciation of Government and all its works, there had always been a small group determined to drive or to manœuvre their colleagues as a body into an attitude of open and irreconcilable hostility. That group was headed by Tilak, the strongest personality in Indian politics, who was gradually making recruits among the more ardent spirits all over India. On one occasion, as far back as 1895, when the Congress held its annual session in his own city of Poona, he had attempted to commit it to the aggressive doctrines which he was himself preaching in the Deccan, but he soon discovered that the temper of the majority was against him.

Tilak, however, was far too tenacious ever to accept defeat. He bided his time. He knew he had to reckon with powerful personal jealousies, and he remained in the back-ground. His opportunity did not come till ten years later, when he pulled the strings at the two successive sessions held in 1905 at Benares and in 1906 at Calcutta. It was then that the Congress passed from mere negative antagonism into almost direct defiance of Government. It must have been a proud moment for Tilak when the very man who had often fought so courageously against his inflamma-

tory methods and reactionary tendencies in the Deccan, Mr. Gokhale, played into his hands and from the presidential chair at Benares got up to commend the boycott as a political weapon used for a definite political purpose. A year later, it is true, Mr. Gokhale and the moderate party in the Congress, who had seen in the meantime to what lawlessness the boycott was leading, were anxious to undo or to mitigate at the Calcutta session what they had helped to do at Benares. But again by dint of lobbying, and even more by threatening to break up the Congress, Tilak carried the day, and a resolution was passed in the form upon which he insisted to the effect that the boycott movement was legitimate. It was not till the following year at Surat, after the preaching of lawlessness had begun to yield its inevitable harvest of crime, that the moderates recoiled at last from the quicksands into which the extremists were leading them. Tilak, however, cried out his threat, and he and his friends wrecked that session of the Congress amidst scenes of disgraceful riot or confusion.

Yet, even after this, the moderates lacked the courage of their convictions. The breach has never been altogether repaired, but there have been frequent negotiations and exchanges of courtesies. In the very next year at Madras a man as incapable of promoting or approving criminal forms of agitation as Dr. Rash Behari Ghose was holding out the olive branch to "the wayward wanderers" who had treated him so despitely at Surat; and last year at Lahore, when Pandit Mohan Malavya was expounding from the chair the new formula adopted by Congress as a definition of its aims, his chief anxiety seemed to be to prove that it offered no obstacle to the return of the Surat insurgents to the fold. This formula, it may be mentioned, lays down that "the objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment, by the people of India, of a system of Government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms." This is a formula which many moderates no doubt construe in a spirit of genuine loyalty, but it does not exclude the construction which more advanced politicians like Mr. Pal place upon *Swaraj*.

THE WANING OF THE CONGRESS

The last session of the Congress at Lahore in December last is generally admitted to have aroused very little enthusiasm, and there are many who believe that, weakened as it has been by recent dissensions, it will scarcely survive the creation of the new enlarged Councils. These Councils have been so constituted that they will be able to discharge usefully the functions which the Congress arrogated to itself without any title or authority. Perhaps it was the consciousness that the Congress would at any rate be henceforth overshadowed by the new Councils that led Pandit Malavya to inveigh so bitterly in his presidential address at Lahore against the shape ultimately given to the reforms.

I have already pointed out when writing at the time from Calcutta how sobbering was the atmosphere of the Imperial Council to politicians who had hitherto never had to listen to a refutation of their wholesale indictments of British administration, and who now found themselves for the first time face to face, not only with the officials whom they attacked, but with representatives

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of other classes amongst their own fellow-countrymen holding other and very different opinions from those which had habitually gone forth from the Congress as the opinions of "the people of India." What one may hope above all is that the Councils will help to give the Indian "moderates" a little more self-reliance than they have hitherto shown. The Indian National Congress has at all times contained many men of high character and ability, devoted to what they conceived to be the best interests of their country, and at first, at any rate, quite ready to acknowledge the benefits of British rule and to testify to their conviction that the maintenance of British rule is essential to the welfare and safety of India. Many of them must have seen that the constant denunciation of Government by men who claimed to represent the intelligence of the country must tend to stimulate a spirit of disaffection and revolt amongst their more ignorant and inexperienced fellow-countrymen. Yet not one of them had the courage to face the risk of temporary unpopularity by pointing out the danger of the inclined plane down which they were sliding until they actually saw themselves being swept hopelessly off their feet at Surat. It was then too late to avert the consequences of their inaction or to shake off their share of responsibility for the evils which the tolerance they had too long extended to the methods of their more violent colleagues had helped to produce.

XVII—The Depressed Castes

There is no more striking contrast to the liberal and democratic professions of a body which claims, as does the Indian National Congress, to represent an enlightened, progressive, and national Hinduism than the fact that in the course of its 25 years' existence it has scarcely done anything to give practical effect to its theoretical repudiation of a social system that condemns some 50 millions out of the 207 millions of the Hindu population of India to a life of unspeakable degradation. The "depressed classes," of whom we generally speak as Pariahs, though the name properly belongs only to one particular caste, the Pareiyas in Southern India, include all Hindus who do not belong to the four highest or "clean" castes of Hinduism, and they are therefore now officially and euphemistically designated as the Panchamas—*i.e.*, the fifth caste.

THE FIFTY MILLION "UNTOUCHABLES"

Many of the Panchamas, especially in Southern India, are little better than bonded serfs; others are condemned to this form of ostracism by the trades they ply. Such are not only the scavengers and sweepers, but also the workers in leather, the Chamars and Muchis of Northern and Central India, and the Chakilians and Madigas of Southern India, who with their families number 14 or 15 million souls; the washermen, the toddy-drawers and vendors of spirituous liquors, the pressers of oil, and, in many parts of the country, the cowherds and shepherd castes, &c. They are generally regarded as descendants of the aboriginal tribes overwhelmed centuries ago by the tide of Aryan conquest. Some of those tribes, grouped together in the Indian Census under the denominational rubric of "Animists" and numbering about 8½ millions, have survived to the present day in remote hills and jungles without being absorbed into the Hindu social system, and have preserved their primitive beliefs, in which fetish worship and magic are the

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dominant elements. Low as is their social *status*, it is but little lower than that of the Panchamas, who have obtained a footing on the nethermost rung of the social ladder of Hinduism without being admitted to any sort of contact with its higher civilization or even to the threshold of its temples.

Hinduism with all its rigidity is, it is true, sufficiently elastic to sanction, at least tacitly, a slow process of evolution by which the Panchama castes—for there are many castes even amongst the "untouchables"—gradually shake off to some extent the slough of "uncleanness" and establish some sort of ill-defined relations even with Brahmanism. For whilst there is on the one hand a slowly ascending scale by which the Panchamas may ultimately hope to smuggle themselves in amongst the inferior Sudras, the lowest of the four "clean" castes, so there is a descending scale by which Brahmans, under the pressure of poverty or disrepute, sink to so low a place in Brahmanism that they are willing to lend their ministrations, at a price, to the more prosperous of the Panchamas and help them on their way to a higher *status*. Thus probably half the Sudras of the present day were at some more or less remote period Panchamas. Again, during periods of great civil commotion, as in the 18th century, when brute force was supreme, not a few Panchamas, especially low-caste Mahrattas, made their way to the front as soldiers of fortune, and even carved out kingdoms to themselves at the point of the sword. Orthodox Hinduism bowed in such cases to the accomplished fact, just as it has acquiesced in later years when education and the equality of treatment brought by British rule has enabled a small number of Panchamas to qualify for employment under Government.

THE SOCIAL GULF

But these exceptions are so rare and the evolutionary process is so infinitely slow and laborious that they do not visibly affect the yawning gulf between the "clean" higher caste Hindu and the "unclean" Panchama. The latter may have learned to do *pūja* to Shiva or Kali or other members of the Hindu Pantheon, but he is not allowed within the precincts of their sanctuaries and has to worship from afar. Nor are the disabilities of the Panchama merely spiritual. In many villages he has to live entirely apart. He is not even allowed to draw water from the village well, lest he should "pollute" it by his touch, and where there is no second well for the "untouchables," the hardship is cruel, especially in seasons of drought when casual water dries up. In every circumstance of his life the vileness of his lot is brought home to the wretched pariah by an elaborate and relentless system of social oppression. I will only quote one or two instances which have come within my own observation. The respective distances beyond which Panchamas must not approach a Brahman lest they "pollute" him differ according to their degree of uncleanness. Though they have been laid down with great precision, it is growing more and more difficult to enforce them with the increasing promiscuity of railway and street-car intercourse, but in more remote parts of India, and especially in the south, the old rules are still often observed. In Cochin, a few years ago, I was crossing a bridge and just in front of me walked a respectable-looking native. He suddenly turned tail and running back to the end of the bridge from which we had both

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associated with their class ; they abstain from the practice of infant marriage and concubinage, to which almost all classes of Hindu society are addicted ; they lose much of the old servile spirit which led them to grovel at the feet of their social superiors, and they acquire more sense of the rights and dignity which belong to them as men. Where they are able to escape their surroundings they prove themselves in no way inferior, either in mental or in moral character, to the best of their fellow-countrymen. Especially is this the case in the Mission Boarding Schools, where the change wrought is a moral miracle. In many schools and colleges Christian lads of Panchama origin are holding their own with, and in not a few cases are actually outstripping, their Brahman competitors. . . . In one district the Hindus themselves bore striking testimony to the effect of Christian teaching on the pariahs. "Before they became Christians," one of them said, "we had always to lock up our storehouses, and were always having things stolen. But now all that is changed. We can leave our houses open and never lose anything."

A NOTEWORTHY APPEAL

In the heyday of the Hindu Social Reform Movement, before it was checked by the inrush of political agitation, the question of the elevation of the depressed castes was often and earnestly discussed by progressive Hindus themselves, but it is only recently that it has again been taken up seriously by some of the Hindu leaders, and notably by Mr. Gokhale. One of the utterances that has produced the greatest impression in Hindu circles is a speech made last year by the Geakwar of Baroda, a Hindu Prince who not only professes advanced Liberal views, but whose heart naturally goes out to the depressed castes, as the fortunes of his own house were made by one of those Mahratta adventurers of the eighteenth century to whom I have already referred. His Highness does not attempt to minimize the evils of the system.

"The same principles which impel us to ask for political justice for ourselves should actuate us to show social justice to each other. . . . By the sincerity of our efforts to uplift the depressed classes we shall be judged fit to achieve the objects of our national desire. . . . The system which divides us into innumerable castes claiming to rise by minutely graduated steps from the pariah to the Brahman is a whole tissue of injustice, splitting men equal by nature into divisions high and low, based not on the natural standard of personal qualities but on accidents of birth. The eternal struggle between caste and caste for social superiority has become a constant source of ill-feeling. . . . Want of education is practically universal amongst the depressed classes, but this cannot have been the cause of their fall, for many of the so-called higher classes in India share in the general ignorance. Unlike them, however, they are unable to attend the ordinary schools owing to the idea that it is pollution to touch them. To do so is to commit a sin offensive alike to religion and to conventional morality. Of professions as a means of livelihood these depressed classes have a very small choice. Here, too, the supposed pollution of their touch comes in their way. On every hand we find that the peculiar difficulty from which they suffer, in addition to others that they share with other classes, is their 'untouchableness.'"

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After a powerful argument against the theory of untouchableness and against priestly intolerance, the Gækwar urges not only upon Hindus but upon Government the duty of attacking in all earnestness this formidable problem.

"A Government within easy reach of the latest thought, with unlimited moral and material resources, such as there is in India, should not remain content with simply asserting the equality of men under the common law and maintaining order, but must sympathetically see from time to time that the different sections of its subjects are provided with ample means of progress. Many of the Indian States where they are at all alive to the true functions of government, owing to less elevating surroundings or out of nervousness, fear to strike out a new path and find it less troublesome to follow the policy of *laissez faire* and to walk in the footsteps of the highest Government in India, whose declared policy is to let the social and religious matters of the people alone except where questions of grave importance are involved. When one-sixth of the people are in a chronically depressed and ignorant condition, no Government can afford to ignore the urgent necessity of doing what it can for their elevation."

THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE QUESTION

Can the Government of India afford to disregard so remarkable an appeal? The question is not merely a social and moral question, but also a political one. Whilst some high-caste Hindus are beginning to recognize its urgency, the more prosperous of the socially depressed castes themselves are showing signs of restlessness under the ostracism to which they are subjected. From almost all of these castes a few individuals have always emerged, who acquired wealth and the relative recognition that wealth brings with it, and the numbers of such individuals are increasing. In some cases a whole caste has seen its circumstances improve under new economic conditions entirely beyond its own control—like the Namasudras of Bengal, who, as agriculturists, have had their share of the growing agricultural prosperity of that region. They are materially better off than they used to be, and so they are no longer content with their old social status of inferiority. Not only Christian but Mahomedan missionaries have been at work amongst them, and though the vast majority remain Hindus, they note, like the Panchamas all over India must note, the immediate rise in the social scale of their fellow-castemen who embrace either Christianity or Islam. For it is one of the anomalies of this peculiar conception that the most untouchable Hindu ceases to be quite as untouchable when he becomes a Christian or a Mahomedan. The Bengali politician was quick to see the danger of losing hold altogether of the Namasudras, and he set up a propaganda of his own, which I mentioned in a previous article, with the object of winning them over to his side and to his methods of agitation by promising them in return a relaxation of caste stringency. The question with which we are confronted is whether we shall ourselves take a hand in the elevation of the depressed castes or whether we shall leave it to others, many of whom would exploit them for their own purposes. Is not this an opportunity for the Government of India to respond to the Gækwar's invitation and depart for once from their traditional policy of *laissez faire*? In the Christian Missions they have an

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admirable organization ready to hand which merely requires encouragement and support. Though there are manifold dangers in giving official countenance to proselytizing work amongst the higher classes of Indian society, none of those objections can reasonably lie to co-operating in the reclamation of whole classes which the orthodox Hindu regards as beyond the pale of human intercourse. From the religious point of view, this is a matter which should engage the earnest attention of the great missionary societies of this country. The hour seems to be at hand when a great and combined effort is required of them. From the moral and social point of view they may well claim in this connexion the sympathy and support of all denominations and no-denominations that are interested in the welfare and progress of backward races. From the political point of view the conversion of so many millions of the population of India to the faith of their rulers would open up prospects of such moment that I need not expatiate upon them.

XVIII.—Mahomedan Apprehensions

Whilst I was at Delhi, one of the leading Mahomedans of the old Moghul capital drove me out one afternoon to the great Mosque which still bears witness, in the splendour of its surviving fragments quite as much as in the name it bears, *Kuwwat-ul-Islam*, or Power of Islam, to the ancient glories of Mahomedan rule in India. Two or three other Mahomedan gentlemen had come out to meet us, and there, under the shadow of the Kutub Minar, the loftiest and noblest minaret from which the Musulman call to prayer has ever gone forth, we sat in the Alai Darwazah, the great porch of red sandstone and white marble which formed the south entrance to the outer enclosure of the Mosque, and still presents in the stately grandeur of its proportions and the infinite variety and delicacy of its marble lattice work one of the most perfect monuments of early Mahomedan art, and discussed for upwards of two hours the future that lies before the Mahomedan community of India.

A STARTLING CONTRAST

It is a scene I shall never forget, so startling was the contrast between the racial and religious pride of power which those walls had for centuries reflected and the note of deep and almost gloomy apprehension to which they now rang. For if the burden of my friends' story was reasoned loyalty to the British *raj*, it was weighted with profound anxiety as to the future that awaited the Mahomedans of India, either should our *raj* disappear or should it gradually lose its potency and be merged in a virtual ascendancy of Hinduism under the specious mantle of Indian self-government. They spoke without bitterness or resentment. They acknowledged freely the shortcomings of their own community, its intellectual backwardness, its reluctance to depart from the ancient ways and to realize the necessity of equipping itself for successful competition under new conditions, its lack of organization, due to an inadequate sense of the duty of social service, and the selfishness and jealousy often displayed by different sections and classes. They were beginning to awaken to the dangerous consequences of their shortcomings, but would time be given to them to repair them?

The British *raj* had always claimed that its mission in India

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was to hold the balance evenly between the different races and creeds and classes, and to exercise its paternal authority equally to the detriment of none and for the benefit of all. That the Hindus had from the beginning secured a considerably larger share in Government employment of all kinds was, no doubt, inevitable, as they had shown much greater alacrity to qualify themselves by education on Western lines than the Mahomedans, unfortunately, had until much more recently begun to show. But so long as Government *employees* were merely the servants of Government, and Hindus had no more influence than the Mahomedans in shaping the policy of the Government, the Mahomedans had no serious grievance, or, at any rate, none for which they had not themselves very largely to blame. But of late years they had seen the policy of the British Government itself gradually yielding to the pressure of Hindu agitation and the British *raj* actually divesting itself of some of the powers which it had hitherto retained undiminished for the benefit, in fact if not in theory, of certain classes which, however loudly they might claim to be the representatives of the Indian people, represented with few exceptions nothing but the political ambitions of aggressive Hinduism.

The Mahomedans, they assured me, recognized quite as fully as, and perhaps more sincerely than, the Hindus the generous spirit which had inspired the British Government to grant the reforms embodied in the Indian Councils Act, but they also realised, what it was far more difficult for Englishmen to realize, that those reforms must inevitably tend to give the Hindus a predominant share, as compared with the Mahomedans, in the counsels of Government. In its original shape the scheme of reforms had indeed threatened the Mahomedans with gross unfairness, and the wrath which its subsequent modification in deference to Mahomedan representations had roused among the Hindu politicians was in itself enough to betray to all who had eyes to see and ears to hear the purpose to which they had hoped to turn the excessive predominance they had claimed and expected. That purpose was to advance the political ascendancy of Hinduism which was the goal of Hindu aspirations, whether under the British *raj* or without it.

THE TENDENCY ON THE HINDU REVIVAL

The whole tendency of the Hindu revival, social, religious, and political, during the last 20 years had been as consistently anti-Mahomedan as anti-British, and even more so. Some of the more liberal and moderate Hindu leaders no doubt honestly contemplated the evolution of an Indian "nation" in which Mahomedan and Hindu might sink their racial and religious differences, but these were leaders with a constantly diminishing body of followers. Even among the Extremists not a few would gladly have purchased by pious professions of good will a temporary alliance with the Mahomedans against the British *raj*, subject to an ulterior settlement of accounts for their own benefit. But the Mahomedans, with their many close points of contact with the Hindus, knew, as Englishmen could not know, what were the real sentiments and hopes of the advanced leaders into whose hands passed the control of militant Hinduism. They had noted the constant exhortation of the Hindu Nationalist Press that the youth of India must prepare for the coming Kalki incarnation of Vishnu when the *mlecchas*—i.e., the

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infidels, Moslem as well as British—should be driven out of India. The attitude of the Hindus towards the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal, after the Partition, has shown how they resented the position that the creation of the new province gave to the Moslem element. Nor had the Mahomedans in the Punjab been left without a foretaste of what was to come. In every Government office, in every profession, the Hindus were banding themselves closer and closer together against their few Mahomedan colleagues. The Mahomedans had refused to join in the boycott of British goods, and in Delhi, in Lahore, and in many other cities the word had been passed round among the Hindus not to deal with Mahomedan shops, not to trade with Mahomedan merchants. Some of the more violent spirits were even prepared to challenge the Mahomedans in places where the Mahomedan element is strong and excitable, in order that the inevitable intervention of the British troops for the restoration of order should lead to the shedding of Mahomedan blood, and thus perhaps drive the Mahomedans themselves into disaffection.

What educated Mahomedans, they told me, chiefly feared, and the Hindus themselves chiefly hoped—for few of them probably believed in any speedy overthrow of British rule—was that the British Government and the British people would be wearied by an agitation of which it was difficult for Englishmen to grasp the real inwardness into making successive concessions to the Hindus which would gradually give them such a controlling voice in the government of the country that they would actually be in a position to achieve their policy of ascendancy under the aegis of the British *raj*. Such fears might seem exaggerated, but the Mahomedans could not but take note of the extent to which the Hindu politicians had already secured the ear of an important section of the British Press and of not a few members of the British Parliament, whilst in those same quarters the Mahomedan case never even obtained a hearing, and when the Mahomedans at last realized the necessity of creating an organization for the defence of their legitimate interests they were denounced for reviving racial and religious hatred.

For 20 years and more the educated Mahomedans had strictly followed the advice of their revered leader, Sir Syed Ahmed, and had put their trust in the sense of justice of the British Government and the fair-mindedness of the British people instead of plunging into political agitation. They had not lost their faith in the British Government or in the British people if their case was properly put before them, but they felt that if they were not to become the victims of organized misrepresentation they must have an organization of their own which should speak for them with authority. Moreover, it was impossible for the Mahomedans to stand any longer completely aloof from politics, since the general trend of events in India and the enlargement of the Indian Councils had thrust new responsibilities upon the leaders of their community. Of those responsibilities none was more fully realized than that of showing their loyalty to the British *raj*—a loyalty all the more unalterable in that it was based upon their growing conviction that the maintenance of the British *raj* was essential to the welfare and even to the existence of the Mahomedans of India.

THE FATE OF THE SPANISH MOORS

As I write I have before me a letter from another Mahomedan

friend, a man both of European education and very wide knowledge of his Indian co-religionists. I was so much impressed with the prevalence of this form of fatalism that I wrote and asked him for his opinion. This is his answer :—

“ Moslems feel that while at present the Government in India is British in spirit as well as in name, there are already indications that it might gradually become Hindu in fact, though the British form might remain. The whole object of the advanced Congress Party and of the leaders of the Nationalist movement is not the overthrow of British rule in name, but in fact. You may say that this is a wild apprehension, and that the Government is not foolish enough or weak enough to degenerate into a mere form. That may be the attitude of an Englishman who is in India only as a bird of passage (and all Englishmen are there as birds of passage, for only those whose children belong to the country are permanently bound up with it). For us who live here, and whose children are to live here, the distant as well as the immediate future is of essential importance. Now what is the tendency of Government? Can any one deny that, taken as a whole, it is towards Hindu predominance in the long run? English observers must not forget that there is throughout India amongst Hindus a strong tendency towards imitating the National movements that have proved successful in European history. Now, while *vis-a-vis* the British the Hindu irreconcilables assume the attitude of the Italian patriots towards the hated Austrian, *vis-a-vis* the Moslems there is a very different European model for them to follow. Not only Tilak and his school in Poona, but throughout the Punjab and Bengal the constant talk of the Nationalists is that the Moslems must be driven out of India as they were driven out of Spain.

“This is no invention of ours. Nor is it quite so wild as it appears at first sight. I have gone into the matter carefully, and I can certainly conceive circumstances—50 or 100 years hence—that would make India intolerable for our upper middle classes; and once you get rid of the intelligent and wealthy Moslems the masses could be reduced to absolute subjection in the hands of Hindu rulers. Far be it from me to say that all Hindus are of this purpose or that the school of “liberal Nationalism” to which Gokhale belongs has ceased to exist. But the other school predominates, and as our very existence is at stake we Moslems do not want to take any risks or to see even the very first steps taken towards transforming the British into a Hindu *raj*. Yet those steps are now being taken, though not quite so fast as we at one time feared and Hindus expected. That the sad and terrible fate which our people had in Spain may still be ours in India is a proposition that sounds extravagant at first, but I for my part (and most thoughtful Moslems agree with me) consider it quite possible, and in a matter of such moment we must take possibilities as well as probabilities into consideration.

“The Imperial problem in India is not to get this or that law changed, or so and so many troops increased, or such and such measures of repression or concession adopted. It is to bring about a new mental and spiritual attitude, and to replace the narrow “Nationalism” of the present day by a broad and truly liberal Imperialism in the practical sense of securing general recognition

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for India's difficulties and divisions, and for the natural and necessary maintenance of the British connexion and of British rule. The statesman who can suggest practical means for carrying out this intellectual conversion will certainly have saved England and India much unhappiness and disaster."

On the other hand, I am bound to say that there are also many Mahomedans who, though professing similar apprehensions, show no disposition towards fatalistic resignation. For they believe that, whatever may be the fate of the British *raj*, the future must belong to the more virile peoples of India, and certainly those who do not merely put their trust in the fighting traditions of a conquering race may find a good deal of encouragement for the faith within them from the vital statistics of Hindus and Mahomedans respectively in India.

XIX.—The Mahomedans and British Rule

Whilst it is most important that nothing should be done to give colour to the idea sedulously promoted by the Hindu politician that Government intend to favour, or, as he generally puts it, to "pamper" the Mahomedans at the expense of the Hindus, it is equally important that Government should do nothing to strengthen the apprehensions entertained by the many intelligent and educated Mahomedans whose views I set forth in the preceding article. Those apprehensions are no doubt exaggerated, and may even be quite unfounded; but if we will only take the trouble to try to see things as they may well strike an Indian Mahomedan we can hardly dismiss them as wholly unreasonable.

THE PUBLIC SERVICES

The antagonism between the two communities is not the creation or the result of British rule. It is the legacy of centuries of conflict before British rule was ever heard of in India. It has been and must be one of the chief objects of British statesmanship to compose this conflict, and the Mahomedans do not deny that their British rulers have always desired to deal as fairly with them as with the Hindus. They hold, however, that, as a matter of fact, British rule has in many ways worked out to the relative detriment of Mahomedan influence and to the greater advantage of the Hindus. Nor is that fact rendered any more palatable to the Mahomedans because it is mainly due to the greater adaptability and suppleness displayed by the Hindus ever since India has been brought into contact with Western education and Western methods. The establishment of English as the official language of the Law Courts and of all public Departments necessarily favoured the Hindus by displacing Persian and the vernaculars in which the Mahomedans were most proficient. At the present day the vast majority of Indians employed in every branch of the Government service are Hindus, and this majority is entirely out of proportion to the numerical preponderancy of the Hindu community at large. According to the last Census Report the Hindus of Bengal (which was then un-partitioned), though only twice as numerous as the Mahomedans, held 1,235 higher appointments under Government in Bengal, as against only 141 held by Mahomedans. In the Bombay Presidency the Hindus held 266 such appointments, as against 23 held by Mahomedans;

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and in the Central Provinces 339, as against 75. Of the provinces in reference to which the report furnishes detailed statistics the United Provinces alone failed to show the same disparity, the number of posts held by the Mahomedans, 453, against 711 held by Hindus, being actually and very largely in excess of their proportion to population. The Mahomedans, moreover, complain that, where Mahomedans are employed as clerks in Government Departments, the head clerks, who are almost always Hindus and alone have direct access to the English superior officers, use their influence with the latter to prejudice them against their Mahomedan subordinates. Education has passed very largely from our own hands into those of Hindu teachers. In all the liberal professions, at the Bar, in the Press, the preponderance of Hindus is greatly out of proportion even to the numerical preponderance of the Hindu population as a whole. Intelligent Mahomedans are conscious that all this is to a great extent the result of the backwardness of their community, but hardships are none the less hardships because they are largely of one's own making. Again, the principal seat of the Government of India and those of the two great Presidency Governments are in centres of Hindu life where the voice of the Mahomedan element does not make itself easily heard.

ENGLISH PARTY ATTITUDE

Then Mahomedans who watch public opinion in England note that one of the two great parties in the State has for many years past professed to recognize in the views of Hindu politicians a commendable affinity to its own political principles, whilst the memory of its greatest leader, Mr. Gladstone, is chiefly associated in India with a violent hostility to Turkey, which, at any rate amongst many of his followers, degenerated into violent denunciations of Islam in general. By his personal qualities Lord Ripon, the most pronounced Liberal ever sent out in our time as Viceroy, endeared himself to many Mahomedans as well as to the Hindus, but he never made any secret of his political sympathies with Hindu aspirations. Whilst Unionist Governments were in office, with only one short break during a period of nearly 20 years, and especially whilst Lord Curzon was Viceroy, the alliance between the Hindu leaders and Radical politicians at home became more and more intimate. The Hindu National Congress, which the Mahomedans had come to regard as little more than a Hindu political organization, was not only generally acclaimed by English newspapers of an advanced complexion as the exponent of a new-born Indian democracy, but it had founded in London an organ of its own, *India*, subsidized out of its funds, and edited and managed by Englishmen, which may not have a very large circulation at home, but is the chief purveyor of Indian news to a large part of the Liberal Press. When Radical members of Parliament visited India the views they chiefly cared to make themselves acquainted with or reproduced when they went home were the views of Hindu politicians, and when the latter visited England they could always depend upon the demonstrative hospitality not only of Radical clubs and associations but also of the Radical Press for their political propaganda.

THE NEW REFORMS

When the Liberal Party returned to power at the end of 1905,

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the majority in the new House of Commons included a very active group that identified itself whole-heartedly with a campaign which, in Bengal, soon assumed a character of scarcely less hostility to the Mahomedans than to the British Administration, and the new Government announced their intention of preparing a scheme of reforms which, whatever its merits, was greeted in India as a concession to Hindu rather than to Mahomedan sentiment. For the Mahomedan has always been a believer in personal rule, and one of the objects of the reforms scheme was to diminish to some extent that element in the Indian Administration.

Moreover, when it was first outlined by the Secretary of State, the scheme contained provisions which seemed to the Mahomedans to be at variance both with principles of fair and equal treatment for all races and creeds and classes upon which British rule had hitherto been based, and with the specific pledges given by the Viceroy to the Mahomedan deputation that waited upon him four years ago at Simla when the reforms were first contemplated. The new representation in the enlarged Indian Councils was based proportionally upon a rough estimate of the populations of India which credited the Hindus with millions that are either altogether outside the pale of Hinduism or belong to those castes which the majority of educated Hindus of the higher castes still regard as "untouchable." The effect would have been to give the Hindus what the Mahomedans regarded as an unfairly excessive representation. Happily, though the question trembled for a long time in the balance, Lord Morley listened to the remonstrances of the Mahomedans, and in its final shape the Indian Councils Act made very adequate provision for the representation of Mahomedan interests. But the Mahomedans saw in the angry disappointment of the Hindu politicians when the scheme was thus modified ample justification for the fears they had entertained. Even as it is—and the Mahomedans recognize both the many good points of the scheme and Lord Morley's desire to deal fairly with them—these new reforms may well seem to the Mahomedans to have enured mainly to the benefit of the Hindus. The Mahomedans appreciate as warmly as the Hindus the appointment of an Indian member to the Viceroy's Executive Council, and if the first Indian member was to be a Hindu they admit that Mr. Sinha had exceptional qualifications for the high post to which he was called. The Indian members added under the new Act to the Executive Councils of Bombay and Madras are also both Hindus, and another Hindu will almost certainly be nominated in like manner to the Executive Council of Bengal. None of these appointments may be open to objection, but the fact nevertheless remains that it is the Hindus and not the Mahomedans who will have had the immediate benefit of this new departure to which Indian opinion attaches the greatest importance.

THE DELEGATION OF BRITISH AUTHORITY

The fact is that the more we delegate of our authority in India to the natives of India on the principles which we associate with self-government, the more we must necessarily in practice delegate it to the Hindus, who form the majority, however much we may try to protect the rights and interests of the Mahomedan minority. This is what the Mahomedans know and fear. This is what ex-

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plains their insistence upon separate electorates wherever the elective principle comes into play in the composition of representative bodies. It is not merely that they have yet to learn the elementary business of electoral organization, in which the Hindus on the contrary have shown great proficiency, and that they have consequently fared badly even in local bodies where their numbers ought to have secured them more adequate representation. Many Mahomedans realize the disadvantage of locking up their community in a watertight compartment, but they regard it as the lesser evil. It is, they contend, as essential safe-guard not only against an excessive Hindu predominance in elective or partly elective bodies, but also against the growing disposition which they note amongst those who claim to be the spokesmen of the rising British democracy to accelerate the rate at which political concessions should be made to Hindu opinion, and also to disregard the claim of the Mahomedan minority to be protected against any abuse by the Hindus of the power which a majority must necessarily wield.

XX—The Position of Indian Mahomedans

My object is to explain the views actually held by the leaders of the Indian Mahomedan community, rather than to endorse or to controvert them. Even if the construction they place upon the attitude of their Hindu fellow-countrymen and of an influential section of British public opinion be wholly unreasonable, the fact that that attitude is liable to such a construction is one which we ought to bear in mind. Nor can it be disputed that however generous the sentiments that prompt us to delegate some part of our authority to elective or partly elective assemblies, it must to some extent diminish the power of the Executive to ensure that equality of treatment for all races and creeds and classes by which we have hitherto justified our rule in India. Our sense of equity should make us, therefore, all the more scrupulously careful to adjust the balance as evenly as possible under the new conditions which we are ourselves creating, and to err, if at all, in favour of the protection of minorities. Elementary considerations of statesmanship impose the same obligation upon us.

THE INDIAN MOSLEM

The Mahomedans of India form more than a fifth of the whole population. They are not racially any more homogeneous than the Hindus, and except towards the north-western frontier, where they are to be found chiefly amongst the half-tamed tribes of the Indian borderland, and in the Punjab and United Provinces, where there are many descendants of the Moslem conquerors, they consist chiefly of converted Hindus who accepted Islam as a consequence of Mahomedan rule. But whatever racial differences there may be amongst them, they are now bound together by a creed which has an extraordinary welding power. That there are also explosive potentialities in their creed the Wahabi rising in Bengal little more than 30 years ago and the chronic turbulence of the tribes and frequent exploits of *ghazis* on the north-western frontier are there to show. But amongst the large body of Mahomedans scattered through India and especially amongst the higher classes, Islam has in a great measure lost its aggressive character. Surrounded on all

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sides by an overwhelming majority of Hindus, whose religion he regards as detestably idolatrous, the Indian Moslem is inclined to sink his hostility to Christianity and to regard us less as "infidels" than as fellow-believers in the central article of his monotheistic faith, the unity of God. We, too, in his eyes are "People of the Book," though our Book is not the Koran, but the Bible, of which he does not altogether deny the sacred character.

Other things also often draw him towards the Englishman. The Englishman to him represents a ruling race and to such an one he feels that he who also represents a once ruling race can yield a more willing allegiance than to any one of a race which he himself ruled over. Equally his fighting and his sporting instincts also appeal to many Englishmen. Hence both Englishmen and Mahomedans in India frequently feel that they have more in common than either of them has with the Hindu. The Mahomedans moreover, consisting very largely of the most virile races in India, have always furnished some of the best contingents of the British Indian Army. Their loyalty has never wavered except during the Mutiny, and modern Indian writers of the Nationalist school are themselves at pains to show that, though the mutineers rallied round the feeble descendant of the Moghul Emperors as the only available figurehead, and many Mahomedans proved themselves good "patriots," it was Hindus like Nana Sahib and Tantia Tope and the Ranees of Jhansi who were the real heroes and moving spirits of that "War of Indian Independence."

THE MOSLEM LEAGUE

In our day the British connexion has had no stouter and more convinced supporter than the late Sir Syed Ahmad, than whom no Mahomedan has deserved or enjoyed greater influence over his Indian co-religionists. Not only does his educational work, based on the English public school system, live after him in the college which he founded at Aligarh, but also his political faith which taught the vast majority of educated Mahomedans to regard their future as bound up with the preservation of British rule. The revival of Hinduism has only served to strengthen that faith by bringing home to the Mahomedans the value of British rule as a bulwark against the Hindu ascendancy which in the more or less remote future they have unquestionably begun to dread.

The creation of a political organization like the All-India Moslem League, which is an outcome of the new apprehensions evoked by Hindu aspirations, may appear on the surface to be a departure from the teachings of Sir Syed Ahmad, who, when the Indian National Congress was appealing in its early days for Mahomedan support, urged his people to hold altogether aloof from politics and to rely implicitly upon the good will and good faith of Government. But things have moved rapidly since Sir Syed Ahmad's time, and when the British Government themselves create fresh opportunities for every Indian community to make its voice heard in political counsel, the Mahomedans hold that none can afford to stand back.

The Moslem League founded by the Aga Khan, one of the most broad-minded and highly-educated of Indians, with the full approval of the late Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, the confidant and successor of Sir Syed Ahmad, is moreover not merely or even chiefly a

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political organization. It is intended to serve as a centre for the maintenance and consolidation of the communal interests of the Mahomedans all over India in their social, educational, and economic as well as political aspects. Its programme was unfolded at the annual meeting of the League held in January last at Delhi both in an address read on behalf of Mr. Ameer Ali, who was detained in England by his duties on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and in a speech delivered by the Aga Khan the recognized leader of the whole community. The programme of the Moslem League puts forward no such ambitious demands as self-government for India. All it asks for is "the ordered development of the country under the Imperial Crown." It accepts the reforms with much more gratitude and enthusiasm than were displayed by the spokesman of the Indian National Congress at Lahore and it accepts them in no narrow or sectarian spirit. The Aga Khan was in fact at special pains to indicate the various directions in which Mahomedans and Hindus might and ought to act in harmonious co-operation. The functions of the Mahomedan representatives on the new Councils would, the Aga Khan said, be threefold.

"In the first place they must co-operate as representative Indian citizens with other Indians in advancing the well-being of the country by working whole-heartedly for the spread of education, for the establishment of free and universal primary education, for the promotion of commerce and industry, for the improvement of agriculture by the establishment of co-operative credit and distribution societies, and for the development of the natural resources of India. Here, indeed, is a wide field of work for Hindus and Mahomedans acting together. In the second place our representatives must be ready to co-operate with the Hindus and all other sections of society in securing for them all those advantages that serve their peculiar conditions and help their social welfare, for although the two sister communities have developed on different lines, each suffers from some peculiar weakness in addition to the misfortunes common to general economic and educational backwardness. And then our representatives must watch and promote social measures required exclusively for the benefit of their Moslem co-religionists, with the co-operation, we hope, of the Hindu members, for we too have needs that are not known to them and which we alone can fully understand."

A DELICATE SITUATION

No language could be more generous or more statesmanlike. The Aga Khan doubtless realizes that, whatever the more or less remote future may have in store for the two communities, their increasing antagonism in consequence of the aggressive tendencies displayed by Hindu "nationalism" during the last few years is pregnant with immediate danger, and nowhere more so than in the Punjab where he was speaking. Not only have the preachers of the Arya Samaj, taking their cue from the writings of their apostle Dayanand, frequently indulged, both in the Press and on the platform, in outrageous attacks upon the Mahomedans' religion, but the militant Hindus have visited upon the Mahomedans their refusal to join in an anti-British agitation by enforcing against them a commercial and social boycott, none the less oppressive and damaging because it is not openly proclaimed. The bitterness thus engen-

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dered found vent in serious riots this year at Peshawar, just as it did in Eastern Bengal, when the boycott campaign there was at its height. Even in Hyderabad, the capital of the Nizam's dominions, where under the wise administration of a great Mahomedan ruler whose Prime Minister is a Hindu, the relations between Moslem and Hindu have hitherto been quite harmonious, a change is gradually making itself felt under the inspiration of a small group of Bengali Hindus who have brought with them the Nationalist cry of "Araya for the Aryan."

The animosity which has always existed between the Mahomedans and the Hindus, especially amongst the lower orders, has been a constant source of anxiety to Anglo-Indian administrators. As far as it springs from the clash of religious beliefs, social customs, and historical traditions, it can only be eradicated by the slow process of education. The most trivial incident, the meeting of rival processions, the maltreatment of a cow, so sacred to the Hindus, some purely personal quarrel suddenly leads to violent affrays in which the whole populace on both sides joins in without knowing even what it is all about. The danger must be enormously heightened if one community begins to believe that the other community is compassing deep-laid schemes for the promotion of its own ultimate ascendancy. The political agitation conducted by the Hindus has for some time past tended to create such a belief amongst the Mahomedans. As far back as 1893, at the time of the Bombay riots and of Tilak's "anti-cow-killing" propaganda in the Deccan, the Bombay Government reported "an uneasy feeling among Mahomedans that they and their faith were suffering at the hands of the Hindus, that they were being gradually but surely edged out of the position they have hitherto held, and that their religion needed some special protection." That uneasy feeling has gradually ripened since then into a wide-spread and deep-rooted conviction—not the least of the many deplorable results of a movement that claims to be called "national."

It would be an evil day for the internal peace of India if a people still so proud of their history, so jealous of their religion and so conscious of their virile superiority as the Mahomedans came to believe that they could only trust to their own right hand, and no longer to the authority and sense of justice of the British *rāj* to avert the dangers which they foresee in the future from the establishment of an overt or covert Hindu ascendancy. Some may say that it would be an equally evil day for the British *rāj* if the Mahomedans came to believe in the futility of unrequited loyalty and joined hands with its enemies in the confident anticipation that, whatever welter might follow the collapse of British rule, they could not fail sooner or later to fight their way once more to the front. Certainly at no time since we have ruled India has greater circumspection been needed in holding the balance between the two communities. It would be as impolitic to forget that the Mahomedans have held steadfastly aloof from the anti-British movement of the last few years and represent on the whole a great conservative force, as to create the impression amongst the Hindu at large, of whom the vast majority are still our friends, that we are disposed to visit upon them the disloyalty of what is after all a small section of their community by unduly favouring the Mahomedans at their expense

XXI.—*The Native States*

One of the chief features of the original scheme of constitutional reforms submitted to the Secretary of State by the Government of India was the creation of an Imperial Advisory Council composed of ruling chiefs and territorial magnates. It was ultimately abandoned in view of many and obvious objections. The chief one was the difficulty of adjusting the relations to the Government of India of a Council in which the most conspicuous members could have had no definite *locus standi* in regard to the internal affairs of British India—*i. e.* of the larger part of our Indian dependency under direct British administration. Nevertheless, in all matters affecting the interests of the whole community, the native States, which occupy altogether about one-third of the total area of India and have an aggregate population of over 66 millions, cannot possibly be ignored, and it is the duty as well as the interest of the Supreme Government to consult the rulers charged with the administration of so large a portion of our Indian Empire. Nor can any one dispute the cumulative value of a general consensus of opinion amongst them, as the States over which they rule, distributed throughout the whole length and breadth of India, display the same extraordinary variety of races and creeds and castes and languages and customs and traditions as the provinces under the immediate rule of the Viceroy.

THE RULING CHIEFS

Not only do the Native States vary in size and importance from powerful principalities like the Nizam's State of Hyderabad, with an area of 82,000 miles—nearly equal to that of England and Wales and Scotland—and a population of over 11 millions, down to diminutive chiefships smaller than the holdings of a great English landlord, but their rulers themselves represent almost every phase and aspect of Indian history. The Princes of Rajputana, headed by the Maharana of Udaipur, with genealogies reaching back into the mythical ages, have handed down to the present day the traditions of Hindu chivalry. In the south of India, the rulers of Mysore and Cochin and Travancore, who also claim Rajput blood, still personify the subjection of the older Dravidian races to the Aryan invaders from the north. Mahratta chiefs like Scindia and the Gækwar date from the great uplifting of the Mahratta power in the eighteenth century, whilst the Maharajah of Kolhapur is a descendant of Shivaji, the first Mahratta chieftain to stem the tide of Mahomedan conquest more than a century earlier. The great majority of the ruling princes and chiefs are Hindus, but besides the Nizam, the most powerful of all, there are not a few other Mahomedan rulers who have survived the downfall of Moslem supremacy, just as the Sikh chiefs of Patiala, Nabha, and Kapurthala, in the Punjab, still recall the great days of Ranjit Singh and the Sikh confederacy. In some of the Native States the ruling families are neither of the same race nor of the same creed as the majority of their subjects. The Nizam is a Sunni Mahomedan, but most of his subjects are Hindus, and of the Mahomedans some of the most influential are Shias. The Maharajah of Kashmir, a Hindu Rajput, rules over many Mongolian Buddhists, whilst there are but few Mahrattas in Gwalior or Indore, though both Holkar and Scindia are Mahratta Princes.

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INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

In all the Native States the system of government is more or less of the old patriarchal or personal type which has always obtained in the East, but in its application it exhibits many variations which reflect sometimes the idiosyncrasies of the ruler and sometimes the dominant forces of inherited social traditions. In Cochin and Travancore, for instance, the ancient ascendancy of the Northern Brahmans over the Dravidian subject races survives in some of its most archaic forms. Udaipur has perhaps preserved more than any other State of Rajputana the aristocratic conservatism of olden days, whilst some of the younger Rajput chiefs have moved more freely with the times and with their own western education. The Gækwar has gone further than any other ruling chief in introducing into his State of Baroda the outward forms of what we call Western progress though his will is probably in all essentials as absolute as that of Scindia, another Mahratta chief, whose interest in every form of Western activity is displayed almost as much in his physical energy as in his intellectual alertness. Some no doubt abandon the conduct of public affairs almost entirely to their Ministers, and prefer a life of easy self-indulgence. Others, on the contrary, are keen administrators, and insist upon doing everything themselves. As masterful a ruler as any in the whole of India is a lady, the Begum of Bhopal, a Mahomedan Princess of rare attainments and character. The Nizam, on the other hand, though an absolute ruler, has recently placed it on record that he attributes the peaceful content and law-abiding character of his subjects to the traditions he has inherited from his ancestors. "They were singularly free from all religious and racial prejudices. Their wisdom and foresight induced them to employ Hindus and Mahomedans, Europeans and Parsees alike in carrying on the administration, and they reposed entire confidence in their officers whatever religion and race they belonged to." To those principles his Highness rightly claims to have himself adhered.

RELATIONS WITH THE SUPREME GOVERNMENT

Again, though the relationship of the Supreme Government to all these rulers is one of suzerainty, it is governed in each particular case by special and different treaties which vary the extent and nature of the control exercised over them. The principles of our policy towards them were admirably set forth in a speech delivered last November by Lord Minto at Udaipur. "In guaranteeing their internal independence and in undertaking their protection against external aggression, it naturally follows that the Imperial Government has assumed a certain degree of responsibility for the general soundness of their administration, and would not consent to incur the reproach of being an indirect instrument of misrule. There are also certain matters in which it is necessary for the Government of India to safeguard the interests of the community as a whole, as well as those of the Paramount Power, such as railways, telegraphs and other services of an Imperial character." At the same time the Viceroy wisely laid great stress on the fact that, in pursuance of the pledges given by the British Crown to the rulers of the Native States, "our policy is with rare exceptions one of non-interference in their internal affairs," and he pointed out that, as owing to the varying conditions of different States "any attempt at complete

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uniformity and subservience to precedent" must be dangerous, he had endeavoured "to deal with questions as they arose with reference to existing treaties, the merits of each case, local conditions, antecedent circumstances, and the particular stage of development, feudal and constitutional, of individual principalities."

ATTITUDE TOWARDS DISAFFECTION

It is this great diversity of origin and traditions and influence which gives exceptional weight to the position assumed by the rulers of the Native States towards the forces of active unrest in India. Had those forces merely been engaged in a legitimate struggle for the enlargement of Indian rights and liberties, it is scarcely conceivable that the ruling Princes and Chiefs should have passed judgment against them with such absolute uniformity. Some of them, no doubt, like the Maharajahs of Kolhapur and of Patiala, have, as I have already shown, been brought face to face with the same violent and even with the same criminal methods of agitation as the Government of India has had to deal with in provinces under British administration. The Maharajah of Jaipur and Maharajah Scindia felt themselves constrained just about a year ago to enact new measures against sedition and the importation into their States of seditious literature which was still allowed to circulate with impunity in British India, whilst the State of Bikanir was the first to introduce an Explosive Substances Act immediately after the epidemic of bomb-throwing had broken out in Bengal. Other States have also taken strong preventive measures, but many have fortunately been spared so far any serious trouble within their own borders, and their rulers have been able to study the problem merely as interested observers and from the point of view of the general welfare of the country.

It is not, however, merely from the measures they have passed—measures in some cases far more drastic than any yet enacted by the Government of India—that we are able to estimate their condemnation of recent methods of political agitation. On August 6, 1909, the Viceroy took the unusual step of communicating direct with all the principal ruling Princes and Chiefs of India on the subject of the active unrest prevalent in many parts of the country, and provoking an exchange of opinions "with a view to mutual co-operation against a common danger." The answers which his Excellency received form a most interesting and instructive set of documents, which I propose to review in my next article.

XXII.—*The views of the ruling Chiefs*

When Lord Minto decided to enter into communication with the Ruling Chiefs on the subject of Indian unrest, some doubts were expressed as to the wisdom of such a course, on the ground that it might create in the Protected States an impression of exaggerated alarm. But the tone and substance of the replies which his Excellency's communication elicited showed that there was no reason for any such apprehensions. The ruling chiefs, on the contrary, appreciated and reciprocated the confidence reposed in them.

THE REALITY OF THE DANGER

It may be argued that in replying to a Viceregal *Kharita*, the Ruling Chiefs could hardly do less than recognize the existence of

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the "common danger" to which Lord Minto had drawn their attention. But the careful analysis of the influences behind the agitation and the practical suggestions for dealing with it which the majority of the replies contain, prove that their opinions are certainly not framed "to order." They represent the convictions and experience of a group of responsible Indians better situated in some respect to obtain accurate information about the doings and feelings of their fellow-countrymen than any Anglo-Indian administrators can be. The language of the Nizam is singularly apt and direct. "Once the forces of lawlessness and disorder are let loose there is no knowing where they will stop. It is true that, compared with the enormous population of India, the disaffected people are a very insignificant minority, but, given time and opportunity, there exists the danger of this small minority spreading its tentacles all over the country and inoculating with its poisonous doctrines the classes and masses hitherto untouched by this seditious movement." The Maharana of Udaipur, speaking with the authority of his unique position amongst Hindus as the premier Prince of Rajputana, not only condemns an agitation "which is detrimental to all good government and social administration," but declares it to be "a great disgrace to their name as also to their religious beliefs that, in spite of the great prosperity India has enjoyed under the British *regime* people are acting in such an ungrateful way." No less emphatic is the Mahratta ruler of Gwalior:—"The question is undoubtedly a grave one, affecting as it does the future well-being of India," and "it particularly behoves those who preside over the destinies of the people and have large personal stakes to do all in their power to grapple with it vigorously." The Maharajah of Jaipur, one of the wisest of the older generation of Hindu rulers, agrees that "only a small fraction of the population has been contaminated by the seditious germ," but he adds significantly that "that fraction has, it seems, been carefully organized by able, rich, and unscrupulous men," and he does not hesitate to declare that "an organized and concerted campaign, offensive and defensive, against the common enemy is what is wanted."

According to the Rajah of Dewas, one of the most enlightened of the younger Hindu chiefs, "it is a well known fact that the endeavours of the seditious party are directed not only against the Paramount Power, but against all constituted forms of government in India, through an absolutely misunderstood sense of 'patriotism,' and through an attachment to the popular idea of 'government by the people,' when every level-headed Indian must admit that India generally has not in any way shown its fitness for a popular government." He goes so far even as to state his personal conviction that history and all "sound-minded" people agree that India cannot really attain to the standard of popular government as understood by the West.

RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES

It is another Hindu ruler, the Rajah of Ratlam, who points out the close connexion, upon which I have laid stress in previous articles, between religious revivalism and sedition. He recognizes that "Hindus, and for the matter of that all Oriental peoples, are swayed more by religion than by anything else." Government have hitherto adopted, and rightly adopted, the policy of allowing

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perfect freedom in the matter of religious beliefs, but as the seditionists are seeking to connect their anarchical movement with religion, and the political *Sadhu* is abroad, it is high time to change the policy of non-interference in so-called religious affairs. The new religion which is now being preached, "with its worship of heroes like Shivaji and the doctrine of India for India alone," deserves, this Hindu Prince boldly declares, to be treated as Thuggism and Sutte were treated, which both claimed the sanction of religion. "It pains me," he adds, "to write as above, but already religion has played a prominent part in this matter, and religious books were found in almost every search made for weapons and bombs. The *role* of the priest or the *Sadhu* is most convenient, and rulers have bowed, and do bow, to religious preachers. These people generally distort the real import of religious precepts, and thereby vitiate the public mind. The founders are sly enough to flatter the Government by an occasional address breathing loyalty and friendship, but it is essential to check this religious propaganda."

SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The rulers of the Native States are not content merely to profess loyalty and reprobate disaffection. With the exception of the Gekwar, whose reply, without striking any note of substantial dissent, is marked by a certain coolness that has won for him the applause of the Nationalist Press, they respond heartily to the Viceroy's request for suggestions as to the most effective measures to cope with the evil. Most of them put in the very forefront of their recommendations the necessity of checking the licence of the Indian Press, to which they attribute the main responsibility for the widening of the gulf between the rulers and the ruled. And it should be remembered that these opinions were expressed some months before the Imperial Government and the Government of India decided to introduce the new Press Act. The Nizam holds that newspapers publishing false allegations or exaggerated reports should be officially called upon "to print formal contradiction or correction as directed." For, in his Highness's opinion, "it is no longer safe or desirable to treat with silent contempt any perverse statement which is publicly made, because the spread of education on the one hand has created a general interest in the news of the country, and a section of the Press, on the other hand, deliberately disseminates news calculated to promote enmity between Europeans and Indians, or to excite hatred of Government and its officers in the ignorant and credulous minds." Several Chiefs recommend more summary proceedings and less publicity in the case of political offences, as, though such measures may appear arbitrary at first sight, they are quite suited to the country." Several agree that a closer watch should be kept on "religious mendicants" who go about in the guise of *Sadhus* preaching sedition, and that a more intimate exchange of secret intelligence should take place with regard to the seditious propaganda between the different States and the Government of India. Others believe in the creation of counter-organizations to inform and encourage the loyal elements.

But it is perhaps on the question of education that some of the ruling Chiefs speak with the greatest weight and authority, and there is nothing they more deeply deplore than the divorce of secular

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instruction from religious and moral training, which they hold responsible for much of the present mischief. "Strange as it may sound," says the Rajah of Dewas, "it is a well-known fact that the germs of the present unrest in India were laid by that benefactor of the human race, education." Another Chief is of opinion that, as the formation of character is the highest object of education, all public schools should be graded by the results they achieve in this direction rather than by high percentages in examinations; whilst others strongly recommend the extension of the residential college system and greater care in the selection of good teachers.

THE EFFECT PRODUCED

One may possibly not agree with all the opinions expressed or with all the recommendation made in this correspondence, but their general uniformity cannot fail to carry weight. It certainly carried weight with both the Government of India and the Imperial Government. Not only did it admittedly contribute to the enactment of the Indian Press Bill of February last, but it has probably also contributed to bring about a more general recognition of the urgency of the Indian educational problem. The effect produced in India itself by the publication of the views held by the rulers of Native States, many of whom enjoy great prestige and influence far beyond the limits of their immediate dominions, was naturally considerable. The extremists were lashed to fury, and none of the seditious leaflets directed against the "alien" rulers and "sun-dried bureaucrats" was more violent than one issued in reply to these utterances of the rulers of their own race. One of the ruling Chiefs to whom it had been sent gave me a copy of it as "a characteristic document." It is headed: "Choose, O Indian Princes." It begins, it is true, by assuring them that there is not as yet any cut-and-dried scheme for dealing with them.*

But after being exhorted in impassioned accents either to sacrifice themselves in the great national struggle now at hand, or at the very least to stand back and keep the ring, they are warned as to the consequences of disregarding these admonitions:—

"Forget not, O Princes! that a strict account will be asked of your doings and non-doings, and a people newly-born will not fail to pay you in the coin you paid. Every one who shall have actively betrayed the trust of the people, disowned his fathers, and debased his blood by arraying himself against the Mother—he shall be crushed to dust and ashes. . . . Do you doubt our grim earnestness? If so hear the name of Dhingra and be dumb. In the name of that martyr, O Indian Princes, we ask you to think solemnly and deeply upon these words. Choose as you will and you will reap what you sow. Choose whether you shall be the first of the nation's fathers or the last of the nation's tyrants."

In some less rabid quarters an attempt has been made to decry the views of the native rulers as emanating from petty Oriental despots terrified by the onward march of the new Indian democracy. If so it is strange that whilst the "despots" make no secret of their attitude towards disaffection, they are equally outspoken on the necessity of a liberal and progressive policy. The Nizam himself

* Here follows an extract which, owing to its seditious character, we are unable to reproduce. *Ed. I. W.*

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states emphatically that he is "a great believer in conciliation and repression going hand in hand to cope with the present condition of India. While sedition should be localized and rooted out sternly, and even mercilessly, deep sympathy and unreserved reliance should manifest themselves in all dealings with loyal subjects without distinction of creed, caste, and colour." Unfortunately it requires at the present day more courage for an Indian to hold such language as that than to coquet, as many politicians do, with violence and crime. Indians in high position are peculiarly sensitive to printed attacks, perhaps because behind such attacks there often lurk forms of social pressure, rendered possible by their caste system, with which we, happily for ourselves, are totally unfamiliar. One of the most discouraging features of the present situation is that so few among the moderate politicians who are known to share and approve the views expressed by the Princes of India have had the moral courage to endorse them publicly.

XXIII.—*Cross Currents*

The political aspects of Indian unrest have compelled me to dwell chiefly upon the evil forces which it has generated. But contact with the West has acted as a powerful ferment for good as well as for evil upon every class of Indian society that has come more or less directly under its influence. Were it otherwise, we should indeed have to admit the moral bankruptcy of our civilization. The forces of unrest are made up of many heterogeneous and often conflicting elements, and even in their most mischievous manifestations there are sometimes germs of good which it should be our business to preserve and to develop. Largely as the classes touched, however superficially, by Western education have of late years been invaded by a spirit of reaction and of revolt against all for which that education stands, they have not yet by any means been wholly conquered by it.

It is the breath of the West that has stirred the spiritual and intellectual activity of which Hindu revivalism and political disaffection, glorified under the name of Nationalism, are unfortunately the most prominent and the most recent but not the only outcome. Another and much healthier outcome is the sense of social duty and social service which has grown up amongst many educated Indians of all races and creeds, and amongst none more markedly than amongst the Hindus. Traditions of mutual helpfulness are indeed deep-rooted in India as in all Oriental communities. Mutual helpfulness is the best feature of the caste system, of the Hindu family system, of the old Indian village system, and it explains the absence in a country where there is so much poverty of those abject forms of pauperism with which we are compelled at home to deal through the painful medium of our Poor Laws. But until the leaven of Western ideas had been imported into India mutual helpfulness was generally confined within the narrow limits of distinct and separate social units. It is now slowly expanding out of water-tight compartments into a more spacious conception of the social interdependence of the different classes of the community. This expansion of the Indian's social horizon began with the social reform movement which had kindled the enthusiasm of an older generation in the '70's and '80's of the last century. Far from being, as some contend, a by-product of the more recent National-

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ism, which had never been heard of at that period, its progress, as I have already shown, has been materially checked not only by the reactionary tendencies of this Nationalism in religious and social matters, but by the diversion of some of the best energies of the country into the relatively barren field of political agitation.

SOCIAL REFORM

Though social reform has been checked, it has not been altogether arrested, nor can it be arrested so long as British rule, by the mere fact of its existence, maintains the ascendancy of Western ideals. Happily there are still plenty of educated Indians who realize that the liberation of Indian society from the trammels which are of its own making is much more urgent than its enfranchisement from an alien yoke. Even amongst politicians of almost every complexion the necessity of removing from the Indian social system the reproach of degrading anachronisms is finding at least theoretical recognition. Alongside of more conspicuous political organisations devoted mainly to political propaganda, other organizations have been quietly developing all over India whose chief purpose it is to grapple with social, religious, and economic problems which are not, or need not necessarily be, in any way connected with politics. Their voices are too often drowned by the louder clamour of the politicians pure and simple and they attract little attention outside India. But no one who has spent any time in India can fail to be struck with the many-sided activities revealed in all the non-political conventions and conferences and congresses held annually all over the country. Within the last 12 months there have been philanthropic and religious conferences like the All-India Temperance Conference, the Christian Endeavour Convention, the Theosophical Convention, social conferences like the Indian National Social Conference, the Moslem Educational Congress, and the Sikh Educational Conference, economic conferences like the Industrial Conference held at Lahore in connexion with the Punjab Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition, not to speak of many others, such as the Rajput Conference, the Hindu Punjab Conference, the Kshatriya Conference, the Parsee Conference, &c., which dealt with the narrower interests of particular castes or communities, but nevertheless gathered together representatives of those interests from all parts of India, or at any rate from a whole province.

Some of these meetings may be made to subserve political purposes. Others, like the Parsee Conference, betray reactionary tendencies in the most unexpected places, for the Parsee community, which has thriven more than any other on Western education and has prided itself upon being the most progressive and enlightened of all Indian communities, is the last one in which one would have looked for the triumph, however temporary, of a strangely beighted orthodoxy. But the majority of these gatherings represent an honest and earnest attempt to apply, as far as possible, the teachings of Western experience to the solution of Indian problems, and to subject Indian customs and beliefs to the test of modern themselves, moreover, chiefly to questions of government like that of India can take the risk of being altogether ahead of native vigorous opposition. As Mr. Lala Dev Raj,

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the chairman of the last Social Conference at Lahore, for instance, put it :—

“ The reforms advocated here strike at those harmful and undesirable customs which are purely of our own creation and which must be bidden farewell to, as our eyes are being opened to them. If we cannot do that, we can hardly call ourselves a living community.”

The results of all this activity may not so far have been very marked, but the mere fact that the supreme sanction of tradition, which was formerly almost undisputed, is now subjected to discussion is bound to make some impression, even upon those whose political concepts are based upon the immanent superiority of Hinduism. The new interpretation of the *Bhagvat Gita*, though sometimes distorted to hideous ends, has itself been inspired by a broader appreciation of social duty than there was room for in the Hindu theory of life before it had been modified by Western influences. So long as the spirit of social endeavour kindled by men like Ram Mohun Roy and Keshab Chunder Sen and Mahadeo Govind Ranade is kept alive, even though by much lesser men, we may well hope that the present wave of revolt will ultimately spend itself on the dead shore of a factious and artificial reaction, incompatible with the purpose to which their own best efforts were devoted, of bringing the social life of India into harmony with Western civilization.

A NEW PHENOMENON

A phenomenon which may prove to have a deep significance is that, side by side with these larger organizations for the promotion of social reform which only claim incidental service from their members, a number of smaller societies are growing up of which the members are bound together by much closer ties and more stringent obligations, and in some cases even by solemn vows to renounce the world and to devote themselves wholly to a life of social service. Many of them present features of special interest which deserve recognition, but I must be content to describe one of them to which the personality of its founder lends exceptional importance. This is the society of “ The Servants of India,” founded by Mr. Gokhale at Poona.

“ THE SERVANTS OF INDIA ”

Mr. Gokhale's career itself exemplifies the cross-currents that are often so perplexing a feature of Indian unrest. He is chiefly known in England as one of the leading and certainly most interesting figures in Indian politics. A Chitpawan Brahman by birth, with the blood of the old dominant caste of Maharashtra in his veins, he has often been both in the Viceroy's Legislative Council and in that of his own Presidency a severe and even bitter critic of an alien Government, of which he nevertheless admits the benefit and even the necessity for India. On the other hand, though he proclaims himself a Nationalist, and though, on one occasion at least, when he presided over the stormy session of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta in December, 1905, which endorsed the Bengali boycott movement, he lent the weight of his authority to a policy that was difficult to reconcile with constitutional methods of opposition, his reason and his moral sense have always revolted

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against the reactionary appeals to religious prejudice and racial hatred by which men like Tilak have sought to stimulate a perverted form of Indian patriotism. Highly educated both as a Western and an Eastern scholar, he approaches perhaps more nearly than any of his fellow countrymen to the Western type of doctrinaire Radical in politics and agnostic in regard to religion, but with a dash of passion and enthusiasm which the Western doctrinaire is apt to lack. When Tilak opened his first campaign of unrest in the Deccan by attacking the Hindu reformers, he found few stouter opponents than Mr. Gokhale, who was one of Ranade's staunchest disciples and supporters. Nor did Tilak ever forgive him. His newspapers never ceased to pursue him with relentless ferocity, and only last year Mr. Gokhale had to appeal to the Law Courts for protection against the scurrilous libels of the extremist Press.

His own experiences in political life, since he resigned his work as a professor at the Fergusson College in Poona in order to take a larger share in public affairs, have probably helped to convince Mr. Gokhale that his fellow-countrymen for the most part still lack many essential qualifications for the successful discharge of those civic duties which are the corollary of the civic rights he claims for them. He does not, it is understood, desire to seek re-election to the Imperial Council at Calcutta after the expiry of its present power two years hence, as he wishes to devote himself chiefly to the educational work, which, in one form or another, has perhaps always been the most absorbing interest of his life. When he was a professor at the Fergusson College, teaching was with him a vocation rather than a profession, and, if one may judge by his practice, he believes that only those who are prepared to set an example of selflessness and almost ascetic simplicity of life can hope to promote the moral and social as well as the political advancement of India. It is on these principles that he founded five years ago the "Servants of India" Society, recruited in the first instance amongst a few personal followers and supported hitherto by the voluntary contributions of his admirers. The objects of the Society as laid down by its promoters are "to train national missionaries for the service of India and to promote by all constitutional means the true interests of the Indian people." Its members "frankly accept the British connexion as ordained, in the inscrutable dispensation of Providence, for India's good," and they recognize that "self-government within the Empire and a higher life generally for their countrymen" constitute a goal which "cannot be attained without years of earnest and patient effort and sacrifices worthy of the cause." As to its immediate functions, "much of the work," it is stated, "must be directed towards building up in the country a higher type of character and capacity than is generally available at present," and to this end the Society "will train men prepared to devote their lives to the cause of the country in a religious spirit."

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIETY

The constitution of the Society recalls in fact that of some of the great religious societies of Christendom, and not least that of the Society of Jesus, with this cardinal difference, that it is essentially secular. It substitutes as its ideal the service of India for much in the same way as the Japanese have to

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a large extent merged their religious creeds in an idealized cult of Japan.

Every "Servant of India" takes at the time of admission into the society the following seven vows :—

(a) That the country will always be first in his thoughts, and that he will give to her service the best that is in him.

(b) That in serving the country he will seek no personal advantage for himself.

(c) That he will regard all Indians as brothers and will work for the advancement of all, without distinction of caste or creed.

(d) That he will be content with such provision for himself and his family, if any, as the society may be able to make, and will devote no part of his energies to earning money for himself.

(e) That he will lead a pure personal life.

(f) That he will engage in no personal quarrel with any one.

(g) That he will always keep in view the aims of the Society and watch over its interests with the utmost zeal, doing all he can to advance its work and never doing anything inconsistent with its objects.

The head of the society, called the First Member—who is Mr. Gokhale—is to hold office for life, and its affairs are to be conducted in accordance with by-laws framed for the purpose by the First Member, who will be assisted by a council of three, one of whom will be his own nominee, whilst two will be elected by the ordinary members. The powers assigned to the First Member are very extensive, and include that of recommending the names of three ordinary members out of whom, when the time comes, his successor will have to be chosen. His authority is, in fact, the dominant one, whether over the probationers under training for a period of five years, three of which are to be spent at the society's home in Poona, or over the ordinary members admitted to the full privileges of the society, or over those who as *attaches*, associates, and permanent assistants are very closely affiliated to it without being actually received into membership.

The scheme is, of course, at present in its infancy, as the Society still numbers only about 25, the majority of whom have not yet completed their term of probation. Mr. Gokhale, however, hopes very soon to have 50 probationers constantly in residence, and he has already gathered together in the well-appointed buildings of the Society's home, just outside Poona, in close proximity to the Fergusson College, a group of young men, to some of whom he kindly introduced me, who have evidently caught the fervour of his enthusiasm. One of the latest recruits was by birth a Mahomedan, of whom Mr. Gokhale was specially proud, as he is very anxious that the Society shall be in fact as well as in theory representative of all castes and creeds.

One of the first questions which this remarkable experiment suggests is whether the ideals which Mr. Gokhale sets before the "Servants of India" will suffice to supply the necessary driving power. Hitherto some form of religious faith and the hope of some heavenly reward have alone availed to induce men to renounce the world and all its material interests and surrender themselves to a life of rigorous and selfless discipline in the service of their fellow-creatures, or rather in the service of God through their fellow-creatures. Mr. Gokhale's Society makes no

claim to any religious sanction. Though Indian asceticism has from the most remote times found devotees willing to lead a life of greater and more complete self-annihilation than any that the most rigorous monastic orders of Christendom have ever imposed, or that, for the matter of that, Mr. Gokhale seeks to impose upon his followers, it has always been inspired by some religious conception. Will the "Servants of India" find the same permanent inspiration in the cult of an Indian Motherland, however highly spiritualized, that has no rewards to offer either in this world or in any other? On the political as well as other potentialities of such an organization as Mr. Gokhale contemplates there is no need to dwell. For the "Servants of India," moulded by one mind and trained to obey one will, are to go forth as missionaries throughout India, in the high-ways and by-ways, among the "untouchables" as well as among the higher classes, preaching to each and all the birth of an Indian nation.

XXIV.—The Growth of Western Education

The rising generation represent the India of the future, and though those who come within the orbit of the Western education we have introduced still constitute only a very small fraction of the whole youth of India, their numbers and their influence are growing steadily and are bound to go on growing. If we are losing our hold over them, it is a poor consolation to be told that we still retain our hold over their elders. I therefore regard the estrangement of the young Indian, and especially of the young Hindu who has passed or is passing through our schools and colleges, as the most alarming phenomenon of the present day, and I am convinced that of all the problems with which British statesmanship is confronted in India none is more difficult and more urgent than the educational problem. We are too deeply pledged now to the general principles upon which our educational policy in India is based for even its severest critics to contemplate the possibility of abandoning it. But for this very reason it is all the more important that we should realize the grave defects of the existing system, or, as some would say, want of system, in order that we may, so far as possible, repair or mitigate them. There can be no turning back, and salvation lies not in doing less for Indian education, but in doing more and in doing it better.

FOUR SALIENT FEATURES

Four very important features of the system deserve to be noted at the outset:—(1) Following the English practice, Government exercises no direct control over educational institutions other than those maintained by the State, though its influence is brought in several ways indirectly to bear upon all that are not prepared to reject the benefits which it can extend to them; (2) Government has concentrated its efforts mainly upon higher education, and has thus begun from the top in the over-sanguine belief that education would ultimately filter down from the higher to the lower strata of Indian society; (3) instruction in the various courses, mostly in English, and higher education is conveyed through the English tongue still absolutely foreign to the vast majority of the population; (4) education is generally confined to the intellectual and moral training, and is absolutely from all religious teaching, but

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also very largely from all moral training and discipline, with the result that the vital side of education which consists in the formation of character has been almost entirely neglected.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SYSTEM

To make the present situation intelligible, I must recapitulate, however briefly, the phases through which our Indian system of education has passed. The very scanty encouragement originally given to education by the East India Company was confined to promoting the study of the Oriental languages still used at that time in the Indian Courts of Law in order to qualify young Indians for Government employment and chiefly in the subordinate posts of the judicial service. After long and fierce controversies on the rival merits of the vernaculars and of English as the more suitable vehicle for the expansion of education, Macaulay's famous Minute of March 7, 1835, determined a revolution of which only very few at the time foresaw, however faintly, the ultimate consequences. Lord William Bentinck's Government decided that "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of English literature and science, and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed in English education alone."

A GREAT INFLUENCE

Another influence—too often forgotten—had at least as large a share as Macaulay's in this tremendous departure. That was the influence of the great missionary, Dr. Alexander Duff, who inspired the prohibition of suttee and other measures which marked the withdrawal of the countenance originally given by the East India Company to religious practices incompatible in the opinion of earnest Christians with the sovereignty of a Christian Power. Duff had made up his mind, in direct opposition to Carey and other earlier missionaries, that the supremacy of the English language over the vernaculars must be established as a preliminary to the Christianization of India. He had himself opened in 1830 an English school in Calcutta with an immediate success which had confounded all his opponents. His authority was great both at home and in India, and was reflected equally in Lord Hardinge's Educational Order of 1844, which threw a large number of posts in the public service open to English-speaking Indians without distinction of race or creed, and in Sir Charles Wood's Educational Despatch of 1854, which resulted in the creation of a Department for Public Instruction, the foundation of the three senior Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, the affiliation to them of schools and colleges for purposes of examination, and the inauguration of the "grant-in-aid" system for the encouragement of native educational enterprise by guaranteeing financial support according to a fixed scale to all schools that satisfied certain tests of efficiency in respect of secular instruction.

Duff's influence had assured the supremacy of English in secular education but he never succeeded in inducing Government to go a step beyond neutrality in regard to religious education, and though the remarkable successes which he had in the meantime achieved, not only as a teacher but as a missionary, amongst the highest classes of Calcutta society no doubt

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led him to hope that even without any active co-operation from Government the spread of English education would in itself involve the spread of both Christian ethics and Christian doctrine, he never ceased to preach the necessity of combining religious and moral with secular education or to prophesy the evils which would ensue from their divorce.

SUCCESSFUL BEGINNINGS

The system inaugurated by the Educational Minute of 1835 and developed in the Educational Orders of 1854 began well. The number of young Indians who took advantage of it was relatively small. They were drawn mostly from the better classes, and they were brought into direct contact with their English teachers many of them very remarkable men whose influence naturally and often unconsciously helped to form the character of their pupils as well as to develop their intellect—and most of all, perhaps, in the mission schools; for the Christian missions were at that time the dominant factor in Indian educational work. In 1854 when there were only 12,000 scholars in all the Government schools, mission schools mustered four times that number and the rights they acquired under the Orders of 1854 to participate in the new "grants-in-aid" helped them to retain the lead which in some respects, though not as to numbers, they still maintain. For more than 50 years after the Minute of 1835, and especially during the three or four decades that followed the Orders of 1854, the new system produced a stamp of men who seemed fully to justify the hopes of its original founders—not merely men with a sufficient knowledge of English to do subordinate work as clerks and minor *employees* of Government, but also men of great intellectual attainments and of high character, who filled with distinction the highest posts open to Indians in the public service, sat on the Bench, and practised at the Bar, and, in fact, made a mark for themselves in the various fields of activity developed by contact with the West. No *data* have ever been collected to show what proportion men of this stamp bore to the aggregate number of students under the new system. The proportion was certainly small, but it was at any rate large enough to reflect credit upon the system as a whole and to disguise its inherent defects.

THE CAUSES OF DETERIORATION

Paradoxical as it may sound, it is the eagerness of young India to respond to this educational call that has led to the break-down of the system in some of the most important functions of education. In its earlier stages those who claimed the benefit of the new system were chiefly drawn from the intellectual *elite*—*i.e.*, from the classes which had had the monopoly of knowledge, though it was not Western knowledge, before the introduction of Western education. With the success which the new system achieved the demand grew rapidly, and the quality of the output diminished as it increased in quantity. On the one hand education came to be regarded by the Indian public less and less as an end in itself and more and more as merely an avenue either to lucrative careers or to the disguised security of appointments, however modest, under Government in either case, to a higher social *status*, which had a definite money value in the matrimonial market.

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The grand-in-aid system led to the foundation of large numbers of schools and colleges under private native management or under the control of District and Municipal Boards in which the native element predominated, and it enabled them to adopt so low a scale of fees that many parents who had never dreamt of literacy for themselves were encouraged to try and secure for some at least of their children the benefit of this miraculous Open Sesame to every kind of worldly advancement. Much of the raw material pressed into secondary schools was quite unsuitable, and little or no attempt was made to sift it in the rough. Numbers therefore began to drop out somewhere on the way, disappointed of their more ambitious hopes and having acquired just enough new ideas to unfit them for the humbler work to which they might otherwise have been brought up. On the other hand, whilst school and colleges, chiefly under private native management, were multiplied in order to meet the growing demand, the instruction given in them tended to get petrified into mechanical standards, which were appraised solely or mainly by success in the examination lists. In fact, education in the higher sense of the term gave way to the mere cramming of undigested knowledge into more or less receptive brains with a view to an inordinate number of examinations, which marked the various stages of this artificial process. The personal factor also disappeared more and more in the relations between scholars and teachers as the teaching staff failed to keep pace with the enormous increase in numbers.

TWO BANEFUL COMMISSIONS

All these deteriorating influences, though they were perhaps not then so visible on the surface, were already at work in the 80's, when two important Government Commissions were held whose labours, with the most excellent intentions, were destined to have directly and indirectly, the most baneful effects upon Indian education. The one was the Education Commission of 1882-83, appointed by Lord Ripon, with Sir William Hunter as President, and the other the Public Service Commission of 1886-87, appointed by Lord Dufferin, with Sir Charles Aitchison as President. It is quite immaterial whether the steps taken by the Government of India during the subsequent decade were actually due to the recommendations of the Education Commission, or whether the Report of the Commission merely served as an opportunity to carry into practice the views that were then generally in the ascendant. The eloquence of the Commission, if I may borrow the language appropriately used to me by a very competent authority, was chiefly directed towards representing the important benefits that would be likely to accrue to Government and to education by the relaxation of Government's control over education, the withdrawal of Government from the management of schools, and the adoption of a general go-as-you-please policy. Amongst the definite results which we undoubtedly owe to the labours of that Commission was the acclimatization in India of Sir Robert Lowe's system of "payment by results," which was then already discredited in England.

Just at the time when the transfer of the teacher's influence from European into native hands was being thus accelerated, the Public Service Commission, not a single member of which was an educational officer, produced a series of recommendations which had the

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effect of changing very much for the worse the position and prospects of Indians in the Educational Department. Before the Commission sat, Indians and Europeans used to work side by side in the superior graded service of the Department, and until quite recently they had drawn the same pay. The Commission abolished this equality and comradeship and put the Europeans and the Indians into separate pens. The European pen was named the Indian Educational Service and the native pen was named the Provincial Educational Service. Into the Provincial Service were put Indians holding lower posts than any held by Europeans and with no prospect of ever rising to the *maximum* salaries hitherto within their reach. To pretend that equality was maintained under the new scheme is idle, and the grievance thus created has caused a bitterness which is not allayed by the fact that the Commission created a similar grievance in other branches of the public service. Nor was this all the mischief done. It quickened the impulse already given by the Education Commission by formally recommending that the recruitment of Englishmen for the Education Department should be reduced to a *minimum*, and especially that even fewer inspectors of schools than the totally inadequate number then existing should be recruited from England. It is interesting to note in view of subsequent developments that, while this recommendation was tacitly ignored by the Provincial Governments in some parts of India, as, for instance, in Bombay, it was accepted and applied in Bengal—*i. e.*, in the province where our educational system has displayed its gravest shortcomings.

THE WANING OF EUROPEAN INFLUENCE

From that time forward the dominant influence in secondary schools and colleges drifted steadily and rapidly out of the hands of Englishmen into those of natives long before there was a sufficient supply of Native teachers fitted either by tradition or by training to conduct an essentially Western system of education. Not only did the number of native teachers increase steadily and enormously, but that of the European teachers actually decreased. Dr. Ashutosh Mookerjee, the Vice-President (?) of the Calcutta University, told me, for instance, that when he entered the Presidency College about 1880 all the professors, except a few specialists for purely Oriental subjects, were English, and the appointment whilst he was there of an Indian for the first time as an ordinary professor created quite a sensation. Last year there were only eight English professors as against 23 Indians. Yet during the same 30 years the number of pupils had increased from a little over 350 to close on 700—*i. e.*, it had nearly doubled. The Calcutta Presidency College is nevertheless far better off in this respect than most colleges except the missionary institutions, in which the European staff of teachers has been maintained at a strength that explains their continued success. Out of 127 colleges there are 30 to-day with no Europeans at all on the staff, and these colleges contain about one-fifth of the students in all colleges. Of the other colleges, 16 have only one European professor, 21 only two, and so forth. In the secondary schools the proportion of native to European teachers is even more unattractive. From the point of view of mere instruction, a highly unsatisfactory. From the point of view of discipline and the formation of character, they

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XXV.—*The Indian Student*

The fundamental weakness of our Indian educational system is that the average Indian student cannot bring his education into any direct relation with the world in which, outside the class or lecture-room, he continues to live. For that world is still the old Indian world of his forefathers, and it is as far removed as the poles asunder from the Western world which claims his education. I am not speaking now of the relatively still very small class amongst whom Western ideas are already sufficiently acclimatized for the parents to be able to supplement in their own homes the education given to their children in our schools and colleges. Nor am I speaking of the students who live in hostels under the superintendence of high-minded Englishmen, and especially of missionaries such as those of the Oxford Mission in Calcutta, who have to reject for want of space a score of applicants for every one they can take in. Those also form but a small minority. In Calcutta, for instance, out of 4,500 students barely 1,000 live in hostels, and not all hostels are by any means satisfactory. In the Indian Universities there is no collegiate life such as English Universities afford, and in India most of the secondary schools as well as colleges are non-residential. The majority of those who attend them, unless they live at home, have therefore to board out with friends or to live in promiscuous messes, or, as is too often the case, in lodgings of a very undesirable character, sometimes even in brothels, and almost always under conditions intellectually, morally, and physically deleterious.

A NOTABLE TESTIMONY

Lest I may be accused of exaggeration or bias, I will appeal here to the testimony of Dr. Garfield Williams, a missionary of the highest repute and experience, and in profound sympathy with the natives of India. Speaking at the Missionary Conference at Calcutta last winter, he said :—

“ The conditions and environment of the student in Calcutta are such as to make the formation of character almost impossible. . . . He is not a student in the best sense of the word, for he has not the scholarly instincts of a student—I speak, of course, of the average student, not of the exceptional one. His parents send him to the University to pass one or two examinations, and these have to be passed in order to enable him to attain a higher salary. . . . His work is sheer “grind.” The acquisition of good notes for lectures is the first essential for him, and the professor who gives good clear-cut notes so that a man can dispense with any text-books is the popular professor—and for two reasons : first of all, it saves the expense of buying the text-book, and then, of course, it helps to get through the examination. That is a reason why two boys of the same village will go to different colleges because they can then “swap” notes. It is a very rare thing for a student to have money enough to buy more than one of the suggested books on a given subject for examination. He learns by heart one book and the notes of lectures of two or three of the favourite professors in Calcutta. There is many a man who has even got through his examinations without any text-book of any kind to help him, simply by committing to memory volumes

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of lecture notes. . . . I know of no student who labours more strenuously than the Bengali student. The question is how to prevent this ridiculous wastage of students ; how to prevent the production of this disappointed man who is a student only in name. He never had any desire to be a student in nature ; he was brought up without that desire . . . and indeed, if he be a boy with real scholarly instincts and he happens to fail in his examinations, it makes it all the worse, for his parents will not recognize those scholarly instincts of his—all they want is a quick return for the money spent on his education, and he will have to make that return from a Rs. 30 salary instead of a Rs. 50 one."

THE STUDENT'S DAILY LIFE

Can there be anything more pathetic and more alarming than the picture that Dr. Williams draws of the student's actual life ?—

"He gets up about 6, and having dressed (which is not a long process) he starts work. Until 10, if you go into his mess, you will see him "grinding" away at his text-book under the most amazing conditions for work—usually stretched out upon his bed or sitting on the side of it. The room is almost always shared with some other occupant, usually with two or three or more other occupants, mostly engaged in the same task if they are students. At 10 the boy gets some food, and then goes off to his college for about four or five hours of lectures. A little after 3 in the afternoon he comes home to his mess, and between 3 and 5 is usually seen lounging about his room, dead tired but often engaged in discussion with his room-mates or devouring the newspaper, which is his only form of recreation and his only bit of excitement. At 5 he will go out for a short stroll down College Street or around College Square. This is his one piece of exercise, if such you can call it. At dusk he returns to his ill-lighted, stuffy room and continues his work, keeping it up, with a short interval for his evening meal, until he goes to bed, the hour of bed-time depending upon the proximity of his examination. A very large percentage when they actually sit for their examinations are nothing short of physical wrecks."

Dr. Williams proceeds to quote Dr. Mullick, an eminent Hindu physician who has devoted himself to helping young students :—

"The places where the students live huddled up together are most hurtful to their constitutions. The houses are dirty, dingy, ill-ventilated, and crowded. Even in case of infectious sickness. . . they lie in the same place as others, some of whom they actually infect. Phthisis is getting alarmingly common among students owing to the sputum of infected persons being allowed to float about with the dust in crowded messes. . . . Most of them live in private messes where a hired cook and single servant have complete charge of his food and house-keeping, and things are stolen, foodstuffs are adulterated, badly cooked and badly served."

Dr. Williams, who states emphatically that "it is not exaggeration to say that the student is often half-starved," goes on to deal with the moral drawbacks of a life which is under no effective restraints, not even under the restraints, implied in the fact that play so important a part in Universities and collegiate life.

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"When you segregate your young men by thousands in the heart of this city of dreadful night, amid conditions of life which are most antagonistic to moral and physical well-being . . . the result is a foregone conclusion, and it does not only mean physical degeneration, it also means moral degeneration, and it becomes a most potent predisposing factor in political disease. Of that there can be no shadow of doubt."

THE INTELLECTUAL EVILS

The material conditions are not, it is true, nearly so bad in many other parts of India as they are in Bengal, and especially in Calcutta (though the Bengalis claim the intellectual primacy of India), and it is on the moral and physical evils produced by those conditions that Dr. Garfield Williams chiefly dwells. But the intellectual evils for all but a small minority are in their way quite as grave, and they are inherent to the system. Take the case of a boy brought up until he is old enough to go to school in some small town of the *mofussil*, anywhere in India, by parents who have never been drawn into any contact, however remote, with Western ideas or Western knowledge. From these purely Indian surroundings his parents, who are willing to stint themselves in order that their son may get a post under Government, send him to a secondary school, let us say in the chief town of the district, or in a University city. There again he boards with friends of his family, if they have any, or in lodgings amidst the same purely Indian surroundings, and his only contact with the Western world is through school-books in a foreign tongue, of which it is difficult enough for him to grasp even the literal meaning, let alone the spirit, which his native teachers have themselves too often only very partially imbibed and are therefore quite unable to communicate. From the secondary school he passes for his University course, if he gets so far, in precisely the same circumstances into a college which is merely a higher form of school. Whilst attending college our student continues to live amidst the same purely Indian surroundings, and his contact with the Western world is still limited to his text-books. Even the best native teacher can hardly interpret that Western world to him as a trained European can, and unless our student intends to become a doctor or an engineer, and has to pass through the schools of medicine or engineering, where he is bound to be a good deal under English teachers, he may perfectly well, and very often does, go through his whole course of studies in school and in college without ever coming into personal contact with an Englishman. How can he be expected under such conditions to assimilate Western knowledge or to form even a remote conception of the customs and traditions, let alone the ideals, embodied in Western knowledge?

Try and imagine for a moment, however absurd it may seem, what would have been the effect upon the brains of the youth of our own country if it had been subject to Chinese rule for the last 100 years and the Chinese, without interfering with our own social customs or with our religious beliefs, had taken charge of higher education and insisted upon conveying to our youth a course of purely Chinese instruction imparted through Chinese text-books, and taught mainly by Englishmen for the most part only one degree more familiar than their pupils with the inwardness of Chinese

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thought and Chinese ethics. The effect could hardly have been more bewildering than the effect produced in many cases similar to that which I have instanced on the brain of the Indian youth when he emerges from our schools and colleges.

THE RADICAL DEFECT OF THE SYSTEM

It may be said that such cases are extreme cases, but extreme as they are, they are not exceptional. The exceptions must be sought rather amongst the small minority, who, in spite of all these drawbacks, display such a wonderful gift of assimilation, or it might perhaps be more correctly termed of intuition, that they are able to transport themselves into a new world of thought, or at any rate to see into it as it were through a glass darkly. But the number of those who possess this gift has probably always been small, and smaller still, with the reduction of the European element in the teaching staff, is the number growing of those who have a fair chance of developing that gift, even if nature has endowed them with it. A comparison of the Census Report of 1901 with the figures given in the Educational Statistics for 1901-2 shows that the total number of Europeans then engaged in Indian educational work was barely 500, of whom less than half were employed by Government, whilst that of the natives engaged in similar work in colleges and secondary schools alone was about 27,500. As the number of Indian students and scholars receiving higher education amounts to three-quarters of a million, it is obvious that so slight a European leaven, whatever its quality—and its quality is not always what it should be—can produce but little impression upon so huge a mass.

Our present system of Indian education in fact presents in an exaggerated form, from the point of view of the cultivation of the intellect, most of the defects alleged against a classical education by its bitterest opponents in Western countries, where, after all, the classics form only a part, however important, of the curriculum, and neither Latin nor Greek is the only medium for the teaching of every subject. From the point of view of the formation of character according to Western standards, and even from that of physical improvement, the case is even worse. In Western countries the education given in our schools, from the Board school to the University, is always more or less on the same plane as that of the class from which the boys who attend them are drawn. It is merely the continuation and the complement of the education our children receive in their own homes from the moment of their birth, and it moves on the same lines as the world in which they live and move and have their being. In India with rare exceptions it is not so, but exactly the reverse.

XXVI—*Politics in Schools and Colleges*

There has been no more deplorable feature in the political agitation of the last few years than the active part taken in it by Indian schoolboys and students. It has been a prominent feature everywhere, but nowhere more so than in the Bengal provinces, where from the very outset of the boycott movement in 1905 picket-
-ive character was conducted by bands of
to have been doing their lessons. That
and the state of utter demoralization that

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was ultimately reached may be gathered from the following statements in the last Provincial Report on Education (1908-9), issued by the Government of Eastern Bengal :—

"On the 7th of August [1908] most of the Hindu students abstained from attending the college and high schools at Comilla as a demonstration in connexion with the boycott anniversary. Immediately afterwards, on the date of the execution of the Muzafferpur murderer, the boys of several schools in the province attended barefooted and without shirts and in some cases fasting. . . . At Jamalpur the demonstration lasted a week. . . . Later in the year, on the occasion of the execution of one of the Alipur murderers, the pupils of the Sandip Cargill School made a similar demonstration."

The report adds, in a sanguine vein, that, as a result of various disciplinary measures, a marked improvement had subsequently taken place, but quite recent events show that something more than disciplinary measures is required to eradicate the spirit which inspired such occurrences.

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF POLITICIANS

The heaviest responsibility rests on those who, claiming to be the intellectual leaders of the country, not only instigated its youth to take part in political campaigns, but actually placed them in the forefront of the fray. However reprehensible from our British point of view other features of a seditious agitation may be, to none does so high a degree of moral culpability attach as to the methods adopted by Hindu politicians to undermine the fundamental principles of authority by stirring up the passions of inexperienced youth at the more emotional period of life. Even the fact that political murders have been invariably perpetrated by misguided youths of the student class is hardly as ominous as the homage paid to the murderers' memories by whole schools and colleges. Most ominous of all is the tolerance, and sometimes the encouragement, extended to such demonstrations by school-masters and professors.

These are symptoms that point to a grave moral disease amongst the teachers as well as the taught which we can only ignore at our peril and at the sacrifice of our duty towards the people of India. In his two last Convocation speeches, Dr. Ashutosh Mookerjee, the distinguished Hindu Vice-President of the Calcutta University, has laid special stress on the question of teachers and politics. Alluding in 1909 to "the lamentable events of the last 12 months," he maintained, "without hesitation," that "the most strenuous efforts must be unflinchingly made by all persons truly interested in the future of the rising generation to protect our youths from the hands of irresponsible people who recklessly seek to seduce our students from the path of academic life and to plant in their immature minds the poisonous seeds of hatred against constituted Government." This year he was even more outspoken, and laid it down that even the teacher "who scrupulously abstains from political matters within his class-room, but at the same time devotes much or all of his leisure hours to political activities and agitation, and whose name and speeches are prominently before the world in connexion with political organizations and functions," fails in his duty towards his pupils: for "their minds will inevitably be attracted towards political affairs and political agitation if they evidently constitute

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the main life-interest and life-work of one who stands towards them in a position of authority." Teachers should therefore avoid everything that tends "to impart to the minds of our boys a premature bias towards politics."

A most admirable exhortation, but I had an opportunity of estimating the weight that it carried with some of the political leaders of Bengal, when I accepted an invitation from Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, himself at the head of the Ripon College at Calcutta, to meet a few Bengalee students and have a talk with them. They were bright, pleasant lads, and if they had been left to themselves, I might have had an interesting talk with them about their studies and their prospects in life, but Mr. Banerjee and several other politicians who were present insisted upon giving to the conversation a political turn of a disagreeably controversial character which seemed to me entirely out of place.

ECONOMIC INFLUENCES

The mischievous incitements of politicians would not, however, have fallen on to such receptive soil if economic conditions, for which we are ourselves at least partly responsible, had not helped to create an atmosphere in which political disaffection is easily bred amongst both teachers and taught. The rapid rise in the cost of living has affected no class more injuriously than the old clerkly castes from which the teaching staff and the scholars of our schools and colleges are mainly recruited. Their material position now often compares unfavourably with that of the skilled workman and even of the daily labourer, whose higher wages have generally kept pace with the appreciation of the necessities of life. This is a cause of great bitterness even amongst those who at the end of their protracted course of studies get some small billet for their pains. The bitterness is, of course, far greater amongst those who fail altogether. The rapid expansion of an educational system that has developed far in excess of the immediate purpose for which it was originally introduced was bound to result in a great deal of disappointment for the vast number of Indians who regarded it merely as an avenue to Government employment. For the supply outran the demand, and the deterioration in the quality of education consequent upon this too rapid expansion helped at the same time to restrict the possible demand. F.A.'s (First Arts) and even B.A.'s are now too often drags in the market. Nothing is more pathetic than the hardships to which both the young Indian and his parents will subject themselves in order that he may reach the coveted goal of University distinction, but unfortunately, as such distinctions are often achieved merely by a process of sterile cramming which leaves the recipients quite unable to turn mere feats of memory to any practical account, the sacrifices turn out to have been made in vain. Whilst the skilled artisan, and even the unskilled labourer, can often command from 12 annas to 1 rupee (1s. to 1s. 4d.) a day, the youth who has sweated himself and his family through the whole course of higher education frequently looks in vain for employment at Rs. 30 (£2) and even at Rs. 20 a month. In Calcutta not a few have taken on by philanthropic Hindus to do mechanical labour in jute mills at Rs. 15 a month simply to keep them from starvation. Things have in fact reached this pitch, that

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our educational system is now turning out year by year a semi-educated proletariat which is not only unemployed but in many cases almost unemployable. A Hindu gentleman who is one of the highest authorities on education told me that in Bengal, where this evil has reached the most serious dimensions, he estimates the number of these unemployed at over 40,000. This is an evil which no change in the relative number of Europeans and natives employed in Government and other services could materially affect. Even if every Englishman left India, it would present as a grave problem to the rulers of the country, except that the bitterness engendered would not be able to vent itself, as it too often does now, on the alien rulers who have imported the alien system of education by which many of those who fail believe themselves to have been cruelly duped.

DISCONTENT AMONGST THE TEACHERS

Similar causes have operated to produce discontent amongst the teachers, who in turn inoculate their pupils with the virus of disaffection. It was much easier to multiply schools and colleges than to train a competent teaching staff. Official reports seldom care to look unpleasant facts in the face, and the periodical reports both of the Imperial Department of Public Instruction and of the Provincial Departments have always been inclined to lay more stress upon the multiplication of educational institutions and the growth in the numbers of pupils and students than upon the weak points of the system. Nevertheless there is one unsatisfactory feature that the most confirmed optimists cannot ignore. Hardly a single one of these reports but makes some reference to the deficiencies and incapacity of the native teaching staff. The last quinquennial report issued by Mr. Orange, the able Director-General of Public Instruction, who is now leaving India, contains a terse but very significant passage. "Speaking generally," he writes, "it may be said that the qualifications and the pay of the teachers in secondary schools are below any standard that could be thought reasonable; and the inquiries which are now being made into the subject have revealed a state of things that is scandalous in Bengal and Eastern Bengal, and is unsatisfactory in every province." Very little information is forthcoming as to the actual qualifications or pay of the teachers. It appears, however, from the inspection of high schools by the Calcutta University that out of one group of 3,054 teachers over 2,100 receive salaries of less than 30 rupees (£2) a month. One cannot, therefore, be surprised to hear that in Bengal "only men of poor attainments adopt the profession, and the few who are well qualified only take up work in schools as a stepping-stone to some more remunerative career." That career is frequently found in the Press, where the disgruntled ex-schoolmaster adds his quota of gall to the literature of disaffection. But he is still more dangerous when he remains a schoolmaster and uses his position to teach disaffection to his pupils either by precept or by example.

THE EDUCATION SERVICE

I have already alluded to the unfortunate effect of the recommendations of the Public Service Commission of 1886-7 on the native side of the Education Service. But if it has become more difficult to attract to it the right type of Indians, it has either

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become almost as difficult to attract the right type of Europeans, or the influence they are able to exercise has materially diminished. In the first place, their numbers are quite inadequate. Out of about 500 Europeans actually engaged in educational work in India less than half are in the service of the State. Many of them are admittedly very capable men, and not a few possess University credentials. But so long as the Indian Educational Service is regarded and treated as an inferior branch of the public service, we cannot expect its general tone to be what it should be in view of the supreme importance of the functions it has to discharge. One is often told that the conditions are at least as attractive as those offered by an educational career at home. Even if that be so, it would not affect my contention that, considering how immeasurably more difficult is the task of training the youth of an entirely alien race according to Western standards, and how vital that task is for the future of British rule in India, the conditions should be such as to attract, not average men, but the very best men that we can produce. As it is, the Education Department cannot be said to attract the best men, for these go into the Civil Service, and only those as a rule enter the Educational Service who either, having made up their minds early to seek a career in India, have failed to pass the Civil Service examinations, or, having originally intended to take up the teaching profession in England, are subsequently induced to come out to India by disappointments at home or by the often illusory hope of bettering their material prospects. When they arrive they begin work without any knowledge of the character and customs of the people. Some are employed in inspection and others as professors, and the latter especially are apt to lose heart when they realize the thanklessness of their task and their social isolation. In some cases indifference is the worst result, but in others—happily are—they themselves, I am assured, catch the surrounding contagion of discontent, and their influence tends rather to promote than to counteract the estrangement of the rising generation committed to their charge. Some men, no doubt, rise superior to all these adverse conditions and, in comparing the men of the present day with those of the past, one is apt to remember only the few whose names still live in the educational annals of India and to ignore the many who have passed away without making any mark. The fact, however, remains that nowadays the Europeans who have the greatest influence over their Indian pupils are chiefly to be found amongst the missionaries with whom teaching is a vocation rather than a profession.

XXVII—Some Measures of Educational Reform

The first serious attempt to remedy some of the most glaring defects of our educational system from the point of view of intellectual training and of discipline was made during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty. He summoned and presided over an Educational Conference, of which the results were embodied in a Government Resolution issued on March 11, 1904, and in the Universities Act of the same year. They were received at the time with a violent outburst of indignation by Indian politicians, who claim to represent the educated intellect of the country. The least that Lord Curzon was charged with was a deliberate attempt to throttle higher education in India. This factious outcry has now died away, except

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amongst the irreconcilables, and Dr. Ashutosh Mookerjee, an authority whom even Hindu partisanship can hardly repudiate, declared in his last Convocation speech that the new regulations which are now being brought into operation, far from bearing out the apprehensions of "alarmist prophets," have been distinctly beneficial to the better and stronger class of students.

THE WORK OF THE 1904 CONFERENCE

Space only allows me to give a very brief summary of the work of the Conference. It recognized in the first place the importance of the vernacular as the proper medium for instruction in the lower stages of education, whilst maintaining the supremacy of English in the higher stages. It sought to give a more practical character to high-school training by promoting the "modern side," hitherto overshadowed by a mainly literary curriculum, and it endeavoured to make the school courses self-sufficing and self-contained instead of merely a stepping-stone to the University courses. To this end secondary schools were encouraged to give more importance to School Final Examinations as a general test of proficiency and not to regard their courses as almost exclusively preparatory to the University Entrance Examination. Great stress was also laid upon the improvement of training colleges for teachers as well as upon the development of special schools for industrial, commercial, and agricultural instruction. Nor were the ethics of education altogether forgotten in their bearings upon the maintenance of healthy discipline. Government emphasized the great importance which it attached to the establishment of hotels or boarding-houses, under proper supervision, in connection with colleges and secondary schools, as a protection against the moral dangers of life in large towns; and whilst provision was made for the more rigorous inspection of schools to test their qualifications both for Government grants-in-aid and for affiliation to Universities, certain reforms were also introduced into the constitution and management of the Universities themselves.

The results already achieved are not considerable. The provision of hostels, in which Lord Curzon was deeply interested, has made great progress, and one may hope that the conditions of student life described by Dr. Garfield Williams in Calcutta are typical of a state of things already doomed to disappear, though at the present rate of progress it can only disappear very slowly. In Madras there is a fine building for the Presidency College students and also for those of the Madras Christian College. In Bombay Government are giving money for the extension of the boarding accommodation of the three chief colleges. In Allahabad, Agra, Lucknow, Meerut, Bareilly, Lahore, and many other centres, old residential buildings are being extended or new ones erected. The new Dacca College, in the capital of Eastern Bengal, is one of the most conspicuous and noteworthy results of the Partition. In Calcutta itself little has been done except in the missionary institutions; and it is certainly very discouraging to note that an excellent and very urgent scheme for removing the Presidency College, the premier college of Bengal, from the slums in which it is at present in every way most injuriously confined to a healthy suburban site has been shelved by the Bengal Government partly under financial pressure and partly because of the lukewarmness of native opinion.

What is no doubt really wanted is the wholesale removal of all the Colleges connected with the Calcutta University altogether from their present surroundings, but to refuse to make a beginning with the Presidency College is merely to prove once more that *le mieux est l'ennemi du bien*.

In regard to the University Entrance Examinations, the latest Madras returns, which were alone sufficiently complete to illustrate the effect of the new regulations, showed that the increased stringency of the tests had resulted in a healthy decrease in the number of matriculations, whilst the standard had been materially raised. In Calcutta the University inspection of schools and colleges and the exercise by the Universities of their discretionary powers in matters of affiliation have grown much more effective. That the powers of the University Senates have not been unduly curtailed is only too clearly shown on the other hand by the effective resistance hitherto offered at Bombay to the scheme of reforms proposed by Sir George Clarke. To the most important features of the scheme, which were the provision of a course of practical science for all first-year students, a systematic bifurcation of course, the lightening of the number of subjects in order to secure somewhat more thoroughness, and compulsory teaching of Indian history and polity, no serious objection could be raised, but the politicians on the Senate effectively blocked discussion.

THE NATIVE AND EUROPEAN TEACHING STAFF

A great deal still remains to be done, and can be done, on the lines of the Resolution of 1904. The speed at which it can be done must no doubt be governed in some directions by financial considerations. The extension of the hostel system, for instance, which is indispensable to the removal of some of the worst moral and physical influences upon education, is largely a matter of money. So is also to some extent the strengthening of the educational staff, European and native, which is also urgently needed. The best Indians cannot be attracted unless they are offered a living wage in some measure consonant with the dignity of so important a profession, and our schools and colleges will continue to be too often nursery grounds of sedition so long as we do not redress the legitimate grievances of teachers on starvation wages. But though improved prospects may attract better men in the future, the actual inefficiency of a huge army of native teachers far too hastily recruited and imperfectly trained can at best be but slowly mended. We want more and better training Colleges for native teachers, but that is not all. The great Mahomedan College at Aligarh, one of the best educational institutions in India, partly because it is wholly residential, has obtained excellent results by sending some of its students who intend to return as teachers to study Western educational methods in Europe, after they have completed their course in India. The same practice might be extended elsewhere.

To raise the standard of the Europeans in the Educational Service something more than a mere improvement of material conditions is required. Additions are being made to both the teaching and the inspecting staff. But what is above all needed is to get men to join who regard teaching not merely as a livelihood, but as a vocation, and to inform them with a better understanding both of the people whose children they have to train and of the character

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and methods of the Government they have to serve. This can hardly be done except by associating the Educational Service much more closely with what are now regarded as the higher branches of the public service in India. No Englishmen are in closer touch with the realities of Indian life than Indian civilians, and means must be found to break down the wall which now too often separates the Educational Service from the Civil Service. Opportunities might usefully be given to young Englishmen when they first join the Educational Service in India to acquire a more intimate knowledge of Indian administrative work, as well as of the character and customs and language of the people amongst whom their lot is to be cast, by serving an apprenticeship with civilians in the *mofussil*. The appointment of such a very able civilian as Mr. Harcourt Butler to be the first Minister of Education in India may be taken as an indication that Lord Morley realizes the importance of rescuing the Educational Service from the water-tight compartment in which it has hitherto been much too closely confined.

We can hardly hope to restore English influence over education to the position which it originally occupied. There are 1,200 high schools for boys in India to-day, of which only 220 are under public management and, even for the latter, it would be difficult to provide an English headmaster apiece. What we can do is to follow up the policy which has been lately resumed of increasing the number of high schools under Government control, until we have at least one in every district, and in every large centre one with an English head-master which should be the model school for the division.

THE CHEAPNESS OF EDUCATION

A much vexed question is whether it is impossible to raise the fees charged for higher education with a view to checking the wastage which results from the introduction into our schools and colleges of so much unsuitable raw material. The fees now charged for the University course are admittedly very low, even for Indian standards. The total cost of maintaining an Indian student throughout his four years' college course ranges from a *minimum* of £40 to a *maximum* of £110—i.e., from £10 to £27 10s. per annum. The actual fees for tuition vary from three to twelve rupees (4s. to 15s.) a month in different colleges. Very large contributions amounting roughly to double the total aggregate of fees have therefore to be made from public funds towards the cost of collegiate education. Is it fair to throw so heavy a burden on the Indian taxpayer for the benefit of a very small section of the population amongst whom, moreover, many must be able to afford the whole or at least a larger proportion of the cost of their children's education? Is it wise by making higher instruction so cheap to tempt parents to educate children often of poor or mediocre abilities out of their own plane of life? Would it not be better at any rate to raise the fees generally and to devote the sums yielded by such increase to exhibitions and scholarships for the benefit of the few amongst the humbler classes who show exceptional promise?

Against this it is urged that it would be entirely at variance with Indian traditions to associate standards of knowledge with standards of wealth, and in practice education has, I understand, been found to be worst where the fees bear the greatest proportion

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to the total expenditure. The same arguments equally apply for and against raising the fees in secondary schools. In regard to the latter, however, the opponents of any general increase of fees make, nevertheless, a suggestion which deserves consideration. In many schools the fees begin at a very low figure—eight annas (8d.) a month in the lowest forms and rise to three, four, and even five rupees (4s., 5s. 4d., and 6s. 8d.) a month in the highest forms. It is this initial cheapness which induces so many thoughtless parents to send their boys to secondary schools without having considered whether they can afford to keep them through the whole course; it fosters the notion that badly paid and badly qualified teachers are good enough for the early, which are often the most important, stages of a boy's education. To obviate these evils it is suggested that the fees for all forms should be equalized.

I shall have occasion later on to point out the immense importance of giving greater encouragement to scientific and technical education. Government service and the liberal professions are already overstocked, and it is absolutely necessary to check the tendency of young Indians to go in for a merely literary education for which, even if it were more thorough than it can be under existing outlet. The demand which is arising all over India for commercial and industrial development should afford an unrivalled opportunity of deflecting education into more useful and practical channels.

DECENTRALIZATION

Some better machinery than exists at present seems also to be required to bring the Educational Service into touch with parents. Education can nowhere be a question of mere pedagogics, and least of all in India. Yet there is evidently a strong tendency to treat it as such. To take only one instance, the tasks imposed upon school-boys and students by the exigencies of an elaborate curriculum are often excessive, and there have been cases when the intervention of other authorities has been necessary to bring the educational officers to listen to the reasonable grievances of parents. If in these and other matters parents were more freely consulted, they would probably be more disposed to give educational officers the support of their parental authority. There are many points upon which native opinion would not be so easily led by irreconcilable politicians if greater trouble were taken to explain the questions at issue.

What is evidently much wanted is greater elasticity. In a country like India, which is an aggregation of many widely different countries, the needs and the wishes of the people must differ very widely and cannot be met by cast-iron regulations, however admirable in theory. It is earnestly to be hoped that the creation of a separate portfolio in the Government of India will not involve the strengthening of the centralizing tendencies which have been the bane of Indian education since the days of Macaulay, himself one of the greatest theorists that ever lived. We cannot afford to relax the very little control we exercise over education, but education is just one of the matters in which Provincial Governments should be trusted to ascertain and to give effect to the local requirements of the people. In another direction, however, the creation of a Ministry for Education should be all to the good. If any real and comprehensive improvements are to be carried out they

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will cost a great deal of money, and in the ordinary sense of the term it will not be reproductive expenditure, though no expenditure, if wisely applied, can yield more valuable results. As a member of Council—i.e., as a member of the Government of India—Mr. Butler must carry much greater weight in recommending the necessary expenditure than a Director-General of Public Instruction or than a Provincial Governor, especially as the expenditure will probably have to be defrayed largely out of Imperial and not merely out of Provincial funds. If the educational problem is the most vital and the most urgent one of all at the present hour of India, it stands to reason that no more disastrous blunder could be made than to stint the new department created for its solution.

XXVIII.—*The Crux of the Educational Problem*

One vital aspect of the educational problem in India was left untouched by the Educational Resolution of 1904, and has been left untouched ever since we entered three-quarters of a century ago on an educational experiment unparalleled in the world's history—a more arduous experiment even than that of governing the 300 millions of India with a handful of Englishmen. Many nations have conquered remote dependencies inhabited by alien races, imposed their laws upon them, and held them in peaceful subjection though even this has never been done on the same scale of magnitude as by the British rulers of India. We alone have attempted to educate them in our own literature and science and to make them by education the intellectual partners of the civilization that subdued them. Of the two tasks, that of government and that of education, the latter is not by any means the easier. For good government involves as little interference as possible with the beliefs and customs and traditions of the people, whereas good education means the substitution for them of the intellectual and moral conceptions of what we regard as our higher civilization. Good government represents to that extent a process of conservation; good education must be partially a destructive, almost a revolutionary, process. Yet upon the more difficult and delicate problems of education we have hitherto, it is to be feared, bestowed less thought and less vigilance than upon administrative problems in India. The purpose we have had in view is presumably that which Dr. Ashutosh Mookerjee admirably defined in his last address to the University of Calcutta as "the raising up of loyal and honourable citizens for the welfare of the State." But is it a purpose which those responsible for our Indian system of education have kept steadily before them? Is it a purpose that could possibly be achieved by the *laissez faire* policy of the State in regard to the moral and religious side of education? If so, how is it that we have had of late such alarming evidence of our frequent failure to achieve it?

SECULAR EDUCATION

The divorce of education from religion is still on its trial in Western countries, which rely upon a highly-developed code of ethics and an inherited sense of social and civic duty to supply the place of religious sanctions. In India, as almost everywhere in the East, religion in some form or other, from the fetish worship of the primitive hill tribes to the pantheistic philosophy of the most

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cultured Brahman or the stern monotheism of the orthodox Moslem, is the dominant force in the life both of every individual and of every separate community to which the individual belongs. Religion is in fact the basic element of Indian life, and morality apart from religion is an almost impossible conception for all but an infinitesimal fraction of Western-educated Indians. Hence, even if the attempt had been or were in the future made to instil ethical notions into the minds of the Indian youth independently of all religious teaching, it could only result in failure. For the Hindu, perhaps more than for any other, religion governs life from the hour of his birth to that of his death. His birth and his death are in fact only links in a long chain of existences inexorably governed by religion. His religion may seem to us to consist chiefly of ritual and ceremonial observances which sterilize any higher spiritual life. But even if such an impression is not due mainly to our own want of understanding, the very fact that every common act of his daily life is a religious observance, just as the caste into which he is born has been determined by the degree in which he has fulfilled similar religious observances in a former cycle of lives, shows how completely religion permeates his existence. The whole world in which he lives and moves and has his being, in so far as it is not a mere illusion of the senses, is for him an emanation of the omnipresent deity that he worships in a thousand different shapes, from the grotesque to the sublime.

Yet in a country where religion is the sovereign influence, we have from the beginning absolutely ignored it in education. It is no doubt quite impossible for the State in a country like India, with so many creeds and sects, whose tenets are often repugnant to all our own conceptions not only of religion but of morality, to take any direct part in providing the religious instruction which would be acceptable to Indian parents. But was it necessary altogether to exclude such instruction from our schools and colleges? Has not its exclusion tended to create in the minds of many Indians the belief that our professions of religious neutrality are a pretence and that, however rigorously the State may abstain from all attempts to use education as a medium for Christian propaganda, it nevertheless uses it to undermine the faith of the rising generations in their own ancestral creeds? Even if they acquit us of any deliberate purpose, are they not at any rate entitled to say that such have been too often the results? Did not the incipient revolt against all the traditions of Hinduism that followed the introduction of Western education help to engender the wholesale reaction against Western influences which underlies the present unrest?

THE VIEWS OF INDIAN PARENTS

Few problems illustrate more strikingly the tremendous difficulties that beset a Government such as ours in India. On the one hand, Indian religious conceptions are in many ways so diametrically opposed to all that British rule stands for that the State cannot actively lend itself to maintain or promote them. On the other hand, they provide the ties which hold the whole fabric of Indian society together, and which cannot be hastily loosened without serious injury and even danger to the State. This has been made patent to the most careless observer by the events of the last few years that have revealed, as with a lurid flash of lightning, the extent to

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which the demoralization of our schools and colleges had proceeded. If any Englishman has doubts as to the connexion in this matter of cause and effect, let him ask respectable Indian parents who hold aloof from politics. They have long complained that the spirit of reverence and the respect for parental authority are being killed by an educational system which may train the intellect and impart useful worldly knowledge but withdraws their youths from the actual supervision and control of the parents or of the *guru*, who, for spiritual guidance, stood *in loco parentis* under the old Hindu system of education, and estranges them from all the ideas of their own Hindu world. That parents often genuinely resent the banishment of all religious influence from our schools and colleges appears from the fact that many of them prefer to Government institutions those conducted by missionaries in which, though no attempt is made to proselytize, a religious, albeit a Christian, atmosphere is to some extent maintained. It is on similar grounds also that the promoters of the new movement in favour of "National Schools" advocate the maintenance of schools which purchase complete immunity from Government control by renouncing all the advantages of grants-in-aid and of University affiliation. They have been started mainly under the patronage of advanced politicians, and have too often turned out to be mere hot-beds of sedition, but their *raison d'être* is alleged to be the right of parents to bring up Hindu children in a Hindu atmosphere.

THE OPINION OF RULING CHIEFS

From the opposite pole in politics, most of the ruling chiefs in their replies to Lord Minto's request for their opinions on the growth of disaffection call attention to this aspect of education, and the Hindu princes especially lay great stress on the neglect of religious and moral instruction. I will quote only the Maharajah of Jaipur, a Hindu ruler universally revered for his high character and great experience :—

"My next point has reference to the neglect there seems to be of religious education, a point to which I drew your Excellency's attention at the State banquet at Jaipur on the 29th October, 1909. I must say I have great faith in a system of education in which secular and religious instruction are harmoniously combined, as the formation of character entirely depends upon a basework of religion, and the noble ideals which our sacred books put before the younger generation will, I fervently hope, make them loyal and dutiful citizens of the Empire. Such ideals must inevitably have their effect on impressionable young men, and it is perhaps due to such ideals that sedition and anarchy have obtained so small a footing in the Native States as a whole. In the Chiefs' College Conference, held at the Mayo College in 1904, I impressed upon my colleagues the necessity of religious education for the sons of the chiefs and nobles of Rajputana, and it should be one of the principal objects in all schools for the Pandits and the Moulvies to instil in the minds of their pupils correct notions as to the duty they owe to the community they belong to and to their Sovereign."

FACILITIES FOR RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

In this respect the ruling chiefs reflect the views which prevail amongst the better class Indians in British India as well as in the

Native States. The Government of India cannot afford to disregard them. The Resolution of 1904, it is true, laid it down again definitely that "in Government institutions, the instruction is and must continue to be exclusively secular," but much has happened since 1904 to reveal the evils which our educational system has engendered and to lend weight to the representations made by responsible exponents of sober Indian opinion in favour of one of the remedies which it is clearly within our power to apply. Nor need we really depart from our time-honoured principle of neutrality in religious matters. All we have to do is to set apart in the curriculum of our schools and colleges certain hours during which they will be open on specified conditions for religious instruction in the creed in which the parents desire their children to be brought up. There is no call for compulsion. This is just one of the questions in which the greatest latitude should be left to local Governments, who are more closely in touch than the Central Government with the sentiment and wishes of the different communities. I am assured that there would be little difficulty in forming local committees to settle whether there was a sufficiently strong feeling amongst parents in favour of a course of religious instruction and to determine the lines upon which it should be given. Some supervision would have to be exercised by the State, but in the Educational Service there are, it is to be hoped, enough capable and enlightened representatives of the different creeds to exercise the necessary amount of supervision in a spirit both of sympathy for the spiritual needs of their people and of loyalty to the Government they serve. It may be objected that there are so many jarring sects, so many divisions of caste, that it would be impossible ever to secure an agreement as to the form to be imparted to religious instruction. Let us recognize but not overrate the difficulty. In each of the principal religions of India a substantial basis can be found to serve as a common denominator between different groups, as, for instance, in the Koran for all Mahomedans and in the Shastras for the great majority of high-caste Hindus. At any rate, if the effort is made and fails through no fault of ours, but through the inability of Indian parents to reconcile their religious differences, the responsibility to them will no longer lie with us.

Another objection will probably be raised by earnest Christians who would hold themselves bound in conscience to protest against any facilities being given by a Christian State for instruction in religious beliefs which they reprobate. Some of these austere religionists may even go so far as to contend that, rather than tolerate the teaching of "false doctrines," it is better to deprive Indian children of all religious teaching. To censure of this sort, however, the State already lays itself open in India. There are educational institutions—and some of the best, like the Mahomedan College at Aligurh—maintained by denominational communities on purpose to secure religious education. Yet the State withdraws from them neither recognition nor assistance because pupils are taught to be good Mahomedans or good Hindus. Why should it be wrong to make religious instruction permissive in other Indian schools which are not wholly or mainly supported by private endeavour? Is not the "harmonious combination of secular and religious instruction" for which the Maharajah of Jaipur pleads

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better calculated than our present policy of *laissez faire* to refine and purify Indian religious conceptions, and to bring about that approximation of Eastern to Western ideals, towards which the best Indian minds were tending before the present revolt against the ascendancy of Western conceptions?

A CASE FOR "GOVERNING ACCORDING TO INDIAN IDEAS"

Here is surely a question bound up with all the mainsprings of Indian life in which we may be rightly asked to "govern according to Indian ideas." Can we expect that the youth of India will grow up to be law-abiding citizens if we deprive them of what their parents hold to be "the keystone to the formation of character"? Can we close our eyes to what so many responsible Indians regard as one of the chief causes of the demoralization which has crept into our schools and colleges? The State can doubtless exact in many ways more loyal co-operation from Indian teachers in safeguarding their pupils from the virus of disaffection. It can, for instance, intimate that it will cease to recruit public servants from schools in which sedition is shown to be rife. It can hold them collectively responsible, as some Indians themselves recommend, for crimes perpetrated by youths whom they have helped to pervert. But these are rigorous measures that we can hardly take with a good conscience so long as our educational system can be charged with neglecting or undermining, however unintentionally, the fabric upon which Indian conceptions of morality are based. So long as we take no steps to refute a charge which, in view of recent evidence, can no longer be dismissed as wholly unfounded, can we expect education to fulfil the purpose rightly assigned to it by Dr. Mookerjee—"the raising up of loyal and honourable citizens for the welfare of the State."

XXIX.—Primary Education

It is too late in the day now to discuss whether it was wise to begin our educational policy as we did from the top and to devote so much of our energies and resources to secondary at the expense of primary education. The result has certainly been to widen the gulf which divides the different classes of Indian society and to give to those who have acquired some veneer, however superficial, of Western education the only articulate voice, often quite out of proportion to their importance as the interpreters of Indian interests and desires. One million is a liberal estimate of the number of Indians who have acquired and retained some knowledge of English; whilst at the last census, out of a total population of 294 millions, less than 16 millions could read and write in any language—not fourteen millions out of the whole male population, and not one million out of the whole female population—and this modest amount of literacy is mainly confined to a few privileged castes.

THE DANGERS OF IGNORANCE

With the growth in recent times of a school of Indian politicians bent upon undermining British rule, the almost inconceivable ignorance in which the masses are still plunged has become a real danger to the State, for it has proved an all too receptive soil for the calumnies and lies of the political agitator, who, too well edu-

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cated himself to believe what he retails to others, knows exactly the form of calumny and lie most likely to appeal to the credulity of his uninformed fellow-countrymen. I refer especially to such very widespread and widely believed stories as that Government disseminates plague by poisoning the wells and that it introduces into the plague inoculation serum drugs which destroy virility in order to keep down the population. No one has put this point more strongly than Lord Curzon :—

“What is the greatest danger in India ? What is the source of suspicion, superstition, outbreaks, of crime—yes, and also of much of the agrarian discontent and suffering amongst the masses ? It is ignorance. And what is the only antidote to ignorance ? Knowledge.” Curiously enough, it was one of Lord Curzon’s bitterest opponents who corroborated him on this point by relating in the course of a recent debate how, when the Chinsurah Bridge was built some years ago over the Hughli, ‘the people believed that hundreds and thousands of men were being sacrificed and their heads cut off and carried to the river to be put under the piers to give the bridge stability, so that the goddess might appreciate the gift and let the piers remain.’ And he added :—“I know that ignorant people were afraid to go out at nights, lest they might be seized and their head cut off and thrown under the piers of the Hughli Bridge.”

MR. GOKHALE’S RESOLUTION

It was, however, on more general considerations, as is his wont, that Mr. Gokhale moved his resolution in the first Session of the Imperial Council at Calcutta last winter for making elementary education free and compulsory, and for the early appointment of a committee to frame definite proposals.

Three movements [he claimed] have combined to give to mass education the place which it occupies at present amongst the duties of the State—the humanitarian movement which reformed prisons and liberated the slave, the democratic movement which admitted large masses of men to a participation in government, and the industrial movement which brought home to nations the recognition that the general spread of education in a country, even when it did not proceed beyond the elementary stage, meant the increased efficiency of the worker.

The last of these three considerations is, perhaps, that which just now carries the most weight with moderate men in India, where the general demand for industrial and commercial development is growing loud and insistent, and Mr. Gokhale’s resolution met with very general support from his Mahomedan, as well as from his Hindu, colleagues. But, in the minds of disaffected politicians another consideration is, it must be feared, also present to which utterance is not openly given. It is the hope that the extension of primary schools may serve, as has that of secondary schools, to promote the dissemination of seditious doctrines, especially amongst the ‘depressed classes’ to which the political agitator has so far but rarely secured access.

THE ATTITUDE OF GOVERNMENT

Whatever danger may lie in that direction, it cannot be allowed to affect the policy of Government, who gave to Mr. Gokhale’s

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resolution a sufficiently sympathetic reception to induce him to withdraw it for the present. To the principle of extending primary education the Government of India have indeed long been committed, and increased efforts were recommended, both in the Educational Despatch of 1884 and by the Education Commission of 1883. Stress was equally laid upon it by the Resolution of 1904 under Lord Curzon, who already in 1902 had caused additional grants amounting to 40 lakhs (one lakh of rupees—£6,666), to be given to Provincial Governments for the purpose. Under Lord Minto's administration, Government seemed at one moment to have gone very much further and to have accepted at any rate the principle of free education, for in 1907 the Finance Member conveyed in Council an assurance from the Secretary of State that 'notwithstanding the absence of Budget provision, if a suitable scheme should be prepared and sanctioned by him, he will be ready to allow it to be carried into effect in the course of the year, provided that the financial position permits.' It was rather unfortunate that hopes should be so prematurely raised, and it would surely have been wiser to consult the local governments before than after such a pronouncement. For when they were consulted their replies, especially as to the abolition of fees, were mostly unfavourable, and this year also Government, whilst expressing its good will, felt bound to defer any decision until the question had been more fully studied and the financial situation had improved.

THE QUESTION OF COST

The present situation is certainly unsatisfactory. In 1882 there were 85,000 primary schools in India recognized by the Educational Department which gave elementary education to about 2,000,000 pupils. In 1907, according to the last quinquennial report the total attendance had increased to 3,631,000; but though the increase appears very considerable, the Director-General of Education had to admit that progress to be maintained at the present rate, "several generations would still elapse before all the boys of school age were in school." And Mr. Gokhale's resolution applies, at least ultimately, to girls as well as boys! Now in British India—*i.e.*, without counting the Native States—the total number of boys of school-going age on the basis of the four years' course proposed for India would be nearly 12 millions, and there must be about an equal number of girls. The total cost to the State according to the estimates of government would be no less than £15,000,000 per annum, whilst the non-recurring expenditure would amount to £18,000,000. The fees at present paid by parents for primary education, which is already free in some parts of India and in certain circumstances, make up only about £210,000 per annum. The whole of the enormous difference would, therefore, be thrown upon the Indian taxpayers, who now have to find for primary education less than £650,000 per annum. Even Mr. Gokhale does not, of course, propose that this educational and financial revolution should be affected by a stroke of the pen, and one of his Hindu colleagues held that it would be contrary to all Hindu traditions for parents to avail themselves of free education if they could afford to pay a reasonable sum for it.

THE PAUCITY OF TEACHERS

But even if the state of Indian finances were likely within any

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appreciable time to warrant an approximate approach to such vast expenditure, or if Government could entertain the suggestions made by Mr. Gokhale for meeting it, partly by raising the import duties from 5 to 7½ per cent. and imposing other taxes, and partly by wholesale retrenchment in other departments, the financial difficulty is not the only one to be overcome. Model school houses could, no doubt, be built all over India, if the money were forthcoming, instead of the wretched accommodation which exists now, and is so inadequate that in the Bombay Presidency alone there are said to be 100,000 boys for whom parents want but cannot obtain primary education. But what of teachers? These cannot be improvised, however many millions Government may be prepared to spend. There is an even greater deficiency of good teachers than of good school-houses, and in some respects the value of primary education depends upon good teachers—teachers who are capable of explaining what they teach and not merely of reeling off by rote and imperfectly to their pupils lessons which they themselves imperfectly understand. The total number of teachers engaged in primary education exceeds 100,000, but their salaries barely average Rs. 8 (10s. 8d.) a month. So miserable a pittance abundantly explains their inefficiency. But there it is, and a new army of teachers—nearly half a million altogether—would have to be trained before primary education, whether free and compulsory, as Mr. Gokhale would have it, or optional and for payment, as others propose, could be usefully placed within the reach of the millions of Indian children of a school-going age.

FESTINA LENTE

In this, as in all other matters, the Government of India cannot afford to stand still, and will have to take Indian opinion more and more into account. But whilst there is a very general consensus that more should be done by the State for primary education, there is no unanimity as to its being made free and compulsory. Various Indian members of Council have expressed themselves against it on different grounds. Some contend that many parents cannot afford to be deprived of the help of their children. According to others, there is already much complaint amongst parents that school-going boys do not make good agriculturists and affect to consider work in the fields as beneath their dignity. Others, again, ask, and with some reason, who is going to care for boys of that age who may have to leave their homes and be removed from parental control in order to attend school. There is doubtless something in all these objections. Assuming that Government can do more than it has hitherto done to further primary education, the wisest course would be to improve the quality, and, most of all, the quality of the teachers. Here again, uniformity should be avoided rather than ensured. No primary curriculum can be evolved which will meet the needs alike of the rural population and of the townsfolk, or of the different parts of India with their varying conditions of climate and temperament. Even more than with regard to secondary schools, the needs of parents must be consulted, and the greatest latitude given to provincial Governments to vary the system in a practical spirit and in accordance with local requirements. Nor can the opinion, strongly held by many parents, be overlooked that religious instruction cannot be safely excluded

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from the training of such young children. Some of the objects to be kept specially in view have been well stated by Mr. Orange, the Director-General of Public Instruction :—

“We desire to see, if not in every village, within reach of every village, a school, not an exotic, but a village school, in which the village itself can take pride, and of which the first purpose will be to train up good men and women and citizens ; and the second to import useful knowledge, not forgetting while doing so to train the eye and the hand so that the children when they leave school, whether for the field or the workshop, will have begun to learn the value of accurate observation and to feel the joy of intelligent and exact manual work.”

This is undoubtedly the goal towards which primary education should be directed, but it can only be reached by steady and continuous effort spread over a long term of years. Otherwise we shall discover, again too late, that, as in the case of secondary education, most haste is worst speed.

FEMALE EDUCATION

I shall not attempt to deal with the question of female education, either primary or secondary, for it is so intimately bound up with the peculiarities of Indian, and especially Hindu, society, that it would be difficult for the State to take any vigorous initiative without running a great risk of alarming and alienating native opinion. Owing to Indian social customs and to the practice of early marriage, or at least of early seclusion for girls, their education presents immense practical difficulties which do not exist in the case of boys. Hence the slow progress it has made. At the last census only eight per thousand women could read and write ; and in the whole of India only about half a million girls, or four out of every roo of a school-going age, even on the basis of a four years' course, are receiving any kind of education. Of such as do go to school, nine out of ten only go to primary schools. Mr. Gokhale himself has abandoned the idea of making primary education compulsory for girls as well as for boys. Female education is just one of the questions upon which Indian opinion must be left to ripen, Government giving, in proportion as it ripens, such assistance as can be legitimately expected. It has long engaged the attention of enlightened Indians, and in some communities, especially amongst the Aryas of the Punjab some headway is being made. The Parsis, of course as in all educational and philanthropic developments, have always been in the van. With the growth of Western education the Indian women of the higher classes cannot indefinitely lag behind and if only to make their daughters more eligible for marriage the most conservative Indian parents will be compelled to educate them, as more have already done so that they shall not be separated from their male partners by an unfathomable gulf of intellectual inferiority.

XXX.—*Swadeshi*

Was it not Talleyrand who said that speech had been given to man in order to enable him to disguise his thoughts ? Indian politicians are no Talleyrands, but they sometimes seem to have framed their vocabulary on purpose to disguise political conceptions which most of them for various reasons shrink from defining at

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present with decision. We have already seen how elastic is the word *Swaraj*, self-government, or rather self-rule. In the mouth of the Indian National Congress it means, we are assured, only a pious aspiration towards the same position which our self-governing Colonies enjoy within the Empire. For the "advanced" politician, like Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, *Swaraj* means a transition stage which he hopes and believes must infallibly lead to a complete severance of the ties that unite India to the Empire. For the extremists it means the immediate and violent emancipation of India from British rule, and absolute independence. So it is with the term *Swadeshi*, which means anything from the perfectly legitimate and commendable encouragement of Indian trade and industry to the complete exclusion of foreign, and especially of British, goods by a "national" and often forcible "boycott" as part of a political campaign against British rule.

A "NATIONALIST LEGEND"

Political *Swadeshi* bases itself upon a Nationalist legend that a golden age prevailed in India before we appeared on the scene, and that British rule has deliberately drained India of her wealth. Even if we have to admit that Indian home industries have suffered heavily from the old commercial policy of the East India Company and from the formidable competition of the organized and scientific processes of British industry, this legend hardly deserves to be treated seriously. The *reductio ad absurdum* has certainly been reached when Mr. Keir Hardie alleges that Indian loans raised in England constitute "a regular soaking drain upon India, because the interest is paid to bond-holders in this country [England], and is not therefore benefiting the people from whom it is taken." I can only commend this sapient contention to our self-governing Colonies, who have all had recourse in turn to British capital for the development of their resources, and paid interest on their loans to British bond-holders without being apparently conscious of any "soaking drain."

What India is entitled to ask is whether Indian loans have been expended for the benefit of the Indian people, and the answer is conclusive. India possesses to-day assets in the shape of railways, irrigation canals, and other public works which, as marketable properties, represent more than her total indebtedness, without even taking into account the enormous value of the "unearned increment" they have produced for the benefit of the people of India. If, therefore, we look at the Government of India for a moment as merely a board of directors conducting a great development business on behalf of the Indian people, they can certainly show an excellent balance-sheet. Some of the "home charges" may be open to discussion, and I shall have a word or two to say about them later on. But taken altogether, these "home charges" may fairly be regarded as the not unreasonable cost of administering a concern which, if we wished to liquidate it and to retire from business to-morrow, would leave a handsome surplus to India after paying off the whole debt contracted in her name. The case was stated very fairly by the late Mr. Ranade, whose teachings all but the most advanced politicians still profess to reverence, when he delivered the inaugural address at the first Industrial Conference held just 20 years ago at Poona :—

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"There are some people who think that as long as we have a heavy tribute to pay to England which takes away nearly 20 crores of our surplus exports, we are doomed, and can do nothing to help ourselves. This is, however, hardly a fair or manly position to take up. A portion of the burden represents interest on moneys advanced to, or invested in, our country, and so far from complaining, we have reason to be thankful that we have a creditor who supplies our needs at such a low rate of interest. Another portion represents the value of stores supplied to us, the like of which we cannot produce here. The remainder is alleged to be more or less necessary for the purpose of administration, defence, and payment of pensions, and though there is good cause for complaint that it is all necessary, we should not forget the fact that we are enabled by reason of this British connexion to levy an equivalent tribute from China by our opium monopoly."

If India can no longer reckon upon levying this tribute upon China, it is not at any rate the fault of the Government of India, who have had reluctantly to submit to the exigencies of Imperial policy in this matter.

THE NEED FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The question is not whether we have done well, but whether we might not have done better, and whether the economic development of India, industrial, commercial, and agricultural has kept pace with that of the rest of the world. If the answer in this case is more doubtful, we have to bear in mind the idiosyncrasies of the Indian people and especially of the educated classes. Indians have been as a rule disinclined to invest their money in commerce or industry or in scientific forms of agriculture. Those who have money and do not merely hoard it prefer to lend it out, often at usurious rates of interest, to their needy or thriftless fellow-countrymen. Until quite recently the educated classes have held almost entirely aloof from any but the liberal professions. Science in any form has been rarely taken up by University students, and for every B. Sc. the honours lists have shown probably a hundred B.A.'s. The Indian National Congress itself, as it represented mainly those classes, naturally displayed the same tendencies, and for a long time it devoted its energies to so-called political problems rather than to practical economic questions. Hence the almost complete failure of the Western-educated Indian, especially in Bengal, to achieve any marked success in commercial and industrial undertakings. Hence also no doubt some of his political bitterness. Within the last few years, however, the politician has realized that, whilst commercial and industrial development was steadily expanding and the demand for it was increasing on all sides, he was left standing on a barren shore. He has done his best, or rather his worst, to convert *Swadeshi* into a political weapon. His efforts have only been temporarily and partially successful. But we may rest assured that long after this spurious political *Swadeshi* has disappeared, the legitimate form of *Swadeshi* will endure that does not boycott imported goods merely because they come from England, but is bent on stimulating the production in India of articles of the same or of better quality that can be sold cheaper and can, therefore, beat the imported goods in the Indian markets.

To this form of *Swadeshi* it is undoubtedly the duty and the

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interest of the Government of India to respond. We are bound as trustees for the people of India to promote Indian trade and industry by all the means in our power, and we are equally bound to help to open up new fields of activity for the young Indians whom our educational system has diverted from the old paths, and who no longer find for their rapidly increasing numbers any sufficient outlet in the public services and liberal professions which originally absorbed them. No reforms in our educational system can be permanently effective unless we check the growth of the intellectual proletariat, which plays so large a part in Indian unrest, by diverting the energies of young India into new and healthy channels. At the same time there can be no better material antidote to the spread of disaffection than the prosperity which would attend the expansion of trade and industry and give to increasing numbers amongst the Western-educated classes a direct interest in the maintenance of law and order. There are amongst those classes too many who, having little or nothing to lose, are naturally prone to fish in the troubled waters of sedition.

THE CONDITION OF AGRICULTURE

In regard to agriculture, which is, and is bound to remain, the greatest of all Indian industries, for it supports 70 and perhaps 80 per cent. of the whole population, the Government of India have no reason to be ashamed of their record. Famines can never be banished from a country where vast tracts are entirely dependent upon an extremely uncertain rainfall, and the population is equally dependent upon the fruits of the soil. But besides the scientific organization of famine relief, the public works policy of Government has been steadily and chiefly directed to the reduction of famine areas. Not only has the construction of a great system of railways facilitated the introduction of food-stuffs into remote famine-stricken districts, but irrigation works devised on a scale and with a skill which have made India the premier school of irrigation for the rest of the world have added enormously both to the area of cultivation and to that where cultivation is secured against failure of the rainfall. The arid valley of the Indus has been converted into a perennial granary, and in the Punjab alone irrigation canals have already added 8,000,000 acres of unusual fertility to the land under tillage, and have given to 5,000,000 acres more the protection against drought in years of deficient rainfall which they formerly lacked. Plantations of tea, coffee, cinchona, &c., and the cultivation of jute have added within the last 25 years some £30,000,000 a year to the value of Indian exports. Jute alone covers the whole of the so-called "drain."

The fact nevertheless cannot be denied, though it is an unpleasant admission, that a large proportion of the immense agricultural population of India have remained miserably poor. Indian politicians ascribe this poverty to the crushing burden of the land revenue collected by Government—a burden which has been shown to work out only to about 1s. 8d. per acre of crop and is being steadily reduced in relation to the gross revenue of the country—but they say nothing about the exactions of the native landlord, who has, for instance in Bengal, monopolized at the expense of the peasantry almost the whole benefit of permanent settlement. Some very significant facts with regard to *ryotwari* landlords were brought

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out in a debate this year in the Legislative Council of Madras, when Mr. Atkinson, in reply to one of his Hindu colleagues who had been denouncing the Government assessments in certain villages, produced an overwhelming array of figures to show that in those very villages the rents exacted by native landlords varied between eight and eleven times the amount which they paid to Government. Nor do Indian politicians say much about the native money-lender, who is far more responsible than the tax-gatherer for the poverty of the peasant. Still less do they say about the extravagance of native customs, partly religious and partly social, which make the peasant an easy prey to the money-lender, to whom he is too often driven when he has a child to marry or a parent to bury or a Brahman to entertain. Indebtedness is the great curse of Indian agriculture, and the peasant's chief necessity is cheap credit obtained on a system that will not cause him to sink deeper into the mire. Here again it is not Indian politicians, but the British rulers of India who have found a solution, and it is of such importance and promise that it deserves more than mere passing mention.

CO-OPERATIVE LAND-BANKS

It has been found in the adaptation to Indian requirements of the well known Raffeism system. Experiments were first made in Madras under Sir Frederick Nicholson and in the United Provinces under Sir Antony (now Lord) MacDonnell, and one of the many measures passed by Lord Curzon for the benefit of the humbler classes in India, with little or no support from the politicians and often in despite of their vehement opposition, was an Act giving legal sanction to the operations of a system of co-operative banks and credit societies. It found a healthy basis ready made in the Indian village system, and though it would never have succeeded without the informing energy and integrity of "sundried bureaucrats" and the countenance given to it by Government, it has had the cordial support of many capable native gentlemen. It is now only eight years old, but it has begun to spread with amazing rapidity. The report of the Calcutta Conference of Registrars last winter showed that the number of societies of all kinds had risen from 1,357 in the preceding year to 2,008, and their aggregate working capital from 44 lakhs to nearly 81 (one lakh or Rs. 100,000 = £6,666). The new movement is, of course, still only in its infancy, but it is full of promise. The money-lender, who was at first bitterly hostile, is beginning to realize that by providing capital for the co-operative banks he can get on the whole an adequate return with much better security for his money than in the old days of great gains and also great losses. One of the healthiest features is that, notwithstanding the great expansion of the system during the last twelvemonth, the additional working capital required was mainly provided by private individuals and only a very small amount by Government. Another good feature is that the money saved to the peasant by the lower interest he has to pay on his debts pending repayment is now going into modern machinery and improved methods of agriculture. The new system appeals most strongly to poor and heavily indebted villages, and in the Punjab, where the results are really remarkable, especially in some of the backward Mahomedan districts, it is hoped that within

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a few years nearly half the peasant indebtedness, estimated at 25 to 30 millions sterling, will have been wiped off.

Practical education is, however, as urgently needed for Indian agriculture as for any other form of Indian industry. Great as has been the extension of the wheat-producing area of India under British rule, it is certainly unsatisfactory that, whereas the yield of an acre under wheat in the United Kingdom is 32 bushels, in India it is barely 10 bushels. The selection of land and of seeds, the use of suitable manures, an intelligent rotation of crops, the adoption of better methods and less antiquated implements can only be brought about by practical education, and the demand for it is one that Government will hear put forward with growing insistency by the new Councils on which Indian landowners have been wisely granted the special representation that the agricultural interests of India so abundantly deserve.

XXXI—Government and Indian Industries

It was the "sun-dried bureaucrat" again who in regard to Indian industries as well as to Indian agriculture preached and practised sound *Swadeshi* before the word had ever been brought into vogue by the Indian politician. The veteran Sir George Birdwood, Sir George Watt, Sir Edward Buck, and many others have stood forth for years as the champions of Indian art and Indian home industries. As far back as 1883 a resolution was passed by Government expressing its desire "to give the utmost encouragement to every effort to substitute for articles now obtained from Europe articles of *bona fide* local manufacture or indigenous origin." In 1886 a special Economic Department was created to keep up the elaborate survey of the economic products of India which Sir George Watt had just completed under State direction. But the most important administrative measure was the creation under Lord Curzon of a separate portfolio of Commerce and Industry in the Government of India, to which Sir John Hewett was appointed with very conspicuous success.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

It was also under Lord Curzon that the most vigorous impulse was given to technical education of which the claims had already been advocated by many distinguished Anglo-Indian officials, such as Sir Antony MacDonnell and Sir Auckland Colvin. The results of an exhaustive inquiry conducted throughout India by a Committee of carefully selected officers were embodied in the Educational Resolution of 1904. Particular stress was laid upon the importance of industrial, commercial, and art and craft schools as the preparatory stages of technical education, for which, in its higher forms, provision had already been made in such institutions as the engineering colleges at Sibpur, Rurki, Jubbulpore, and Madras, the College of Science at Poona, and the Technical Institute of Bombay. Until then the record of technical schools had too often resembled the description which Mr. Butler, the new Minister of Education, tersely gave of that of the Lucknow Industrial School—"a record of inconstant purpose with breaks of unconcern." Not only did the question of technical education receive more systematic treatment, but a special assignment of Rs. 2,44,000 a year was made in 1905 by the Government of India

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in aid of the provincial revenues for its improvement and extension. It was not, however, until the liberality of the late Mr. J. N. Tata and his relatives, one of the best-known Parsi families of Bombay, recently placed a considerable income for the purpose at the disposal of Government that steps have been taken to establish an "Indian Institute of Science" worthy of the name, to which the Mysore Government, who have given a site for it in Bangalore, as well as the Government of India, have promised handsome financial assistance.

A GREAT FIELD OF ENTERPRISE

Whilst the encouragement given to Indian technical education has until quite lately proceeded far more from the British rulers of India than from any native quarter, it has been also until quite lately British capital and British enterprise that have contributed mostly to the development of Indian industry and commerce. The Bombay cotton mills represent at the present day the only important and successful application of Indian capital and Indian enterprise to industrial development. The woollen, cotton, and leather industries of Cawnpore, which has become one of the chief manufacturing centres of India, and the great jute industry of Bengal were promoted almost exclusively by British and not by indigenous effort. Real *Swadeshi*, stimulated by British teaching and by British enterprise, was thus already in full swing when the Indian politician took up the cry and too often perverted it to seditious purposes, and though he may have helped to rouse his sluggish fellow-countrymen to healthy as well as to mischievous activity, it may be doubted whether any good he may have done has not been more than counterbalanced by the injurious effect upon capital of a violent and often openly seditious agitation. Mr. Gokhale himself seems to have awakened to this danger, when in an eloquent speech delivered by him at Lucknow in support of *Swadeshi* in 1907, he protested, rather late in the day, against the "narrow, exclusive, and intolerant spirit" in which some advocates of the cause were seeking to promote it, and laid stress upon the importance of capital as well as of enterprise and skill as an indispensable factor of success.

That an immense field lies open in India for industrial development need scarcely be argued. It has been explored with great knowledge and ability in a very instructive article contributed last January to the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* by Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, an Indian member of the Civil Service. Amongst the many instances clamouring for the benefits of applied science, I will quote only the treatment of oil seeds, the manufacture of paper from wood pulp and wood meal, the development of leather factories and tanneries, as well as of both vegetable and chemical dyes, the sugar industry, and metal work—all of which, if properly instructed and directed, would enable India to convert her own raw materials with profit into finished products either for home consumption or for exportation abroad. It is at least equally important for India to save her home industries, and especially her hand-weaving industry, the wholesale destruction of which under the pressure of the Lancashire power-loom has thrown so many poor people on to the already overcrowded land. Here, as Mr. Chatterjee wisely remarks, combination and organization are badly needed, for "the hand

industry has the greatest chances of survival when it adopts the methods of the power industry without actual resort to power machinery." The articles on the Indian industrial problem in *Science Progress* for April and July, by Mr. Alfred Chatterton, Director of Industries, Madras, are also well worth careful attention.

THE PRESENT ATTITUDE OF GOVERNMENT

What Government can do for the pioneering of new industries is shown by the success of the State dairies in Northern India and of Mr. Chatterton's experiments in the manufacturing of aluminium in Madras. There is an urgent demand at present for industrial research laboratories and experimental work all over India, and above all for better and more practical education. But it would seem that in this direction the impetus given by Lord Curzon has somewhat slackened under Lord Minto's administration, owing, doubtless, to the absorbing claims of the political situation and of political reforms.

In speaking in the Calcutta Council on a resolution for the establishment of a great Polytechnic College, the Home Member was able to point to a fairly long list of measures taken at no small cost by the State to promote technical education in all parts of India, and he rightly urged that there would be little use in creating a sort of technical University until a larger proportion of students had qualified for it by taking advantage of the more elementary courses already provided for them. His answer would have been more convincing could he have shown that existing institutions are always adequately equipped and that considered schemes which have the support of the best Indian as well as of the best official opinion are not subjected to merely dilatory objections at headquarters. Three years ago, after the Naini Tal Industrial Conference, the most representative ever perhaps held in India, Sir John Hewett, who had been made Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces after having been the first to hold the new portfolio of Commerce and Industry, developed a scheme for the creation of a Technological College at Cawnpore, which met with unanimous approval. Nothing has yet been done to give effect to it, and it was not only the Indian but many of the European members, official as well as unofficial, of the Viceroy's Legislative Council who sympathized with Mr. Mudholkar's protest when he asked with some bitterness what must be the impression produced in India by the shelving of a scheme that was supported by men of local experience, by the head of the Provincial Government, and by the Government of India, because people living 6,000 miles away did not consider it to be absolutely flawless.

THE PLACING OF GOVERNMENT ORDERS

In one direction at any rate Indian can rightly demand that Government should be left an entirely free hand—namely, in regard to the very large orders which have to be placed every year by the great spending departments. It has now been laid down by the Secretary of State that Indian industry should supply the needs of Government in respect of all articles that are, in whole or in part, locally manufactured. But Indian industry would be able to supply much more if the Government of India were in a position to give more assured support. The case of the Bengal Iron and Steel

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Company has been quoted to me, which was compelled to close down its steel works and to reduce the number of its iron furnaces in blast from four to two because the promises of support received from Government when the Company took over the works proved to be largely and quite inexcusably illusory. For works of this kind cannot be run at present in India unless they can depend upon the hearty support of Government, which through the Railways and Public Works Department is the main, and, indeed, the only, consumer on a large scale.

AN IMPORTANT EXPERIMENT

At the present moment Messrs. Tata are making a truly gigantic endeavour to acclimatize the iron and steel industry in India by the erection of immense works at Sakteh in Bengal, where they have within easy reach a practically unlimited supply of the four necessary raw materials—iron ore, cooking coal, flux, and manganese ore. To utilize these, plant is being set up of a yearly capacity of 120,000 tons of foundry iron, rails, shapes and merchant bars, and plans have been drawn out for an industrial city of 20,000 inhabitants. The enterprise is entirely in Indian hands with an initial share capital of £1,545,000 administered by an Indian board of directors who have engaged American experts to organize the works. Government has granted various railway facilities to the company and has placed with them an order for 200,000 tons of rails for periodical delivery. Upon the future of these works will probably depend for many years to come the success of the metallurgical and other kindred industries of India, and it is to be hoped that Government will be allowed to give them all reasonable assistance without interference from home.

In minor matters, also, hints have, I am assured, too frequently been sent out from England that the claims of British industry to Government support must not be forgotten. Even now no change has been made in the regulations which compel the Government of India to purchase all articles not wholly or partly manufactured in India through the Stores Department of the India Office. The delay thus caused in itself represents a serious loss, for it appears to take an average of nine months for any order through that Department to be carried out, and further delays arise whenever some modification in the original indent is required. Nowadays merchants in India keep for ordinary purposes of trade such large collections of samples that in nine cases out of ten Government Department could settle at once upon what they want and their orders would be carried out both more quickly and more cheaply. The maintenance of these antiquated regulations, which are very injurious to Indian trade, is attributed by Indians mainly to the influence of powerful vested interests in England.

PUBLIC WORKS

The time would also seem to have arrived when, with the development of Indian trade and industry, private contracts might with advantage be substituted for the more expensive and slower activities of the Public Works Department. Work done by that Department is bound to be more expensive, for its enormous establishment has to be maintained on the same footing whether financial conditions allow or do not allow Government to embark

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on large public works expenditure, and when they do not, the proportion of establishment charges to the actual cost of works is ruinous. When the Calcutta Port Trust and other institutions of the same character put out to contract immense works running every year into millions, why, it is asked, should not Government do the same? Some works like irrigation works may properly be reserved for the Public Works Department, but to mobilize the Department whenever a bungalow has to be built or a road made by Government is surely ridiculous.

Indian opinion is at present just in the mood when reasonable concessions of this kind could make an excellent impression; and, if they are not made spontaneously, the enlarged Indian Councils will soon put on pressure to obtain them.

XXXII.—Financial and Fiscal Relations

When Lord Morley introduced his Indian reforms scheme, a section at least of the party to which he belongs supported it not only on general grounds, but more especially in the belief that it would strengthen the hands of the Imperial Government in dealing with the hide-bound officialism of which the Government of India is in the eyes of some British Radicals the visible embodiment. None of them, probably, anticipated that the boot would be on the other leg. If the Government of India have sometimes sacrificed Indian interests to British interests, it has been almost exclusively in connection with the financial and fiscal relations between the two countries, and often against the better judgment and sense of justice of Anglo-Indian officials. In this respect the enlarged Indian Councils will lend far greater weight than in the past to any representations which the Government of India may take at Whitehall.

WHITEHALL AND THE INDIAN BUDGET

Even in the course of its first session at Calcutta the Imperial Council has given abundant indications of its attitude. In the Budget debate, Sir Vithaldas Thackersay, one of the Indian elected members from Bombay, remarked very pointedly that "there is an impression abroad that in deciding most important questions of economic and financial policy the Government are obliged to be guided by political exigencies." Official secrets have a way of leaking out in India, and Sir Vithaldas knew what he was talking about when he added with regard to the Budget under discussion—"It is generally believed that if the Government of India had had a freer hand they would have preferred the raising of the general tariff or a duty on sugar, which would have been less objectionable than the levying of the proposed enhanced duties in the teeth of the practically unanimous opposition of the non-official members of this Council and of the public generally."

It is certainly unfortunate that on the first occasion on which the Government of India had to lay a financial statement before the enlarged Council, Indian members should have come to the conclusion that the unpopular Budget submitted to them was not the one originally proposed by the Indian Finance Department, but that it had been imposed upon that Department by the Secretary of State in deference to the exigencies of British party politics. Equally unfortunate is it that the financial difficulties which this Budget had to meet were mainly due to the loss of revenue on opium in con-

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sequence of the arrangements made by Great Britain with China, in which Indian interests had received very scant consideration. Not only had Sir Edward Baker, when he was Finance Minister three years ago, given an assurance that the new opium policy would be carried out without any resort to extra taxation, but there is a strong feeling in India that the praiseworthy motives which have induced the Imperial Government to come to terms with China on the subject of the opium trade would be still more creditable to the British people had not the Indian taxpayer been left, with his fellow-sufferers in Hong-kong and Singapore, to bear the whole cost of British moral rectitude. The Imperial Council did not confine itself, either, to criticism of what had happened. Sir Vithaldas Thackersay had probably every Indian and many official members with him when he made the following very clear intimation as to the future :—"We are prepared to bear our burdens, and all that we ask is that the country should be allowed greater freedom in choosing the methods of raising revenue. I am unable to see how it will be injurious to the interests of Government if this Council is allowed a more real share as regards what articles shall be taxed and what duties shall be paid."

"HOME CHARGES"

It is upon such questions as these that the voice of the enlarged Councils will in future cause much more frequent embarrassment to the Imperial Government than to the Government of India, and I shall be much surprised if they have not to listen to it in regard to various "home charges" with which the Government of India have from time to time very reluctantly agreed to burden Indian finance at the bidding of Whitehall. The Indian Nationalist Press has not been alone in describing the recent imposition on the Indian taxpayer of a capitation allowance amounting to £300,000 a year to meet the increased cost of the British soldier as "the renewed attempt of a rapacious War Office to raid the helpless Indian Treasury," and even the increase in the pay of the native soldier which Lord Kitchener obtained for him does not prevent him and his friends from drawing their own comparison between the squalor of the quarters in which he is still housed and the relatively luxurious barracks built for Tommy Atkins under Lord Kitchener's administration at the expense of the Indian taxpayer. It is no secret that the Government of India have also frequently remonstrated in vain when India has been charged full measure and overflowing in respect of military operations in which the part borne by her has been governed less by her own direct interests than by the necessity of making up with the help of Indian contingents the deficiencies of our military organization at home. It was no Indian politician but the Government of India who expressed the opinion that :—

"The Imperial Government keeps in India and quarters upon the revenues of that country as large a portion of its army as it thinks can possibly be required to maintain its dominion there ; that it habitually treats that army as a reserve force available for Imperial purposes ; that it has uniformly detached European regiments from the garrison of India to take part in Imperial wars whenever it has been found necessary or convenient to do so ; and, more than this, that it has drawn not less freely upon the native army of India, towards the maintenance of which it contributes nothing, to aid in

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contests outside of India with which the Indian government has had little or no concern."

INDIAN PROTECTIONISM

All these are, however, but secondary issues to the much larger one which the creation of the new Councils must tend to bring to the front with all the force of the increased weight given to them by the recent reforms. For that issue will raise the whole principle of our fiscal relations with India, if it results in a demand for the protection of Indian industries against the competition of imported manufactures by an autonomous tariff. It must be remembered that the desire for Protection is no new thing in India. Whether we like it or not, whether we be Free Traders or Tariff Reformers, we have to reckon with the fact that almost every Indian is a Protectionist at heart, whatever he may be in theory. The Indian National Congress has hitherto fought shy of making Protection a prominent plank of its platform, lest it should offend its political friends in England. Yet as far back as 1902 a politician as careful as Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, to avoid in his public utterances anything that might alienate British Radicalism, declared in his inaugural address at the 18th session of the Congress that "if we had a potential voice in the government of our own country there would be no question as to what policy we should follow. We would unhesitatingly adopt a policy of Protection." This note has been accentuated since the political campaign in favour of militant Swadeshism and when English Radicals sympathize with the *Swadeshi* boycott as a protest against the Partition of Bengal, they would do well to recollect that, before Indian audiences, the most violent forms of *Swadeshi* are constantly defended on the ground that British industrial greed, of which Free Trade is alleged to be the highest expression, has left no other weapons to India for the defence of her material interests. Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai, who has the merit of often speaking with great frankness, addressed himself once in the following terms to "those estimable gentlemen in India who believe in the righteousness of the British nation as represented by the electors of Great Britain and Ireland, and who are afraid of offending them by the boycott of English-made goods" :

"If there are any two classes into which the British nation can roughly be divided they are either manufacturers or the working men. Both are interested in keeping the Indian market open for the sale and consumption of their manufactures. They are said to be the only friends to whom we can appeal against the injustice of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. Offend them, we are told, and you are undone. You lose the good will of the only classes who can help you and who are prepared to listen to your grievances. But, boycott or no boycott, any movement calculated to increase the manufacturing power of India is likely to incur the displeasure of the British elector. He is a very well-educated animal, a keen man of business, who can at once see through things likely to affect his pocket, however cleverly they may be put or arranged by those who hold an interest which is really speaking, if effectively worked and organized, both are one and the same thing."

PROTECTION IN THE IMPERIAL COUNCIL

That *Swadeshi* as understood by educated Indians of all classes

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and of all political complexions means in some form or other Protection was made clear even in the Imperial Council. The Finance Member, Sir Fleetwood Wilson, was himself fain to pay homage to it, but his sympathy did not disarm Mr. Chitnavis, an Indian member whose speech deserves to be recorded, as it embodied the opinions entertained by 99 out of every 100 Indians who are interested in economic questions :—

“The country must be grateful to him [the Finance Member] for his sympathetic attitude towards Indian industries. “I think *Swadeshi* is good, and if the outcome of the charges I have laid before the Council result in some encouragement of Indian industries, I for one shall not regret it.” For a Finance Minister to say even so much is not a small thing in the present state of India’s dependence upon the most pronounced and determined Free Trade country in the world. . . . At the same time we regret the absence of a fiscal autonomy for India and the limitations under which this Government has to frame its industrial policy. We regret that Government cannot give the country a protective tariff forthwith. However excellent Free Trade may be for a country in an advanced stage of industrial development, it must be conceded that Protection is necessary for the success and development of infant industries. Even pronounced protagonists of Free Trade do not view this idea with disfavour. That Indian manufacturing industry is in its infancy does not admit of controversy. Why should not India, then, claim special protection for her undeveloped industry? Even countries remarkable for their industrial enterprise and excellence protect their industries. The United States and Germany are decidedly Protectionist. The British Colonies have protective tariffs . . . protective in purpose, scope, and effect. They are not, like the Indian import duties, levied for revenue purposes. The Indian appeal for Protection cannot in the circumstances be unreasonable. The development of the industries is a matter of great moment to the Empire, and the popular leanings towards Protectionism ought to engage the sympathy of Government. The imposition of import duties for revenue purposes is sanctioned by precedent and principle alike. . . . And yet for a small import duty of $1\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. upon cotton goods a countervailing excise duty upon home manufactures is imposed in disregard of Indian public opinion, and the latest pronouncement of the Secretary of State has dispelled all expectations of the righting of this wrong.”

THE COTTON EXCISE DUTY

No measure has done greater injury to the cause of Free Trade in India or more permanent discredit to British rule than this Excise duty on Indian manufactured cotton, for none has done more to undermine Indian faith in the principles of justice upon which British rule claims, and, on the whole, most legitimately claims, to be based. In obedience to British Free Trade principles, all important duties were finally abolished in India at the beginning of the eighties, except on liquors and on salt, which were subject to an internal excise duty. In 1895, however, the Government of India were compelled by financial stress to revive the greater part of the old 5 per cent. tariff on imports, including cottons, but under pressure from England they had to agree to levy a countervailing

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excise duty of 5 per cent. on cotton fabrics manufactured in Indian power mills. After a good deal of heated correspondence the Government of India were induced two years later to reduce the duty on cotton manufactured goods imported from abroad to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. with the same reduction of the Indian excise duty, whilst cotton yarns were altogether freed from duty. This arrangement is still in force.

Rightly or wrongly, every Indian believes that the excise duty was imposed upon India for the selfish benefit of the British cotton manufacturer and under the pressure of British party politics. He believes, as was once sarcastically remarked by an Indian member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, that so long as Lancashire sends 60 members to Westminster the British Government will always have 60 reasons for maintaining the excise duty. To the English argument that the duty is "only a small one" the Indian reply is that according to the results of an elaborate statistical inquiry conducted at the instance of the late Mr. Jamsetjee N. Tata, a $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. excise duty on cotton cloth is equivalent to a 7 per cent. duty on capital invested in weaving under Indian conditions. The profits are very fluctuating and the depreciation of plant is considerable. Equally fallacious is another argument that the duty is in reality paid by Englishmen. The capital engaged in the Indian cotton industry is, it is contended, not British, but almost exclusively Indian, and a large proportion is held by not over-affluent Indian share-holders.

A DANGEROUS DILEMMA

There is nothing to choose between the records of the two great political parties at home in their treatment of England's financial and fiscal relations with India, and English Tariff Reformers have as a rule shown little more disposition than English Free Traders to study Indian interests. In fact, until Mr. M. de P. Webb, a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, published under the title of "India and the Empire" an able exposition of the Tariff problem in relation to India, very few Tariff Reformers seemed even to take India into account in their schemes of Imperial preference. I hope, therefore, to be absolved from all suspicion of party bias in drawing attention to a question which is, I believe, destined to play in the near future a most important—perhaps even a determining—part in the relations of India to the British Empire.

As I wrote some months ago from Calcutta, one of the first things that struck me on my return to India this year was the universality and vehemence of the demand for a new economic policy directed with energy and system to the expansion of Indian trade and industry. It is a demand with which the great majority of Anglo-Indian officials are in full sympathy, and it is in fact largely the outcome of their own efforts to stimulate Indian interest in the question. There is very little doubt that the Government of India would be disposed to respond to it speedily and heartily on the lines I have indicated in my last articles. Will the Imperial Government and British democracy lend them a helping hand or even leave a free hand to them? If not we shall assuredly find ourselves confronted with an equally universal and vehement demand for Protection pure and simple by the erection of an

Indian Tariff wall against the competition of imported manufactures. I need hardly point out how the rejection of such a demand would be exploited by the political agitator or how it would rally to the side of active disaffection some of the most conservative and influential classes in India. For if, as those Englishmen who claim a monopoly of sympathy with the people of India are continually preaching, we must be prepared to sacrifice administrative efficiency to sympathy, how could we shelter ourselves on an economic issue behind theories of the greater economic efficiency of Free Trade? If we are to try "to govern India in accordance with Indian ideas"—a principle with which I humbly but fully agree—how could we justify the refusal to India of the fiscal autonomy for which there is a far more widespread and genuine demand than for political autonomy?

XXXIII—The Position of Indians in the Empire

"I think," said Mr. Gokhale in moving his resolution for the prohibition of Indian indentured labour for Natal, "I am stating the plain truth when I say that no single question of our time has evoked more bitter feelings throughout India—feelings in the presence of which the best friends of British rule have had to remain helpless—than the continued ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa."

Every Indian member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council who spoke during that debate, whatever race or creed or caste he represented, endorsed the truth of Mr. Gokhale's statement, and had a vote been taken on the resolution it would have had—what no other resolution moved during the whole session would have secured—the unanimous support of the whole body of Indian members and the sympathy of every English member, official as well as unofficial. The Government of India wisely averted a division by accepting the resolution. Not a single attempt was made either by the Viceroy in the chair or by other representatives of Government to controvert either Mr. Gokhale's statement or the overwhelming array of facts showing the nature and extent of the ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa, which was presented by the mover of the resolution and by every Indian speaker who followed him. The whole tone of the debate was generally dignified, and self-restrained, but no Englishman can have listened to it without a deep sense of humiliation. For the first time in history the Government of India had to sit dumb whilst judgment was pronounced in default against the Imperial Government upon a question which has stirred the resentment of every single community of our Indian Empire. It was the one question which called forth very deep feeling in the Indian National Congress at Lahore last December, where subscriptions and donations flowed in freely to defray the expenses of a campaign throughout India, and it figured just as prominently in the proceedings of the All-India Moslem League, which held its annual meeting there in the following month. In fact Mahomedans have the additional grievance that the laws of the Transvaal discriminate by name against those of their faith. There is scarcely a city of any importance in India in which public meetings have not testified to the interest and indignation which the subject arouses in every class of Indian audience.

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THE INDIAN GRIEVANCE

This is a very grave fact. I need not enter into the details of the question. They are well known. There may be some exaggerations. Indian immigrants may not always be drawn from desirable classes, there may be differences of opinion as to the wisdom of the attitude taken up by some of the Indians in South Africa, and Englishmen may sympathize with the desire of British and Dutch colonists to check the growth of another alien population in their midst. But that the Indian has not received there the just treatment to which he is entitled as a subject of the British Crown, and that disabilities and indignities are heaped upon him because he is an Indian, are broad facts that are not and cannot be disputed. The resolution adopted by the Imperial Council with the sanction of the Government of India was formally directed against Natal because it is only in regard to Natal that India possesses an effective weapon of retaliation in withholding the supply of indentured labour which is indispensable to the prosperity of that colony. But the Indian grievance is not confined to Natal; it is even greater in the Transvaal. Still less is it confined to the particular class of Indians who emigrate as indentured labourers to South Africa. What Indians feel most bitterly is that however well educated, however respectable and even distinguished may be an Indian who goes to or resides in South Africa, and especially in the Transvaal, he is treated as an outcast and is at the mercy of harsh laws and regulations framed for his oppression and often interpreted with extra harshness by the officials who are left to apply them. This bitterness is intensified by the recollection that before the South African War the wrongs of British Indians in the Transvaal figured prominently in the catalogue of charges brought by the Imperial Government against the Kruger *regime* which precipitated its downfall. In prosecuting the South African War, Great Britain drew freely upon India for assistance of every kind except actual Indian combatants. Not only was it the loyalty of India that enabled to be embarked hurriedly at Bombay the British troops who saved Natal, but it was the constant supply from India of stores of all kinds, of transport columns, of hospital bearers, &c., which to a great extent made up throughout the war for the deficiencies of the British War Office. There are monuments erected in South Africa which testify to the devotion of British Indians who, though non-combatants, laid down their lives in the cause of the Empire.

Yet as far as the British Indians are concerned the end of it all has been that their lot in the Transvaal since it became a British Colony is harder than it was in the old Kruger days, and the British colonists in the Transvaal who were ready enough to use Indian grievances as a stick with which to beat Krugerism, have now joined hands with the Dutch in refusing to redress them. The Government of India have repeatedly urged upon the Imperial Government the gravity of this question, and Lord Curzon especially pressed upon his friends when they were in office the vital importance of effecting some acceptable settlement whilst the Transvaal was still a Crown Colony, and, therefore, more amenable to the influence of the Mother Country than it would be likely to prove when once endowed with self-government. Yet the Imperial Government after a succession of half-hearted and ineffective pro-

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tests have now finally acquiesced in the perpetuation and even the aggravation of wrongs which some ten years ago they solemnly declared to be intolerable.

THE DISCREDIT TO BRITISH RULE

Apart from the sense of justice upon which Englishmen pride themselves, it is impossible to overlook the disastrous consequence of this *gran rifiuto* for the prestige of British rule in India. One of the Indian Members of Council, Mr. Dadabhoy, indicated them in terms as moderate as they were significant :—

"In 1899 Lord Lansdowne feared the moral consequence in India of a conviction of the powerlessness of the British *raj* to save the Indian settlers in the Transvaal from oppression and harsh treatment. That was when there was peace all over this country, when sedition, much more anarchism, was an unheard-of evil. If the situation was disquieting then, what is it now when the urgent problem of the moment is how to put down and prevent the growth of unrest in the land? The masses do not understand the niceties of the relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies; they do not comprehend the legal technicalities. The British *raj* has so far revealed itself to them as a power whose influence is irresistible, and when they find that, with all its traditional omnipotence, it has not succeeded in securing to their countrymen—admittedly a peaceable decent body of settlers who rendered valuable services during the war—equal treatment at the hands of a small Dependency, they become disheartened and attribute the failure to the European colonist's influence over the Home Government. That is an impression which is fraught with incalculable potentialities of mischief and which British statemanship should do everything in its power to dispel. The present political situation in India adds special urgency to the case."

No comments of mine could add to the significance of this warning.

THE LARGER ISSUE

The measure contemplated by Mr. Gokhale's resolution may have some direct effect upon Natal, whose leading statesmen have repeatedly acknowledged the immense value of Indian indentured labour to the Colony, and may indirectly affect public opinion in the Transvaal. But behind the immediate question of the worse or better treatment of Indians in South Africa stand much larger questions, which Mr. Gokhale did not hesitate to state with equal frankness :—

"Behind all the grievances of which I have spoken to-day three questions of vital importance emerge to view. First, what is the *status* of us Indians in this Empire? Secondly, what is the extent of the responsibility which lies on the Imperial Government to ensure to us just and humane and, gradually, even equal treatment in this Empire? And, thirdly, how far are the self-governing members of this Empire bound by its cardinal principles, or are they to share in its privileges only and not to bear their share of the disadvantages?"

These issues have been raised in their most acute form in South Africa, but they exist also in Australia and even in Canada where many Indians suffered heavily from the outburst of anti-Asiatic feeling which swept along the Pacific Coast a couple of

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years ago. They involve the position of Asiatic subjects of the Crown in all the self-governing Dominions and indirectly in many of the Crown Colonies, for they affect the relations of the white and coloured races throughout the Empire. Here, however, I must confine myself to the Indian aspects. I have discussed them with a good many Indians, and they are quite alive to the difficulties of the situation. Though they resent the colour bar, they realize the strength of the feeling there is in the Colonies in favour of preserving the white race from intermixture with non-white races. It is, in fact, a feeling they themselves in some ways share, for in India the unfortunate Eurasian meets with even less sympathy from Indians than from Europeans. Indian susceptibilities may even find some consolation in the fact that Colonial dislike of the Indian immigrant is to a great extent due to his best qualities. "Indians," said Mr. Mudholkar, appealing to Lord Minto, "are hated, as your Lordship's predecessor pointed out, on account of their very virtues. It is because they are sober, thrifty, industrious, more attentive to their business than the white men that their presence in the Colonies is considered intolerable." Educated Indians know how little hold the Mother Country has over her Colonies in these matters. They know that both British and Anglo-Indian statesmen have recognised their grievances without being able to secure their redress, and it is interesting to note how warm were the tributes paid in the Imperial Council to the energy with which Lord Curzon had upheld their cause by some of those who were most bitterly opposed to him when he was in India. They know, on the other hand, that though the British Labour Party can afford to profess great sympathy for Indian political aspirations in India, it has never tried, or, if it has tried, it has signally failed, to exercise the slightest influence in favour of Indian claims to fair treatment with its allies in the Colonies, where the Labour Party is always the most uncompromising advocate of a policy of exclusion and oppression, and they know the power which the Labour Party wields in all our Colonies.

They are, therefore, I believe, ready to reckon with the realities of the situation, and to agree with Lord Curzon that "the common rights of British citizenship cannot be held to override the rights of self-protection conceded to self-governing colonies"—rights which, moreover, are often exercised to the detriment of immigrants from the Mother Country itself. They will, on the other hand, urge the withholding of Indian labour if the Colonies are unwilling to treat it with fairness and humanity, and they argue, rightly enough, that India, to whom the emigration of tens of thousands of her people is not an unmixed advantage, will lose far less than Colonies whose development will be starved by the loss of labour they cannot themselves supply. An influential Indian Member stated in Council that they have accepted the view that complete freedom of immigration is beyond the pale of practical politics, and is not to be pressed as things stand. All that they ask, he added, in the Transvaal is for the old Indian residents to be allowed to live peaceably, as in Cape Colony for instance, without being treated like habitual criminals, and for men of education and position to be allowed to come in, so that they may have teachers, ministers of religion, and doctors for themselves and their people. In Natal they ask for the maintenance of the rights and privileges they have had for years and

years. On such lines a practical working arrangement with the Colonies should not be beyond the bounds of possibility. But what Indians also demand is that laws and regulations of an exceptional character which may be accepted in regard to immigration shall not be applicable to Indians who merely wish to travel in the Colonies. An Indian of very high position whom every one from the King downwards welcomed when he came to England, wished a few years ago to visit Australia, but before going so he wrote to a friend there to inquire whether he would be subjected to any unpleasant formalities. The answer he received discouraged him. These are the sort of difficulties which Indians claim should be removed, and one practical suggestion I have heard put forward is that on certain principles to be laid down by mutual agreement between the Imperial Government, the Governments of the Dominions, and the Government of India, the latter should have power to issue passports to Indian subjects which would be recognized and would exempt them from all vexatious formalities throughout the Empire.

A QUESTION FOR THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

The whole question is one that cannot be allowed to drag on indefinitely without grave danger to the Empire. It evidently cannot be solved without the co-operation of the Colonies. Next year the Imperial Conference meets again in the capital of the Empire. If in the meantime the Imperial Government were to enter into communication with the Government of India and with the Crown Colonies, so many of whom are closely interested in Indian labour, they should be in a position to lay before the representatives of the Dominions assembled in London next March considered proposals which would afford a basis for discussion and, one may hope, for a definite agreement. A recognition of the right of Colonial Governments to regulate the conditions on which British Indians may be allowed admission as indentured labourers or for permanent residence ought to secure guarantees for the equitable and humane treatment of those who shall have been thus admitted or have already been admitted, and also an undertaking that Indians of good position armed with specified credentials from the Government of India, travelling either for pleasure or for purposes of scientific study or on business or with other legitimate motives, would be allowed to enter and travel about for a reasonable period without let or hindrance of any sort. That is the *minimum* which would, I believe, satisfy the best Indian opinion, and it is inconceivable that if the situation were freely and frankly explained to our Colonial kinsmen they would reject a settlement so essential to the interests and to the credit of the whole Empire in relation to India.

XXXIV.—The Questions of Social Relations

On few subjects are more ignorant or malevolent statements made than on the attitude of Englishmen in India towards the natives of the country. That social relations between Englishmen and Indians seldom grow intimate is true enough, but not that the fault lies mainly with Englishmen. At the risk of being trite, I must recall a few elementary considerations.

DIFFERENCES OF HABITS AND IDEAS

The bedrock difficulty is that Indian customs prevent any kind of intimacy between English and Indian families. Even in England,

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the relations between men who are excluded from acquaintance with each other's families, can rarely be called intimate and except in the very few cases of Indian families that are altogether Westernised, Indian habits rigidly exclude Englishmen from admission into the homes of Indian gentlemen, whether Hindu or Mahomedan. Intercourse between Indian and English ladies is in the same way almost entirely confined to formal visits paid by the latter to the zenana and the harem and so-called *Purdah* parties given in English houses in which Indian ladies are entertained as far as possible under the same conditions that prevail in their own homes — *i.e.*, to the rigid exclusion of all males. So long as Indian ladies are condemned to a life of complete seclusion, the interests they have in common with their English visitors must necessarily be very few. On the other hand, it is not surprising that Englishmen, knowing the view that most Indian men entertain with regard to the position of women, do not care to encourage them to visit their own houses on a footing of intimacy that would necessarily bring them into more or less familiar contact with their English wives and sisters and daughters. There is very much to admire in the family relations, and especially in the filial relations, that exist in an Indian home, both Hindu and Mahomedan, but it is idle to pretend that Indian ideas with regard to the relations between the sexes are the same as ours. In these circumstances, any social fusion between even the better classes of the two races seems to be for the present out of the question.

Very sincere and creditable efforts are now, it is true, being made on both sides to diminish the gulf that divides English and Indian society, and within the last few months, I have been at various gatherings which were attended by Englishmen and Englishwomen and by Indians, among whom there was sometimes even a sprinkling of Indian ladies. But the English host and hostess invariably found it difficult to prevent their Indian guests forming groups of their own, and each group seemed to be as reluctant to mingle with other Indian groups of a different class or caste as with their English fellow-guests. Indian society has been for centuries split up by race and caste and creed distinctions into so many watertight compartments that it does not care for the Western forms of social intercourse, which tend to ignore those distinctions. It is Indians themselves who regard us much more than we regard ourselves, as a separate caste. Moreover, for the ordinary and somewhat desultory conversation which plays so large a part in Western sociability, the Indian has very little understanding. He always imagines that conversation must have some definite purpose, and though he has far more than most Englishmen the gift of ready and courteous speech, and often will talk for a long time both discursively and pleasantly, it is almost always as a preliminary to the introduction of some particular topic in which his personal interests are more or less directly involved. The best and most satisfactory relations are those maintained between Englishmen and Indians who understand and respect each other's peculiarities.

THE INDIAN CIVILIAN

No class of Englishman in India fulfils those conditions more fully than the Indian Civil Service. It is, I know, the *bête noire* of the Indian politician, and even Englishmen who ought to know

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better seem to think that once they have labelled it a "bureaucracy" that barbarous name is enough to hang it—or enough, at least, to lend possibility to the charge that Anglo-Indian administrators are arrogant and harsh in their personal dealings with Indians, and ignorant and unsympathetic in their methods of government. With this last charge, and with the general position of the Civil Service, I shall deal in another article. Here I am concerned only with the question of personal relations.

That the English civilian goes out to India with a tolerably high intellectual and moral equipment can hardly be disputed, for he represents the pick of the young men who qualify for our Civil Service at home as well as abroad; and in respect of character, integrity and intelligence, the British Civil Service can challenge comparison with that of any other country in the world. Why should he suddenly change into a narrow minded, petty tyrant as soon as he sets foot in India? A great part at least of his career is spent with the very closest contact with the people, for he often lives for years together in remote districts where he has practically no other society than that of natives. He generally knows and speaks fluently more than one vernacular, though, owing to the multiplicity of Indian languages—there are five, for instance, in the Bombay Presidency alone—he may find himself suddenly transferred to a district in which the vernaculars he has learnt are of no use to him. Part of his time is always spent "in camp"—*i.e.*, moving about from village to village, receiving petitions, investigating cases, listening to complaints. Perhaps none of the ordinary duties of administration bring him so closely into touch with the people as the assessment of land revenue, for it is there that his sense of fairness comes most conspicuously into play and wins recognition. Hence, for instance, in Bengal, one of the bad results of the "Permanent Settlement," of the land revenue, which leaves no room for the assessment officer's work, has been that the people and the civilian know generally less about each other than in other parts of India. Few Indians venture to impugn the Englishman's integrity and impartiality in adjudging cases in which material interests are concerned, or in settling differences between natives; and nowhere are those qualities more valuable and more highly appreciated than in a country accustomed for centuries to every form of oppression and of social pressure for which the multitudinous claims of caste and family open up endless opportunities. As he has no permanent ties of his own in India, it does not matter to him personally whether the individual case he has to settle goes in favour of A or B, or whether the native official, whom he appoints or promotes, belongs to this or to that caste. The people know this, and because they have learned to trust the Englishman's sense of fair play, they appeal whenever they get the chance to the European official rather than to one of their own race. But it is especially in times of stress in the evil days of famine or of plague, that they turn to him for help. Nowhere is the "sun-dried bureaucrat" seen to better advantage than in the famine or plague camp, where the English civilian, not being "bureaucrat," triumphs over difficulties by sheer force of character and power of initiative. It is just in such emergencies, for which the most elaborate "regulations" cannot wholly provide, that the superiority of the European over the native official is most conspicuous.

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Complaints of the aloofness of the British civilian very seldom proceed either from Indians of the upper classes or from the humbler folk. They generally proceed from the new, more or less Western-educated middle class; and on this point it is necessary to speak plainly. I do not wish to cast any reflection upon that class as a whole, but there is a type of Indian who generally belongs to it or hangs on to it and whom the civilian is bound to keep at arms length. They are men who try to get a hold upon him, if he is a young man, by luring him into intrigues with native women or by inveighing him into the meshes of the native money-lender, or who by less reprehensible means strive to establish themselves on a footing of intimacy with him, merely in order to tell to other Indians the influence which they acquire or pretend to have acquired over him. Scarcely less objectionable is the still more numerous class of natives, known in India as *umedwars*, who are always anxious to seize on to the coat-tails of the Anglo-Indian official in order to heighten their own social *status*, and if possible to wheedle out of Government some of those minor titles or honorific distinctions to which Indian society attaches so much importance.

NEW INFLUENCES

In other branches of the public service, selection has not always operated as successfully as the competitive system for the Civil Service. Men are too often sent out as lawyers or as doctors, or even, as I have already pointed out, to join the Educational Department, with inadequate qualifications, and they are allowed to enter upon their work without any knowledge of the language and customs of the people. Such cases are generally the result of carelessness or ignorance at home, but some of them, I fear, can only be described as "jobs"—and there is no room in India for jobs. The untravelled Indian is also brought into contact to-day with an entirely different class of Englishman. The globe-trotter, who is often an American, though the native cannot be expected to distinguish between him and the Englishmen, constantly sins from sheer ignorance against the customs of the country. Then again, with railways and telegraphs and the growth of commerce and industry, a type of Englishman has been imported to fill subordinate positions in which some technical knowledge is required who, whatever his good qualities, is much rougher and generally much more strongly imbued with, or more prone to display, a sense of racial superiority. Nor is he kept under the same discipline as Tommy Atkins, who is generally an easy-going fellow, and looks upon the native with good-natured, if somewhat contemptuous, amusement, though he, too, is sometimes a rough customer when he gets "above himself" or when his temper is ruffled by prickly heat, that most common but irritating of hot-weather ailments. In this respect, the remarkable growth of temperance among British soldiers in India is doubly satisfactory.

REGRETTABLE INCIDENTS

On the whole, however, the relations between the lower classes of Europeans and natives in the large cities, where they practically alone come into contact, seldom give rise to serious trouble; and it is between Europeans and natives of the higher classes that unfortunately personal disputes from time to time occur, which unques-

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tionably produce a great deal of bad blood—disputes in which Englishmen have forgotten not only the most elementary rules of decent behaviour, but the self-respect which our position in India makes it doubly obligatory on every Englishman to observe in his dealings with Indians. Some of these incidents have been wilfully exaggerated, others have been wantonly invented. Most of them have taken place in the course of railway journeys, and without wishing to palliate them, one may reasonably point out that even in Europe, people when travelling will often behave with a rudeness which they would be ashamed to display in other circumstances, and that long railway journeys in the stifling heat of India sometimes subject the temper to a strain unknown in more temperate climates. In some cases, too, it is our ignorance of native customs which causes the trouble, and the habits of even high-class Indians are sometimes unpleasant. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that cases of brutality towards natives have occurred sufficiently gross and inexcusable to create a very deplorable impression. I have met educated Indians who, though they have had no unpleasant experiences of the kind themselves, prefer to avoid entering a railway carriage occupied by Europeans lest they should expose themselves even to the chance of insulting treatment.

THE ENGLAND-RETURNED INDIAN

It is in a lamentable fact also that, amongst Indians, the greatest bitterness with regard to the social relations between the two races often proceeds from those who have been educated in England. There is, first of all, the young Indian who, having mixed freely with the best type of Englishmen and Englishwomen, finds himself on his return to India quite out of touch with his own people, and yet has to live their life. Cases of this kind are especially pathetic, when, having imbibed European ideals of womanhood, he is obliged to marry some girl chosen by his parents, with whom, however estimable she may be, he has nothing in common. Such is the contrariety of human nature that he usually visits his unhappiness not on the social system which has resumed its hold upon him, but on the civilization which has killed his belief in it. Then there is the very mischievous type of young Indian who having been left to his own devices in England, and without any good introductions, bring back to India and retails there impressions of English society, male and female, gathered from the very undesirable surroundings into which he has drifted in London and other large cities. For this, unhappily, we have largely to thank ourselves. Men of our own race and carefully picked men come from our oversea dominions to study in our colleges, and we have a special organization to look after their moral and material welfare. For years past, we have allowed young Indians to come and go, and no responsible hand has been stretched out to save them from the manifold temptations of an entirely alien society in which isolation is almost bound to spell degradation and bitterness.

A GENERAL SURVEY

Considering, however, the many inevitable causes of friction and the inherent imperfections of human nature, whether white or coloured, one may safely say that between Englishmen of all conditions and Indians of all conditions there often and, indeed generally, exist pleasanter relations than are to be found elsewhere

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between people of any two races so widely removed. They are never closer than when special circumstances help to break down the barriers. The common instincts and the common dangers of their profession create often singularly strong ties of regard and affection between the sepoy of all ranks and his British officers—especially on campaign. In domestic tribulations, as well as in public calamities, Indians at least of the lower classes will often turn more readily and confidently for help to the Englishman who lives amongst them than to their own people. I need not quote instances of the extraordinary influence which many European missionaries have acquired, by their devoted labours amongst the poor, the sick, and the suffering, and in former times, perhaps more than in recent times, even amongst Indians of the higher classes. In ordinary circumstances we have to recognise the existence on both sides of obstacles to anything like intimacy. Many Indian ideas and habits are repugnant to us, but so also are many of ours to them. Indians have their own conceptions of dignity and propriety which our social customs frequently offend. If Englishman and Englishwoman in high places in India would exert their influence to invest the social life of Europeans in the chief resorts of Anglo-Indian society with a little more decorum and seriousness, they would probably be doing better service to a good understanding between the two races in social matters than by trying to break down by sheer insistence, however well-meant, the barriers which diametrically opposite forms of civilization have placed between them.

XXXV.—*The Indian Civil Service*

Far from having flooded India, as is often alleged, with a horde of overpaid officials, we may justly claim that no Western nation has ever attempted to govern an alien dependency with a smaller staff of its own race or has admitted the subject races to so large a participation in its public services. The whole vast machinery of executive and judicial administration in British India employs over 1,250,000 Indians, and only a little more about one-sixth constitute what is called *par excellence* the Civil Service of India.

INDIANS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

Not the least remarkable achievement of British rule has been the building up of a great body of Indian public servants capable of rising to offices of great trust. Not only, for instance, 10 Indian Judges sit on the Bench in the High Courts on terms of complete equality with their European colleagues, but magisterial work all over India is done chiefly by Indians. The same holds good of the Revenue Department and of the much and often very unjustly abused Department of Police; and in fact, as Anglo-Indian officials are the first to acknowledge, there is not a department which could be carried on to-day without the loyal and intelligent co-operation of the Indian public servant.

There is room for improving the position of Indians, not only, as I have already pointed out, in the Educational Department, but probably in every branch of the "Provincial" service, which corresponds roughly with what was formerly called the "Uncovenanted" service. As far back as 1879 Lord Lytton laid down rules which gave to natives of India one-sixth of the appointments until then reserved for the "Covenanted" service, and we have

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certainly not yet reached the limit of the number of Indians who may ultimately with advantage be employed in the different branches of the public service, but few who know the defects as well as the good qualities of the native will deny that to reduce hastily the European leaven in any department would be to jeopardize its moral as well as its administrative efficiency. The condition of the police, for instance, is a case in point, for any survival of the bad old native traditions is due very largely to the insufficiency of European control. Mr. Gokhale has himself admitted as one of the reasons for founding his society of "Servants of India" the necessity of "building up a higher type of character and capacity than is generally available in the country." For the same reason we must move slowly and cautiously in substituting Indians for Europeans in the very small number of posts which the latter still occupy.

That the highest offices of Executive control must be very largely held by Englishmen so long as we continue to be responsible for the government of India is admitted by all but the most "advanced" Indian politicians, and it is to qualify for and to hold such positions that the Indian Civil Service—formerly the "Covenanted" service—is maintained. It consists of a small *elite* of barely 1,200 men, mostly, but not exclusively, Englishmen, for it includes nearly 100 Indians. It is recruited by competitive examinations held in England, and this is one of the chief grievances of Indians. But in order to preserve the very high standard it has hitherto maintained, it seems essential that Indians who wish to enter it should have had not only the Western education which Indian Universities might be expected to provide, but the thoroughly English training which India certainly does not as yet supply.

THE SIN OF THE CIVIL SERVICE

In the eyes of the disaffected Indian politician the really unpardonable sin of the Civil Service is that it constitutes the bulwark of British rule, the one permanent link between the Government of India and the motley millions entrusted to their care. I showed in my last article how baseless is the charge that the British civilian is out of touch with the people among whom he lives or that he is harsh and inconsiderate in his personal relations with them. In earlier articles I have also had occasion to show, incidentally, how unfounded is the other charge that, through ignorance and want of sympathy, he is callous to the real interests and sentiments of the people in dealing with the larger problems of Indian statesmanship. The contrary is the case, for to him belongs the credit of almost every measure passed during the last 50 years for the benefit of the Indian masses, and passed frequently in the teeth of vehement opposition from the Indian politician. Nor is it surprising that he should be so. For the Indian politician—generally a townsman—is, as a rule, drawn from and represents classes that have very little in common with the great bulk of the people, who are agriculturists. The British civilian, on the other hand, often spends the best years of his life in rural districts, seldom even visited by the politician and therefore knows much more about the needs and the feelings of the people among whom he lives and moves. In the best sense of the word he is in fact the one real democrat in India. The very fact that he is a bird

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of passage in the country makes him absolutely independent of the class interests and personal bias to which the politician is almost always liable. Moreover, the chief, and perfectly legitimate, object to which the Anglo-Indian administrator is bound to address himself is, as Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal once candidly admitted, to capture "the heart, the mind of the people . . . to secure, if not the allegiance, at least the passive, the generous acquiescence of the general mass of the population." To make his meaning perfectly clear, Mr. Pal instanced the rural reforms, the agricultural banks and other things which had been done in Lord Curzon's time "to captivate the mind of the teeming masses," and he added that "he is a foolish politician in India who allows the Government to capture the mind of the masses to the exclusion of his own influence and his own countrymen." Mr. Pal is from his point of view perfectly logical, and so were the writers in the *Yugantar*, who, when they elaborated their scheme of revolutionary propaganda, declared that the first step must be to undermine the confidence of the people in their rulers and to destroy the spirit of contentedness under alien yoke. But could there be a more striking tribute to the intelligent and sympathetic treatment of the interests of the Indian masses by their British rulers than such confessions on the part of the enemies of British rule?

THE CIVILIAN IN THE NEW COUNCILS

From this point of view nothing but good should result from the larger opportunities given by the recent reforms for the discussion of Indian questions in the enlarged Councils, so long as the Indian representatives in these Councils are drawn, as far as possible, from the different interests of the multitudinous communities that make up the people of India. The British civilian will have a much better chance than he has hitherto had of meeting his detractors in the open, and, if one may judge by the proceedings of last winter, when the Councils met for the first time under the new conditions, there is little reason to fear, as many did at first, that he will be taken at a disadvantage in debate owing to the greater duency and rhetorical resourcefulness of the Indian politician. It was not only in the Imperial Council in Calcutta that the official members, having the better case and stating it quite simply, proved more than a match for the more exuberant eloquence of their opportunity. On the contrary, the personal contact established in the enlarged Councils between the Anglo-Indian official and the better class of Indian politician may well serve to diminish the prejudices which exist on both sides. It is, I believe, quite a mistake to suppose that the British Civilian generally resents the recent reforms, though he may very well resent the spirit of hostility and suspicion in which they were advocated and welcomed in some quarters as if they were specially directed against the European element in the Civil Service.

CHANGING CONDITIONS

A practical difficulty is the heavy call which attendance in Council will make upon Civil servants who have to represent Government in these assemblies. Already for many years past the amount of work, and especially of office work, has steadily increased and without any corresponding increase of the establishment. Hence the civilian has less time to receive Indian visitors, and he is often

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obliged to curtail the period he spends during the year in camp. Hence also the growing frequency of transfers and of officiating or temporary appointments. There are, in fact, to-day barely enough men to go round, and obviously the more frequently a man is moved the less chance he has of getting thoroughly acquainted with the people among whom he has to work in a country such as India, where within the limits of the same province you may find half a dozen widely different communities speaking different languages and having different creeds and customs. Perhaps, too, for the same reasons, there is a tendency towards over-centralization in the "Secretariats" or permanent departments at the seat of government, whether in Simla or in the provincial capitals, and the less favoured civilian who bears the heat and burden of the day in the *mofussil* is both more dependent upon them and more jealous of the many advantages they naturally enjoy. Posts and telegraphs and the multiplying of "regulations" everywhere tend to weaken personal initiative. Nor can it be denied that with the increased facilities of travel to and from Europe civilians no longer look upon India quite so much as their home. The local *liaisons* which they used formerly to contract are now things of the past, and the married man of to-day who has to send his children home for their education, and often his wife too, either on account of the climate or to look after the children, is naturally more disposed to count up his years of service and to retire on his pension at the earliest opportunity.

The increased cost of living in India and the depreciation of the rupee have also made the service less attractive from the purely pecuniary point of view, whilst in other ways it must suffer indirectly from such changes as the reduction of the European staff in the Indian Medical Department. The substitution of Indian for European doctors in out-lying stations where there are no European practitioners is a distinct hardship for married officials, as there is good deal more than mere prejudice to explain the reluctance of Englishwomen to be treated by native medical advisers. Nor is it possible to disguise the soreness caused throughout the Indian Civil Services by the recent appointment of a young member of the English Civil Service to one of the very highest posts in India. No one questions Mr. Clark's ability, but is he really more able than every one of the many men who passed with him and for many years before him through the same door into the public service and selected to work in India rather than at home? No Minister would have thought of promoting him to an Under-Secretaryship of State in England, and apart from the grave reflection upon the Indian Civil Service his appointment to a far higher Indian office implies a grave misconception of the proper functions of a Council which constitutes the Government of India.

THE DANGER OF DISCOURAGEMENT

None of these minor considerations, however, will substantially affect the future of the Indian Civil Service if only it continues to receive from public opinion at home, and from the Imperial Government as well as from Government of India, the loyal support and encouragement which the admirable work it performs, often under very trying conditions, deserves. An unfortunate impression has

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undoubtedly been created during the last few years in the Indian Civil Service that there is no longer the same assurance of such support and encouragement either from Whitehall or from Simla, whilst the attacks of irresponsible partisans have redoubled in intensity and virulence, and have found a louder and louder echo both on the platform and in the Press at home. The loss of contact between the Government of India and Anglo-Indian administrators has been as painfully felt as the frigid tone of official utterances in Parliament, which have seemed more often inspired by a desire to avoid party embarrassments at Westminster than to project public servants, who have no means of defending themselves, against even the grossest forms of misrepresentation and calumny, leading straight to the revolver and the bomb of the political assassin. The British civilian is not going to be frightened by one more risk added to the vicissitudes of an Indian career, but can you expect him to be proof against discouragement when many of his fellow-countrymen exhaust their ingenuity in extenuating or in casting upon him the primary responsibility for the new Indian gospel of murder which is being preached against him? Mr. Montagu was well inspired in protesting against such "hostile, unsympathetic, and cowardly criticism" as was conveyed in Mr. Muckarness's pamphlet; but this pamphlet was mere sour milk compared with the vitriol which the native Press had been allowed to pour forth day after day on the British official in India before any action was taken by Government to defend him.

The new Viceroy, who himself belongs to one of the most important branches of the British Civil Service, may be trusted to display in his handling of the British civilian the tact and sympathy required to sustain him in the performance of arduous duties which are bound to become more complex and exacting as our system of government departs further from the old patriarchal type. Our task in India must grow more and more difficult, and will demand more than ever the best men that we can give to its accomplishment. The material prizes which an Indian career has to offer may be fewer and less valuable, whilst the pressure of work the penalties of exile, the hardship of frequent separation from kith and kin, the drawbacks of an always trying and often treacherous climate, will for the most part not diminish. But the many-sided interests and the real magnitude and loftiness of the work to be done in India will continue to attract the best Englishmen so long as they can rely upon fair treatment at the hands of the Mother Country. If that failed them there would speedily be an end not only to the Indian Civil Service, but to British rule itself. For the sword cannot govern. It can only maintain it only as long as government itself retains the respect and acquiescence of the great masses of the Indian peoples which have been won not by Generals or by Secretaries of State, or even by Viceroys, but by the patient and often obscure spade-work of the Indian Civil Service—by its integrity, its courage, its knowledge, its efficiency, and its unfailing sense of justice.

XXXVI.—The Government of India

In the very able speech in which, on July 27, Mr. Montagu, the new Under-Secretary of State for India, introduced the Indian Budget in the House of Commons, one passage referred to the

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relations between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy in terms which have deservedly attracted very great attention. Differences of opinion, sometimes of an acute character, have at intervals occurred between Secretaries of State and Viceroys as to their relative attributions. Mr. Montagu's language, however, would seem to constitute an assertion of the powers of the Secretary of State far in excess not only of past practice but of any reasonable interpretation of legislative enactments on the subject. After congratulating Lord Minto on the completion of a "difficult reign," Mr. Montagu said :—

"The relations of a Viceroy to the Secretary of State are intimate and responsible. The Act of Parliament says "That the Secretary of State in Council shall superintend, direct, and control all acts, operations, and concerns which in any way relate to or concern the government or revenues of India, and all grants of salaries, gratuities, and allowances, and all other payments and charges whatever out of or on the revenues of India." It will be seen how wide, how far-reaching, and how complete these powers are. Lord Morley and his Council, working through the agency of Lord Minto, have accomplished much. . . . I believe that men of all parties will be grateful that Lord Morley remains to carry out the policy he has initiated."

THE NEW DOCTRINE OF AGENCY

There are three fundamental objections to this new doctrine of "agency" in regard to the functions of the Viceroy. In the first place, it ignores one of the most important features of his office—one indeed to which supreme importance attaches in a country such as India, where the sentiment of reverence for the Sovereign is rooted in the most ancient traditions of all races and creeds. The Viceroy is the direct and personal representative of the King-Emperor, and in that capacity, at any rate, it would certainly be improper to describe him as the "agent" of the Secretary of State. From this point of view, any attempt to lower his office would tend dangerously to weaken the prestige of the Crown, which, to put it on the lowest grounds, is one of the greatest assets of the British Raj. In the second place, Mr. Montagu ignores equally another distinctive feature of the Viceroy's office, especially important in regard to his relations with the Secretary of State—namely that in his executive as well as in his legislative capacity the Viceroy is not a mere individual, but the Governor-General in Council. Mr. Montagu omitted to quote the important section of the Act of 1833 confirmed in subsequent enactments, which declared that :—

"The superintendence, direction, and control of the whole civil and military government of all the said territories and revenues in India shall be and is hereby vested in a Governor-General and Councillors to be styled "the Governor-General of India in Council."

The only title recognized by statute to the Viceroy is that of Governor-General in Council, and how material is this conjunction of the Governor-General with his Council is shown by the exceptional character of the circumstances in which power is given to the Governor-General to act on his own responsibility alone, and by the extreme rareness of the cases in which a Governor-General has exercised that power.

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Thus, on the one hand, Mr. Montagu forgets the Crown when he talks of the Secretary of State acting through the agency of the Viceroy ; and, on the other hand, he forgets the Governor-General in Council when he talks of the relations between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State—whose proper designation, moreover, is Secretary of State in Council, for, like the Governor-General, the Secretary of State has a Council intimately associated with him by statute in the discharge of his constitutional functions. Though the cases in which the Secretary of State cannot act without the concurrence of the Council of India who sit with him in the India Office are limited to matters involving the grant or appropriation of revenues, and in other matters he is not absolutely bound to consult them and still less to accept their recommendations, the Act of Parliament quoted by Mr. Montagu clearly implies that in the exercise of all the functions which it assigns to him he is expected to act generally in consultation and in concert with his Council, since those functions are assigned to him specifically as Secretary of State in Council.

THE VICEROY AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Now, as to the nature of the relations between the Governor-General in Council and the Secretary of State in Council. The ultimate responsibility for Indian government, as Mr. Montagu intimated, rests unquestionably upon the Imperial Government represented by the Secretary of State for India, and therefore, in the last resort, upon the people of the United Kingdom represented by Parliament. The question is, What is in theory and practice the proper mode of discharging this "ultimate responsibility" for Indian government? It is not a question which can be authoritatively answered, but, if we may infer an answer from the spirit of legislative enactments and from the usage that has hitherto prevailed, it may still be summed up in the same language in which John Stuart Mill described the function of the Home Government in the days of the old East India Company—"The principal function of the Home Government is not to direct the details of administration, but to scrutinize and revise the past acts of the Indian Governments ; to lay down principles and to issue general instructions for their future guidance, and to give or refuse sanction to great political measures which are referred home for approval." This has unquestionably been the view of the relation, inherited from East India Company, between the Secretary of State and the Government of India which has been accepted and acted upon on both sides until recently. Nor is any other view compatible with the Charter Act of 1833, or with the Government of India Act of 1858, which, in all matters pertinent to this issue, was based upon, and confirmed the principles of the earlier statute. The Secretary of State exercises general guidance and control, but, as Mill laid it down no less forcibly, "the Executive Government of India is and must be seated in India itself." Such relations are clearly very different from those of principal and agent which Mr. Montagu would apparently wish to substitute for them.

LORD MINTO'S POSITION

Besides the special emphasis he laid on his definition of the relations between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, other

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reasons have led to the belief that the Under-Secretary, who spoke with a full sense of his responsibility as the representative of the Secretary of State, was giving calculated expression to the views of his chief. I am not going to anticipate the duties of the historian, whose business it will be to establish the share of initiative and responsibility that belong to Lord Morley and Lord Minto respectively in regard to the Indian policy of the last five years. Whilst something more than an impression generally prevails both at home and in India that Mr. Montagu's definition does in fact very largely apply to the relations between the present Viceroy and the Secretary of State, and that every measure carried out in India has originated in Whitehall, it is only fair to bear in mind that Lord Morley has never himself put forward any such claim, nor has Lord Minto ever admitted it. The Viceroy, on the contrary, has been at pains to emphasize on several occasions his share, and indeed to claim for himself the initiative, of all the principal measures carried out during his tenure of office, and especially of the new scheme of Indian reforms, of which the paternity is ascribed by most people to Lord Morley.

The Secretary of State's great personality may partly account for the belief that he has entirely overshadowed the Viceroy, all the more in that he has certainly overshadowed the Council of India as never before. But if Lord Minto has reason to complain of the prevalence of this belief, he cannot be unaware that he too has helped to build it up by neglecting to associate his own Council with himself as closely as even his most masterful predecessors had hitherto been careful to do.

Lord Minto's position has no doubt been one of very peculiar difficulty, and no one will grudge him the warm tribute paid to him by Mr. Montagu. Whatever the merits of the great controversy between Lord Curzon and Lord Kitchener, the overruling of the Government of India by the Home Government on a question of such magnitude and the circumstances in which Lord Curzon was compelled to resign had dealt a very heavy blow to the authority and prestige of the viceregal office in India. Within a few months of Lord Minto's arrival in India the Unionist Government who had appointed him fell, and a Liberal Government came into power who could not be expected to show any special consideration for their predecessor's nominee unless he showed himself to be in sympathy with their policy. Lord Minto's friends can therefore very reasonably argue that his chief anxiety was, quite legitimately, to avoid any kind of friction with the new Secretary of State, which might have led to the supersession of another Viceroy so soon after the unfortunate crises that had ended in Lord Curzon's resignation. If this was the object that Lord Minto had in view, his attitude has certainly been most successful, for Lord Morley has repeatedly testified to the loyalty and cordiality with which the Viceroy has constantly co-operated with him. That the Secretary of State and the Viceroy have nevertheless not always seen eye to eye with regard to the interference of the India Office in the details of Indian administration appears clearly from a telegram read out by Lord Morley himself in the House of Lords on February 23, 1909. In the course of this telegram, which acknowledged in the most generous terms the strong support of the Secretary of State in all dealings with Sedition, the Viceroy made the following noteworthy admission :—

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„The question of the control of Indian administration by the Secretary of State, mixed up as it is with the old difficulties of centralization, we may very possibly look at from different points of view.” The curtain fell upon this restrained attempt to assert what Lord Minto evidently regarded eighteen months ago as his legitimate position, and to the public eye it has not been raised again since then. But in India certainly the fear is often expressed in responsible quarters that, notwithstanding the invaluable support which Lord Morley has given to legislative measures for dealing with the worst forms of seditious agitation, their effect has been occasionally weakened by that interference from home in the details of Indian administration of which Lord Minto’s telegram contains the only admission known to the public.

THE VICEROY’S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

It is difficult to believe that Lord Minto’s position would not have been stronger had he not allowed the Governor-General in Council to suffer frequent eclipse. The Governor-General’s Council during Lord Minto’s tenure of office may have been exceptionally weak, and there will always be a serious element of weakness in it so long as membership of Council is not recognized to be the crowning stage of an Indian career. At present it is too often merely a stepping-stone to a Lieutenant-Governorship, and, as long as this is the case, it is idle to expect that the hope of advancement will not sometimes act as a restraint upon the independence and sense of individual responsibility which so high a position demands. In any case, the effacement of Council during the last few years behind the Viceroy has not been calculated to dispel the widespread impression that both in Calcutta and in Whitehall there has been a tendency to substitute for the constitutional relations between the Governor-General in Council and Secretary of State in Council more informal and personal relations between Lord Minto and Lord Morley which, however excellent, are difficult to reconcile with the principles essential to the maintenance of a strong Government of India. Private letters and private telegrams are very useful helps to a mutual understanding, but they cannot safely supplant, or encroach upon, the more formal and regular methods of communication, officially recorded for future reference, in consultation and concert with the Councils on either side, as by statute established.

A DANGEROUS IMPRESSION

There is a twofold danger in any eclipse, even partial, of the Governor-General in Council. One of the remarks I have heard most frequently all over India, and from Indians as well as from Englishmen, is that “there is no longer any Government of India”; and it is a remark which, however exaggerated in form, contains a certain element of truth. To whatever extent the Viceroy, in his relations with Whitehall, detaches himself from his Council, to that extent the centre of executive stability is displaced and the door is opened to that constant interference from home in the details of Indian administration which is all the more to be deprecated when it appears to take place under partisan pressure. Lord Morley has so often and so courageously stood up for sound principles of Indian government against the fierce attacks of the extreme wing of his party, and he has shown on the whole so much moderation and insight in his larger schemes of constructive statesmanship, whilst

Lord Minto has won for himself so much personal regard during a very difficult period, that criticism may appear invidious. But the tone adopted, especially during the first years of Lord Morley's administration, in official replies to insidious Parliamentary questions aimed at the Government of India, the alacrity with which they were transmitted from the India Offices to Calcutta, the acquiescence with which they were received there, and the capital made out of them by Indian agitators when they were spread broadcast over India contributed largely to undermine the principle of authority upon which, as Lord Morley has himself admitted, Indian government must rest. For the impression was thus created in India that there was no detail of Indian administration upon which an appeal might not be successfully made through Parliament to the Secretary of State over the head of the Government of India. Now if, as Lord Morley has also admitted, Parliamentary government is inconceivable in India, it is equally inconceivable that Indian government can be carried on under a running fire of malevolent or ignorant criticism from a Parliament 6,000 miles away. That is certainly not the sort of Parliamentary control contemplated in the legislative enactments which guarantee the "ultimate responsibility" of the Secretary of State.

At the same time, the effacement of the Viceroy's Executive Council has weakened that collective authority of the Government of India without which its voice must fail to carry full weight in Whitehall. Every experienced Anglo-Indian administrator, for instance, had been quick to realize what were bound to be the consequences of the unbridled licence of the extremist Press and of an openly seditious propaganda. Yet the Government of India under Lord Minto lacked the cohesion necessary to secure the sanction of the Secretary of State to adequate legislative action, repugnant to party traditions at home, until we had already begun to reap the bloody harvest of an exaggerated tolerance, and with the Viceroy himself the views of the ruling chiefs seem to have carried greater weight in urging action than the opinions recorded at a much earlier date by men entitled to his confidence and entrusted under his orders with the administration of British India.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE VICEROY'S COUNCIL

Even if one could always be certain of having men of transcendent ability at the India Office and at Government House in Calcutta, it is impossible that they should safely dispense with the permanent corrective to their personal judgment and temperament—not to speak of outside pressure—which their respective councils have been created by law to supply. Let us take first of all the case of the Viceroy. His position as the head of the Government of India may be likened to that of the Prime Minister at home, and the position of the Viceroy's Executive Council to that of the Ministers who as heads of the principal executive Departments form the cabinet over which the Prime Minister presides. But no head of the Executive at home stands so much in need of capable and experienced adviser as the Viceroy, who generally goes out to India without any personal knowledge of the vast sub-continent and the 300 million people whom he is sent out to govern for five years with very far-reaching powers, and often without any administrative

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experience, though he has to take charge of the most complicated administrative machine in the world. It is in order to supply the knowledge and experience which he in most cases lacks that his Executive Council is so constituted, in theory and as far possible in practice, that it combines with administrative experience in the several departments over which members respectively preside such a knowledge collectively of the whole of India that the Viceroy can rely upon expert advice and assistance in the transaction of public business and, not at least, in applying with due regard for Indian conditions the principles of policy laid down for his guidance by the Home Government. These were the grounds upon which Lord Morley justified the appointment to the Viceroy's Executive Council of an Indian member who, besides being thoroughly qualified to take charge of the special portfolio entrusted to him, would bring into Council a special and intimate knowledge of native opinion and sentiment. These are the grounds upon which, by the way, Lord Morley cannot possibly justify the appointment of Mr. Clark as Member for Commerce and Industry, for a young subordinate official, however brilliant, of an English public department cannot bring into the Viceroy's Executive Council either special or general knowledge of Indian affairs. Such an appointment must to that extent weaken rather than strengthen the Government of India.

The same arguments which apply in India to the conjunction of the Governor-General with his Council apply, *mutatis mutandis*, with scarcely less force to the importance of the part assigned to the Council of India as advisers of the Secretary of State at the India Office.

THE NEED OF DECENTRALIZATION

If we look at the Morley-Minto *regime* from another point of view, it is passing strange that the tendency to concentrate the direction of affairs in India in the hands of the Viceroy and to subject the Viceroy in turn to the closer and more immediate control of the Secretary of State, whilst diminishing at the same time *pro tanto* the influence of their respective Councils, should have manifested itself just at this time and when it is Lord Morley who presides over the India Office. For no statesman has ever proclaimed a more ardent belief in the virtues of decentralization than Lord Morley, and Lord Morley himself is largely responsible for legislative reforms which will not only strengthen the hands of the provincial Governments in their dealings with the Government of India, but will enable and indeed force the Government of India to assume on many vital questions an attitude of increased independence towards the Imperial Government. The more we are determined to govern India in accordance with Indian ideas and with Indian interests, the more we must rely upon a strong, intelligent, and self-reliant Government of India. The peculiar conditions of India exclude the possibility of Indian self-government on colonial lines, but what we may and probably must look forward to at no distant date is that, with the larger share in legislation and administration secured to Indians by such measures as the Indian Councils Act, the Government of India will speak with growing authority as the exponent of the best Indian opinion within the limits compatible with the maintenance of

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British rule, and that its voice must therefore ultimately carry scarcely less weight at home in the determination of Indian policy than the voice of our self-governing Dominions already carries in all questions concerning their internal development.

The future of India lies in the greatest possible decentralization in India subject to the general, but unmeddlesome, control of the Governor-General in Council, and in the greatest possible freedom of the Government of India from all interference from home, except in regard to those broad principles of policy which it must always rest with the Imperial Government, represented by the Secretary of State in Council, to determine. It is only in that way that, to use one of Mr. Montagu's phrases, we can hope successfully to "yoke" to our own "democratic" system "a government so complex and irresponsible to the peoples which it governs as the Government of India."

XXXVII.—Conclusions

No Viceroy has for fifty years gone out to India at so critical a moment as that at which Lord Hardinge of Penshurst is about to take up the reins of government. There is a lull in the storm of unrest. But as I said at the opening of these articles, it is too early yet to judge whether the blended policy of repression and concession adopted by Lord Morley and Lord Minto has really cowed the forces of criminal disorder and rallied the representatives of moderate opinion to the cause of sober and constitutional progress, or whether it has come too late permanently to arrest the former and to restore confidence and courage to the latter. The next five years will probably go far to furnish a conclusive answer to this momentous question, and it will be determined in no small measure by the statesmanship, patience, and firmness which Lord Hardinge will bring to the discharge of the constitutional functions assigned to him as Viceroy—*i.e.*, as the personal representative of the King Emperor, and as Governor-General in Council—*i.e.*, as the head of the Government of India.

I have attempted, however imperfectly, to trace to their sources some of the chief currents and cross-currents of the great confused movement which is stirring the stagnant waters of Indian life—the steady impact of alien ideas on an ancient and obsolescent civilization; the more or less imperfect assimilation of those ideas by the few; the dread and resentment of them by those whose traditional ascendancy they threaten; the disintegration of old beliefs, and then again their aggressive revival; the careless diffusion of an artificial system of education, based none too firmly on mere intellectualism, and bereft of all moral or religious sanction; the application of Western theories of administration and of jurisprudence to a social formation stratified on lines of singular rigidity; the play of modern economic forces upon primitive conditions of industry and trade; the constant and unconscious but inevitable friction between subject races and their alien rulers; the reverberation of distant wars and distant racial conflicts; the exaltation of an Oriental people in the Far East; the abasement of Asiatics in South Africa—all these and many other conflicting influences culminating in the inchoate revolt of a small but very active minority which, on the one hand, frequently disguises under an appeal to the example and sympathy of Western democracy a reversion to the old tyranny

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of caste and to the worst superstitions of Hinduism, and, on the other hand, arms, with the murderous methods of Western Anarchism, the fervour of Eastern mysticism compounded in varying proportions of philosophic transcendentalism and degenerate sensuousness.

THE STRENGTH OF OUR POSITION

In so far as this movement is directed to the immediate subversion of British rule, we need not exaggerate its importance, unless the British Empire were involved in serious complications elsewhere which might encourage the seditious elements in India to break out into open rebellion. We are too often, in fact, inclined to underrate the strength of the foundations upon which our rule rests. For it alone lends—and can within any measurable time lend—substantial reality to the mere geographical expression which India is. A few Indians may dream of a united India under Indian rule, but the dream is as wild to-day as that of the few European Socialists who dream of the United States of Europe. India has never approached to political unity any more than Europe has, except under the compulsion of a conqueror. For India and Europe are thus far alike that they are both geographically self-contained continents, but inhabited by a great variety of nations whose different racial and religious affinities, whose different customs and traditions tend to divide them far more than any interests they may have in common tend to unite them. We have got too much into the habit of talking about India and the Indians as if they were one country and one people, and we too often forget that there are far more absolutely distinct languages spoken in India than in Europe; that there are far more profound racial differences between the Mahratta and the Bengali than between the German and the Portuguese, or between the Punjabi and the Tamil than between the Russian and the Italian: that, not to speak of other creeds, the religious antagonism between Hindu and Mahomedan is often more active than any that exists to-day between Protestants and Roman Catholics, even, let us say, in Ulster; and that caste has driven into Indian society lines of far deeper cleavage than any class distinctions that have survived in Europe.

We do not rule India, as is sometimes alleged, by playing off one race or one creed against another and by accentuating and fostering these ancient divisions. But we are able to rule because our rule alone prevents these ancient divisions from breaking out once more into open and sanguinary strife. British rule is the form of government that divides Indians the least. The majority of intelligent and sober-minded Indians who have a stake in the country welcome it and support it because they feel it to be the only safeguard against the clash of rival races and creeds, which would ultimately lead to the oppressive ascendancy of some one race or creed; and the great mass of the population yield to it an inarticulate and instinctive acquiescence because it gives them a greater measure of security, justice, and tranquility than their forbears ever enjoyed.

TWO HOSTILE FORCES

There are only two forces that aspire to substitute themselves for British rule, or at least to make the continuance of British rule subservient to their own ascendancy. One is the ancient and

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reactionary force of Brahmanism, which, having its roots in the social and religious system we call Hinduism, operates upon a very large section—but still only a section—of the population who are Hindus. The other is a modern and, in its essence, progressive force generated by Western education, which operates to some extent over the whole area of India, but only upon an infinitesimal fraction of the population, recruited among a few privileged castes. Its only real nexus is a knowledge, often very superficial, of the English language and of English political institutions. Though both these forces have developed of late years a spirit of revolt against British rule, neither of them has in itself sufficient substance to be dangerous. The one is too old, the other too young. But the most rebellious elements in both have effected a temporary and unnatural alliance on the basis of an illusory "Nationalism" which appeals to nothing in Indian history, but is calculated and meant to appeal with dangerous force to Western sentiment and ignorance.

It rests with us to break up that unnatural alliance. We may not reconcile aggressive Brahmanism to Western civilisation; but we can combat the evil influences for which it stands and which many enlightened Brahmans have long since recognised, and we can combat them most effectively by rallying to our side the better and more progressive elements which, in spite of its many imperfections, Western education and the contact with Western civilization have already produced. To that end we must shrink from no sacrifices to improve our methods of education. The evils for which we have to find remedies have been of slow growth, and they can only be slowly cured. But they can be cured by patient and sustained effort, and by carrying courageously into practice the principle, which none of us will challenge in theory, that the formation of character on a sound moral basis, inseparable in India from a sound religious basis, is at least as important a part of the educational progress as the development of the intellect.

"REPRESSION."

That, however, is not all. If we are to save and to foster the better elements, we must stamp out the worse. Do not let us be frightened by mere words. To talk, as some do, of the Indian Press being "gagged" by the new Press Act is absurd. It is as free today as it has always been to criticise Government as fully and fearlessly and, one may add, often as unjustly as party newspapers in this country are wont to criticise the Government of the day. It is no longer free to preach revolution and murder with the cynical audacity shown in some of the quotations given in the course of these articles. "Repression" in India, whether of the seditious press or of secret societies or of unlawful meetings, means nothing more cruel or oppressive than the application of surgery to diseased growths which threaten to infect the whole organism—and especially so immature and sensitive an organism as the semi-Westernized, semi-educated section of Indian society today represents. This surgical treatment will probably also have to be patient and sustained, for here, too, we have to deal with evils of no sudden growth, though some of their worst outward manifestations have come suddenly upon us. Even if the improvement be more rapid than we have any right to expect, do not let us throw away our surgical instruments but rather preserve them against any possible

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relapse. We have to remember not only what we owe to ourselves, but what we owe equally to the many well-meaning but timid Indians who look to us for protection against the insidious forms of terrorism to which the disaffected minority can subject them. The number of our active enemies may be few, but great is the number of our friends who are of opinion that we are more anxious to conciliate the one sinner who may or may not repent than to encourage the 99 just who persevere.

THE WESTERN-EDUCATED INDIAN

We want the Western-educated Indian. We have made him and we cannot unmake him if we would. But we must see that he is a genuine product of the best that Western education can give, and not merely an Indian who can speak English and adapt his speech to English ears in order to lend plausibility to the revival in new forms of ancient religious or social tyrannies. We must remember also that even the best type of Western-educated Indian only speaks at present for a minute section of the population of India, and that when he does not speak, as he often naturally does merely in the interests of the small class which he represents, he has not yet by any means proved his title to speak for the scores of millions of his fellow-countrymen who are still living in the undisturbed atmosphere of the Indian Middle Ages. One of the dangers we have to guard against is that because the Western-educated Indian is to the stay-at-home Englishman, and even to the Englishman whose superficial knowledge of India is confined to brief visits to the chief cities of India, the most, and, indeed, the only, articulate native, we should regard him as the only or the most authoritative mouthpiece of the needs and wishes of other classes or of the great mass of his fellow-countrymen with whom he is often in many ways in less close touch than the Englishman who lives in their midst.

THE WEAK POINT OF POLITICAL REFORMS

The weak point of the recent political reforms is that they were intended to benefit, not wholly, but mainly, that particular class. In so far as they may help to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the moderate Indian politician they deserve praise; and in that respect, as far as one can judge at this very early stage, they are not without promise. In effect they have also helped to give other important interests opportunities of organization and expression. Apart from the great Mahomedan community whose political aspirations are largely different from and opposed to those of Hinduism, there are agricultural interests, always of supreme importance in such a country as India, and industrial and commercial interests of growing importance which cannot be adequately represented by the average Indian politician who is chiefly recruited from the towns and from professions that have little or no knowledge of or sympathy with them. The politician, for instance, is too often a lawyer, and he has thriven upon a system of jurisprudence and legal procedure which we have imported into India with the best intentions but with results that have sometimes been simply disastrous to a thriftless and litigious people. Hence the suspicion and dislike entertained by large numbers of quite, respectable Indians for any political institutions that tend to increase the influence of the Indian *vakeel* and of the class he represents. Our object,

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therefore, both in the education and in the political training of Indians, should be to divert the activities of the new Western-educated classes into economic channels which would broaden their own horizon, and to give greater encouragement and recognition to the interests of the very large and influential classes that hold entirely aloof from politics but look to us for guidance and help in the development of the material resources of the country. We have their support at present, but to retain it we must carefully avoid creating the impression that political agitation is the only lever that acts effectively upon Government, and that in the relations of India and Great Britain—and especially in their fiscal and financial relations—the exigencies of party politics at home and the material interests of the predominant partner must invariably prevail.

SERVICE IN THE ARMY

Whilst subject to the maintenance of effective executive control we have extended and must continue steadily to extend the area of civil employment for Indians in the service of the State, there would certainly seem to be room also for affording them increased opportunities of military employment. It is a strange anomaly that at a time when we have no hesitation in introducing Indians into our Executive Councils, those who serve the King-Emperor in the Indian Army can only rise to a quite subordinate rank. A good deal has no doubt been done to improve the quality of the native officer from the point of view of military education, but under present conditions the Indian Army does not offer a career that can attract Indians of good position, though it is just among the landed aristocracy and gentry of India that military traditions are combined with the strongest traditions of loyalty. By the creation of an Imperial Cadet Corps, Lord Curzon took a step in the right direction which was warmly welcomed at the time but has received very little encouragement since his departure from India. Something more than that seems to be wanted to-day. Some of the best military opinion in India favours, I believe, an experimental scheme for the gradual promotion of native officers, carefully selected and trained, to field rank in a certain number of regiments which would ultimately be entirely officered by Indians—just in the same way as a certain number of regiments in the Egyptian Army have always been wholly officered by Egyptians. Indeed, we need not go outside India to find even now in the Native States Indian forces exclusively officered by Indians. The effect upon the whole Native Army of some such measure as I have indicated would be excellent; and though we could never hope to retain India merely by the sword against the combined hostility of its various peoples, the Native Army must always be a factor of first-rate importance, both for the prevention and the repression of any spasmodic outbreak of revolt. It is no secret that reiterated attempts have been made to shake its loyalty, and in some isolated cases not altogether without success. But the most competent authorities, whilst admitting the need for vigilance, deprecate any serious alarm, and it is all to the good that British officers no longer indulge in the blind optimism which prevailed among those of the old Sepoy regiments before the Mutiny.

THE RULING CHIEFS

One point which Englishmen are apt to forget, and which has been rather lost sight of in the recent political reforms, is that

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more than a fifth of the Indian Empire is under the direct administration not of the Government of India, but of the Ruling Chiefs. They represent, as I have already pointed out, great traditions and great interests, which duty and statesmanship equally forbid us to ignore. The creation of an Imperial Council, in which they would have sat with representatives of the Indian aristocracy of British India, was an important feature of the original scheme of reforms proposed by the Government of India. It was abandoned for reasons of which I am not concerned to dispute the validity. But the idea underlying it was unquestionably sound, and Lord Minto acted upon it when he drew the Ruling Chiefs into consultation as to the prevention of sedition. Some means will have to be found to embody it in a more regular and permanent shape. If we were to attempt to introduce what are called democratic methods into the government of British India without seeking the adhesion and support of the feudatory Princes, we should run a grave risk of estranging one of the most loyal and conservative forces in the Indian Empire. The administrative autonomy of the Native States is sometimes put forward as an argument in favour of the self-government which Indian politicians demand. It is an argument based on complete ignorance. With one or two exceptions, far more apparent than real, the Native States are governed by patriarchal methods, which may be thoroughly suited to the traditions and needs of their subjects, but are much further removed than the methods of government in British India from the professed aspirations of the Indian National Congress. Just as the Ruling Chiefs rightly complained of the effect upon their own people of the seditious literature imported into their States from British India before we were at last induced to check the output of the extremist Press, so they would be justified in resenting any grave political changes in British India which would react dangerously upon their own position and their relations with their own subjects. When we talk of governing India in accordance with Indian ideas, we cannot exclude the ideas of the very representative and powerful class of Indians to which none are better qualified to give expression than the Ruling Chiefs. One further suggestion. The policy of annexation has long since been abandoned and the question to-day is whether we might not go further and give ruling powers to a few great Chiefs of approved loyalty and high character, who possess in British India estates more populous and important than those of many whom we have always recognised as Ruling Chiefs.

THE IMMEDIATE TASK

The political reforms with which Lord Minto's Viceroyalty will remain identified are only just on their trial. All that can safely be said at present is that they are full of promise, and it would be rash to predicate whether and when it may be safe to proceed further in the direction to which they point. It is difficult even to say yet a while what share they have had, independently of the repressive measures that accompanied them, in stemming at least temporarily the tide of active sedition. Time is required to mature their fruits whether for good or for evil. One may hope that though they address themselves only to the political elements of the present unrest, they will tend to facilitate the treatment of the economic and social factors of the Indian problem. It is these that

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now chiefly and most urgently claim the attention of the British rulers of India. To rescue education from its present unhealthy surroundings and to raise it on to a higher plane whilst making it more practical, to promote the industrial and commercial expansion of India so as to open up new fields for the intellectual activity of educated Indians, to strengthen the old ties and to create new ones that shall bind the ancient conservative as well as the modern progressive forces of Indian society to the British Raj by an enlightened sense of self-interest, are slower and more arduous tasks and demand more patient and sustained statesmanship than any adventures in constitutional changes. But it is only by the successful achievement of such tasks that we can expect to retain the loyal acquiescence of the Princes and peoples of India in the maintenance of British rule.

THE CROWN

The sentiment of reverence for the Crown is widespread and deep-rooted among all races and creeds in India. It is perhaps the one tradition common to all. It went out spontaneously to Queen Victoria, whose length of years and widowed isolation appealed with a peculiar sense of lofty and pathetic dignity to the imagination of her Indian peoples. It has been materially reinforced by the pride of personal acquaintance since India has been twice honoured with the presence of the immediate successor to the Throne. The late King's visit to India has not yet faded from the memory of the older generation, and that of the present King-Emperor and his gracious Consort is, of course, still fresh in the recollection of all. How powerful is the hold which the majesty of the Crown exercises upon Princes and peoples in India was very strikingly shown by the calming effect, however temporary, which the presence of the Prince and Princess of Wales had in Bengal four years ago at the very moment when political agitation in that province was developing into almost open sedition, and it was shown once more this year by the hush of subdued grief that passed over the whole of India at the sudden news of King Edward's death. Only such rabid papers as Tilak's old organ, the *Kesari*, ventured an attempt to counteract the deep impression produced by that lamentable event, and it could only attempt to do so very ineffectively by a spiteful and ignorant depreciation of the position and personality of the Sovereign and of the part played by him in a Western democracy.

THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

In spite of the traditional prestige attaching to the Crown, we cannot, however, reasonably look for loyalty from India in the sense in which we look for it from our own people or from our kinsmen beyond the seas. There can never be between Englishmen and Indians the same community of historical traditions, of racial affinity, of social institutions, of customs and beliefs that exists between people of our own stock throughout the British Empire. The absence of these sentimental bonds, which cannot be artificially forged makes it impossible that we should ever concede to India the rights of self-government which we have willingly conceded to the great British communities of our own stock. And there is another and scarcely less cogent reason. The justification of our presence in India is that it gives peace and security to all the

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various races and creeds which makes up one-fifth of the population of this globe. To introduce self-government into India would necessarily be to hand it over to the ascendancy of the strongest. That we are debarred from doing by the very terms on which we hold India, and that is what Lord Morley must have had in his mind when, in supporting the Indian Councils Act last year, he specifically excluded all possibility of such Assemblies ever leading to the establishment of Parliamentary government in India. The sooner that is made perfectly clear the better. But just because executive self-government is inconceivable in India so long as British rule is maintained, we must recognize the special responsibility that consequently devolves upon us not only to do many things for India which we do not attempt to do for our self-governing Dominions, but, above all, not to force upon India things which we should not dream of forcing upon them, and especially in matters in which British material interests may appear to be closely concerned. We must continue to govern India as the greatest of the dependencies of the British Crown, but we must do our utmost to satisfy Indians of all classes and castes and beliefs that we govern them, as none of their race could govern them, with an equal and absolutely impartial regard for all law-abiding communities, with an intelligent appreciation of their peculiar interests, and with genuine consideration for all their ideas, so long as those ideas are compatible with the maintenance and security of British rule.

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NOVEMBER—1910

[No. 68

DIARY FOR OCTOBER, 1910

Date

1. The District Magistrate of Lahore demands under the Press Act a security of Rs. 2,500 from the Editor of *Almaj-Zahid*, a Mahomedan vernacular monthly, for objectionable attacks against the founder of the Arya Samaj and the Hindus.

A customs circular is issued by the Government of India revising the existing rules regarding the levy of duty on articles of foreign production re-imported into British India and laying down the rule that articles of merchandise of foreign production taken out of the country by *bona fide* commercial travellers on behalf of *bona fide* firms having their head-quarters in British India shall be exempted "on approval" from payment of customs duty on re-importation.

H. H. the Nizam is pleased to subscribe the sum of Rs. 5,000 to the fund that is being raised in aid of the sufferers at Dera Gazi Khan.

At a meeting held at Rangoon it is unanimously resolved to form a Burma Branch of the Burma Society of London and a committee is formed to draw up rules.

A Resolution of the Punjab Government notes with regret that "after expenditure of over 7 lakhs from Provincial and local funds, all that we have learnt about plague is that no remedy has yet been found for the disease" and further urges the discontinuance of the practice of rat destruction as being useless.

2. In course of the hearing of the Nasik Conspiracy Case the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court overrules the contentions raised by Mr. Bapista, counsel for the defence, that the Bombay High Court has no jurisdiction in trying Mr. Savarkar who had landed in the French Territory and was re-captured.

Bombay is drenched with 10 inches of rain attended with thunderstorm commencing from about a week ago and ceasing only today.

In giving away prizes to the girls of the Poona Girls' High School today, H. E. Sir George Clarke advised the girls "to learn how to broaden the horizon of their lives and to add to its interests."

At the concluding sitting of the Railway Conference held at Simla today the suggestion for the removal of the head-quarters from Jabbalpore to Calcutta was accepted.

4. The Government of Bengal issues a notification disapproving any demonstration on the Partition Day and expressing the desire that students and all law-abiding citizens should abstain from joining it, even if it is held at all.

5. Mrs. Baker, mother of Sir Edward Baker, dies today at Darjeeling, she being one of the few Englishmen and women who were in captivity in Afghanistan in 1842.

At a meeting of the Calcutta Corporation a resolution to present a farewell address to Lord Minto is passed by a large majority; one Commissioner Mr. Braunfield, Barrister, opposed it on the ground that

the Viceroy was apathetic towards the Calcutta Corporation and refused to interfere in the matter of the refusal of the Bengal Government to help the Corporation to meet the heavy expenditure incurred during the last *Ardhodaya Yoga*. The dissentient commissioner further contended that if the Government of India "did not show sympathy towards the people, if they hesitated in holding out good fellowship to the Corporation they should not set a bad example by presenting a farewell address to the Viceroy."

The opening ceremony of the projected repairs of the Kangra temple which dates, according to Hindu tradition, from the beginning of creation and which was first repaired by the Maharajah Parishkhit in the 6th century, is performed today with great splendour by the Hon'ble Major Raja Jaichand of Lambagrao before a gathering of high officials and the representatives of the public.

6. The issue is announced of 4 million sterling of 3½ per cent. India bonds of which £ 2,250,000 is for the Indian Midland Railway and the balance to discharge the debentures of the Madras and Indian Midland Railways falling due in 1911 and 1912.

Reuter wires today that France and Britain have agreed that the circumstances of the escape and recapture of Savarkar and the international question involved shall be submitted to arbitration.

The following telegram is received by the Secretary, Bombay Mill-Owners' Association, from the Secretary, International Federation of Master Cotton-Spinners' and Manufacturers' Association, in connection with his recent enquiry regarding the stocks of cotton held by Indian Mills on 15th August 1910:—Stocks in India of Indian cotton 3,56,203 bales, Egyptian cotton 3,752 bales, American cotton 1,734 bales, Sundry cotton 26 bales. Stocks in the world of American cotton 1,123,826 bales, Indian cotton 9,95,892 bales, Egyptian cotton 1,11,748 bales and Sundry cotton 2,92,350 bales.

7. A handsome pearl necklace is presented to Lady Minto by the ladies of Simla.

The annual report of the Post Office Department for the year 1909-10 containing a mass of interesting details is published today.

8. A comprehensive Bill dealing with the question of Life Insurance in India has been sent to England by today's mail.

In connection with the Simla Malaria Conference of 1909 the Burma Government publishes today a resolution appointing a provincial Malaria Committee.

A Review of the Report of the Administration of Civil Justice in the Punjab published today notes that the number of original suits instituted increased from 180,150 in 1908 to 210,894 in 1909.

Mr. Gandhi, Junior, and 37 Indians, mostly passengers by the *S. S. Sultan*, were arrested on arrival at Volksrust. Twenty-eight are sentenced to fines of £ 25 or 6 weeks' hard labour. Mr. Gandhi, together with 8 Indians and 1 Chinaman, admitting previous conviction, were convicted to a fine of £50 or 3 months' hard labour for failing to produce Registration Certificates.

A crowd of cheering Indians welcome Mr. Polak back at Johannesburg for his services in India on their behalf.

9. The fishermen of Karachi go on strike as a protest against the proposal of the Port Trust to levy a fee per annum on fishing toneyes.

10. The first Hindu Literary Conference is held at Benares under the presidency of Pundit Madan Mohan Malavya, advocating the claims of *Hindī* to be the *lingua franca* of India.

The second Punjab Hindu Conference meets at Multan under the presidency of the Sikh leader, Baba Guru Baksh Singh Bedi, who expatiated on the unity of Hindus and Sikhs and said that Ramachandra and Srikrishna were objects of reverence both to the Hindus and the Sikhs.

Ex-Karen Missionary, Thomas Pillak Sawdoe *alias* Kleebe of Toungoo, is announced to have proclaimed himself King of the Karen

tribe in Burma, going about from village to village, terrorising the loyal S. P. G. Christians in Karen and compelling them to take Kleebo oath and calling upon people to resist all taxes to Government and asserting that he is prepared to fight the British forces sent against him.

11. The decision is announced today of the Government of India to transfer the Excise and Salt Administration in India from the Finance to the Commerce and Industry Department of the Government of India.

Lala Lajpat Rai arrives today at Lahore after a long stay in England.

A meeting is held at Multan of the Bharat Shuddhi Sabha under the presidency of Pandit Rambhaji Dutt Chowdhuri.

The Bishop of Calcutta announces at a meeting in England that Mr. Laidlaw, M.P., has promised £ 50,000 towards a fund to promote English and Eurasian education in India.

The Bombay Government publishes a resolution reviewing the land revenue administration in the Province, noting (1) that the season was a disappointing one; (2) Primary education is steadily progressing among the agricultural population; and (3) the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act has already had a powerful influence in guiding the cultivator to sounder and more prudent financial methods in the conduct of his business.

12. Pangim in Portuguese India is *enfete* today, the occasion being the assumption of office of Governor-General by Dr. Conceiro da Costa, in succession to Lenher Costa, the change being due to changes of Government brought about by the recent revolution in Portugal.

The King received Lord Hardinge of Penhurst today and invested him with the collars and insignia of the orders of G. C. I. E. and G. C. S. I.

13. A Press *Communique* issued today says that the Kohat Pass tribesmen have decided to submit to the decision of the Government of India regarding the question of compensation which they had claimed for their leases in the Gulf arms trade.

The Indian Police Service hold a dinner at Simla under the presidency of Mr. Cleveland, Director of the C. I. D., the Viceroy being one of the guests.

The applications for the issue of 4 millions sterling of 3½ per cent India bonds amounted to £ 9,411,700, the average price obtained was £ 99.117½.

The Bombay Government in a resolution reviewing the work of the Bombay City Police for the past year extols the C. I. D. for its work during the year.

14. Serious fire breaks out at the Baroda Cotton Mills, causing an estimated damage of about 5 lakhs of rupees, the mill being insured for 9 lakhs 83 thousand.

The 27th Meeting of the Dassarah Assembly of representative Ryots and Merchants of the Mysore Province met today at Mysore, when the Dewan, Mr. T. Ananda Rao, C.I.E., made the annual statement of affairs of the State.

At the farewell banquet given to the Viceroy by the United Service Club of Simla, Lord Minto makes a remarkable speech powerfully defending his policy in India.

The Ebassam Government proclaims the District of Barisal under the Seditious Meetings Act.

16. Reuter wires from Pietermaritzburgh that the Supreme Court has issued an order restraining the deportation of 21 Indians who came in the *Sultan* in order to afford them an opportunity of consulting their lawyers.

17. Anti-partition Demonstrations are held in Calcutta and in several parts of United Bengal. Mr. A. Rasul, Bar-at-law, presides at the meeting at Calcutta.

The District of Dinajpur is proclaimed under the Seditious Meetings Act by the Ebassam Government.

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18. In the resolution on the Administration Report of the Bengal Police for 1909 published today, Sir Edward Baker thanks the C. I. D. for "crippling and breaking up the terrorist societies" in Bengal.

A free fight takes place between a number of Howrah and Calcutta constables at the Calcutta *Maidan*, when one Calcutta constable is arrested.

19. A Farewell Address in a silver casket is presented to-day to the Viceroy by the Simla Municipality.

20. A Press *Communique* is issued today from Simla containing proposals made by the Government of India to the Secretary of State on the scheme of the financial decentralization as proposed by the Royal Commission giving financial independence to local Governments.

A Draft of the Administration Report of the Municipal Commissioner for the City of Bombay for the year 1909-10 published today notes the enormous and continued expenditure.

On the Advocate-General of Bombay withdrawing the charge against Barve, Vaidya and Fulambrikar, these accused in the Nasik conspiracy case are discharged.

Sir John Hewett resumes the Lieutenant-Governorship of the United Provinces from the acting incumbent, Mr. Porter.

At a banquet given to him at the Savoy in London, Lord Hardinge of Penhurst makes a speech surveying the internal situation in, and diplomatic relations of, India and expressing sympathy with Indian aspirations.

About 2,000 men attached to several jute mills in Cossipore (Calcutta) strike work to protest against low payment of wages.

21. The Administration Report of the Indian Telegraph Department for 1909-10 published today shows the capital account at the close of the year at Rs. 108,970,113.

The Annual Irrigation Review for the year 1908-09 just published shows the total area irrigated at 22½ million acres.

The Resolution published today reviewing the land revenue administration in Bengal for 1909-10 notes the satisfactory condition of crops in the year and fall in prices of food stuffs.

22. Punitive Police are quartered in several villages in the Rohtak District in the Punjab.

A well attended meeting held at Bangalore urges, at the instance of the Bangalore Missionary Conference, that China be formally released from the treaty obligation to admit opium and that the financial difficulties created by the cessation of opium revenue be met by the British Imperial and Indian Governments without increasing the taxation of the mass of the people in India or injuring the Feudatory States concerned.

24. At a Banquet given by old Harrowians at Savoy the assembly regards "the treatment of Indians as a question of Imperial concern" and hopes "the unrest in India would disappear before the influence of sympathy and kindness."

A Resolution issued by the Government of Bombay on the administration of the Ratnagiri Municipality states that unless affairs show decided improvement within a year from date, the Government will be compelled to have recourse to suspension.

A meeting of the leading citizens of Bombay is held at the Municipal Hall under the presidency of Sir Bhal Chandra Krishna to concert measures to give a hearty send-off and a farewell address to Lord and Lady Minto.

25. Decision is announced today to send shortly a small force of Assam Military Force into the Daffa Hills bordering on Darrang District, the Daffas having made themselves "obnoxious" to their Assamese neighbours of the British territory for some time past.

The Mysore Exhibition closes today. Prizes are given away to the exhibitors in presence of a large gathering of ladies and gentlemen.

27. A Press note issued today announces the appointment of Mr. Ali Imam to succeed Mr. S. P. Sinha as the Law Member.

Heavy floods occur in several parts of Madras washing away a bridge near Coonoor and necessitating transhipment of mails on the S. M. Ry.

28. The Digamber Jains from all parts of India hold a meeting at Delhi, Mr. Isri Prasad presiding, to protest against the action of the Government of India in directing the Government of Bengal not to grant permanent lease of the Pareashnath Hill to the Jains.

29. An official note on the anti-Plague inoculation in the Punjab in 1909-10 issued today notes the beneficent effects of inoculation in reducing the incidence of the disease.

31. A Ladies Conference is held at Lahore in connection with the 47th anniversary of the Punjab Brahmo Samaj.

The report published today shows that during the year ending 31st July 1910, the number of co-operative societies in the Punjab rose from 316 to 706, the working capital from 8 lakhs to nearly 16 lakhs and the membership from 23 thousand to over 38 thousand.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

Boycotting the Hindus

A correspondent to a vernacular contemporary says that on the evening of the 17th October last Hafiz Ahmed Mussih delivered a sermon at Ghantaghar in Delhi to the Mahomedans asking them to boycott the Hindus and to refuse taking anything that is contaminated by their touch. The Hindus are of uncleanly habits, he said, as they sweep their *chauka* with cow-dung and cow-urine.

Postal Transmission

The number of letters, postcards, newspapers and packets issued for delivery and of parcels posted in India, during last year amounted to 919,524,127 and these figures added to the 24,413,682 money orders issued for payment made a grand total for all these classes of articles of 943,942,809, being an increase of 5.01 per cent. as against one of 5.82 per cent. the previous year. Of these 943,942,809 articles, it is estimated that 940,839,537 or 99.67 per cent. were actually delivered or paid.

The Water of the Ganges

The reputation of the water of the Ganges among the Hindu millions of India is known to all, and most of us were content to believe that in a hot and thirsty land like Northern India such a magnificent river as the Ganges had many claims to be highly thought of, but it would appear as if modern science was coming to the aid of ancient tradition in maintaining a special blessedness of the water of the Ganges. Mr. E. H. Hankin in the preface to the fifth edition of his excellent pamphlet on "The Cause and Prevention of Cholera," writes as follows,—“Since I originally wrote this pamphlet I have discovered that the water of the Ganges and the Jumna is hostile to the growth of the cholera microbe, not only owing to the absence of food materials, but also owing to the actual presence of an antiseptic that has the power of destroying this microbe. At present I can make no suggestion as to the origin of this mysterious antiseptic.”

The Savarkar Case

The decision of the British Government to allow the strange case of Savarkar to go to the Hague Tribunal to be arbitrated upon is considered both in England and India as a wise one. Savarkar, who has been brought over to India to take his trial on a charge of incitement to murder and sedition, escaped through the port-hole of a P. and O. Steamer at Marseilles. The charge against him is a political one and France is entitled to claim that by setting foot on French soil he has gained the sanctuary which the British have so zealously guarded in the past. But as Savarkar ran naked along the quays of Marseilles, shouting “cab” and looking around eagerly for the comrades with whom he

had planned his escape, he ran into two gendarmes. These, without much thought of the consequences of their act, handed Savarkar back to his British pursuers, and thereby enabled England to say that he had been handed back by France. What view the arbitrators will take it is difficult to say, but every lawyer will admit that it is "a pretty point."

The Poverty of India

The following table shows the gross revenue of British India per head of population as contrasted with that of the United Kingdom, of the self-governing British Colonies and of certain European countries. It is compiled from the Statistical Abstract of British India, No. 43 ; Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom, No. 56 ; Statistical Abstract of British Colonies, etc., No. 45 ; Statistical Abstract of Foreign Countries, No. 34.

		Population	Gross Revenue £	Revenue per head. £ s. d.		
British India	(1907-8)	240,195,381	71,003,275	0	5	11
The United Kingdom	(1908-9)	44,546,803	156,537,690	3	10	3
Russian Empire (in- cluding Finland)	(1905)	145,950,000	315,584,000	2	3	2
Norway ...	(1906)	2,321,000	6,344,957	2	14	8
Sweden ...	(1907)	5,378,000	10,743,000	1	18	1
Denmark ...	(1907)	2,630,000	7,056,959	2	13	7
German Empire	(1907)	62,097,000	127,656,000	2	1	1
Belgium ...	(1905)	7,161,000	28,255,400	3	18	10
France (excluding Algeria) ...	(1907)	39,267,000	154,645,000	3	18	9
Italy ...	(1907)	33,910,000	89,652,008	2	12	10
Austria ...	(1906)	27,726,000	83,687,000	3	0	4
Hungary ...	(1906)	20,469,000	56,549,000	2	15	3
New South Wales	...	1,573,224	15,152,206	9	12	7
Victoria ...	...	1,258,140	9,790,796	7	14	0
South Australia (includ- ing Northern territory)...	...	396,023	3,721,034	9	7	11
Western Australia ...	...	263,846	3,837,604	14	10	10
Tasmania ...	...	181,008	1,184,715	6	8	9
Queensland ...	...	546,467	5,072,479	9	5	7
Dominion of New Zealand	...	941,824	9,154,295	9	14	4
Natal ...	...	1,164,285	3,471,932	2	19	7
Cape of Good Hope ...	...	2,507,500	7,701,192	3	1	5
Orange River Colony ...	...	447,088	787,328	1	15	2
Transvaal ...	...	1,222,385	4,450,867	3	12	9
North America (total) ...	...	6,387,952	17,020,034	2	13	3

India's Cost for Foreign Mails

The Government of India spend about 24 lakhs of Rupees every year in the grant of subsidies for the carriage of mails by steamer on the Indian coasts and steamers for the maintenance of communication with Ceylon, the Straits and the Persian Gulf, and for the combined Eastern and Australian mail services. As much as 10 lakhs of this amount is the annual subsidy paid for mail steamer service between Tuticorin and Colombo (daily), between Calcutta and Rangoon and Rangoon and Moulmein (both three times a week), between Madras and Rangoon, Chittagong, Arakan ports and Rangoon, between Rangoon, Tavoy and Mergui, Bombay and Karachi, Karachi and Busra (all weekly) and between Negapatam and the Straits Settlements and Moulmein, Yeh, Palaw, etc., (fortnightly). The subsidy paid for weekly service between Rangoon and Penang is Rs. 70,000, while that for service between Basra and Bagdad is

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Rs. 24,000. Other subsidies, paid for carrying mails to places the importance of most of which is not apparent, amounts to about Rs. 2½ lakhs of Rupees. In addition to these, the Indian share of the annual subsidy of £305,000 paid by His Majesty's Government for the combined Eastern and Australian mail services, is about £70,000.

British Rule in India

Sir Thomas Raleigh, member of the Council of India and formerly legal member of the Governor-General's Council, gave the first of a series of four lectures on "The Government of India" at the Working Men's College, St. Pancras, last October. He said that the most conflicting opinions were held on our work in India, but the truth could be ascertained by a study of the facts, and such a study should be impartially undertaken by the British people. It was in the reign of Akbar, the Great Mogul, that the English first came into contact with India. The merchants who visited his Court laid the foundations of the trading connexion which, without forethought or intention, developed by inevitable stages into the British Empire in India. If he were asked what justified the continued authority of Britain in India he would never dream of answering that it was to England's profit. Nor would he say that it was because India was a source of glory and credit to England. His answer would be that under British rule India, the land of successive invasions in the past, had been secured against attack from without, and that for the first time in her history internal peace had been maintained. There might come a time when under different conditions the same blessings might be attained; but at present British rule was absolutely necessary for their continuance.

The Rebuilding of Calcutta

The Government of Bengal are promoting a measure for the improvement and expansion of Calcutta somewhat on the lines of the plan adopted in Bombay, as a result of the plague mortality there, by an Act passed in 1898. The Calcutta scheme was first conceived in 1897, when medical experts described the evils of overcrowding in the northern section of the town. After a vague report by a building commission, a conference was called in 1904 to devolve a practical scheme which estimated the cost of 822 lakhs of rupees (nearly 5½ millions sterling), and though, in correspondence with the Government of India and the Secretary of State, various modifications and changes have been made in the scheme the estimate remains at those figures. The work will be carried out by an Improvement Trust with a whole-time president as in Bombay, the salary of that officer being £2,400 a year. The scheme proposes to drive over 15 miles of new thoroughfares through the congested districts of the city, to clear the areas abutting on the new streets, to provide open spaces where possible and to erect new dwellings. The Trust will have wide compulsory powers to acquire land, demolish buildings, and alter streets; but they will be bound to provide for the construction of dwellings for persons displaced and for shops for their use. In respect to such rebuilding, private enterprise will be encouraged, but it is expected that the Trust will often have to show the way before private enterprise steps in. Power is being taken to extend operations

outside the municipal limits, and the Trust will be authorized to and subsidize tramways to improve communications with suburban districts. Of the estimated cost, 336 lakhs will be recovered by recoupment, and 50 lakhs will be granted from Indian revenues. The residue of 436 lakhs is to be raised by loan, for periods not exceeding 60 years in each case. For the service of these loans and working expenses an annual revenue of close upon 21 lakhs is necessary. This will be raised, if the measure becomes law in its present form, by a 2 per cent. stamp duty on the value of all immovable property transferred by sale, gift, or reversion of mortgage; a custom and excise duty, not exceeding 2 annas (2d.) per bale of 400lb. of raw jute; a 2 per cent. consolidated Corporation rate; and a terminal tax of one anna on every passenger by rail or steamer arriving in the city of Calcutta. The last tax will not be levied on passengers from within a radius of 30 miles.

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

Cattle Breeding in the Punjab

A lease of some 2,300 acres of land near Pakpattan, Montgomery District, have been granted to two Zemindars, Lukam Singh and Gopal Singh, for cattle-breeding farm with the object of improving the breed of the Montgomery milch kine. Breeding operations will be carried on under the general supervision of the Director of Agriculture.

Indian Oil and Artesian Water Resources

The Indian Geological Survey's programme for the current year embraces a survey of oil-bearing regions in North Eastern Assam, investigation of salt deposits in Rajputana and the Punjab, examination of the Lonar Lake salts, a survey of the oil-bearing strata of the Rawalpindi district, artesian water supply in Gujrat and other places, and sulphide ores in the Punjab salt range.

Indian Duty on Rolling stock Material

The Indian Customs have imposed a duty of 1 per cent. on certain component parts of railway rolling stock imported by the Bengal and N. W. Railway, on the ground that the articles could not be built into rolling stock without "material alteration." The railway contends that the shaping and boring required did not constitute "material alteration," but the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, to which they appealed in the matter, does not think they could successfully oppose the Collector of Customs' decision.

Openings for New Enterprise

It is a great pity that, while there is famine in India of good manure, she should export her oil seeds and bone to England where they are converted into manure from which enormous profits are derived. The cotton seed supply of England comes chiefly from Egypt and India, linseed from India and Russia; while after United States, Egypt, Russia and Germany, India supplies the largest quantity of linseed and cotton-seed cakes. Again, India is one of the largest exporters of bone to England. Here are openings for enterprising India.

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Wheat Importation

In 1904, India was by far the largest contributor to England's imported wheat supply, Russia being second, and Argentine third. Up till 1900, however, United States was occupying the top position, Russia being usually second. In 1905, Russia, Argentina, and India, in the order given, sent more than three-fourths of the total, United States taking a very small portion of the remainder. In 1906, United States recovered the top position but in 1907 and 1908, Argentina usurped her place. Since then, India's export of wheat to England has been none of the largest and there seems to be no promise of any increase.

Irrigation in the Past Year

The Annual Irrigation Review for the year 1908-09 just published shows that the total area irrigated in India was 22½ million acres while the value of the crops raised by the works for which capital accounts are kept is estimated at Rs. 61½ crores or about 121 per cent of the capital outlay expended on them. The Resolution states no project is to be sanctioned as a productive work unless it can be shown beyond reasonable doubt that on full development it will fulfil these conditions. But the same standard did not obtain in former years and thus it has happened that several large irrigation works, which were financed from borrowed capital, are not remunerative. There are 13 such works *viz.*, four in Bengal, seven in the Deccan and Gujarat, and two in Madras. They are still retained on the list of productive works but current expenditure against their capital account is now charged against the general revenue of India. The total loss on these 13 works has amounted to about 10½ crores.

Consumption of Oil

The consumption of oil for domestic purposes in India is increasing at such a rate that there is probably ample room for all the producers that are likely to put in an appearance, particularly as the country has not yet been properly prospected, production being confined to certain portions of Burma and Assam. The Directors of the Burmah Oil Company are wide awake to the advisability of thoroughly prospecting the area over which they hold control, and have been pushing on largely-extended drilling operations in certain new districts reported on by their geologists as showing favourable indications. This forward policy has not resulted in any sensational discovery ; but it is officially stated that those new ventures have at least paid their way, and are to be vigorously continued. The Directors have been doubtless all the more strongly confirmed in this determination by the consideration that the greater depth to which the Company has to drill in the oil-fields, owing to the partial exhaustion of the upper oil sands, is adding very materially to the cost of production.

The Tea Industry

It is pleasant to note that the tea industry is in a very prosperous state. According to a recent note of the Commercial Intelligence Department there are 555,305 acres under cultivation, of which 438,000 are in E. Bengal and Assam ; 53,000 in Bengal ; 8,000 in the United Provinces ; 9,000 in the Punjab ; 16,000 in Madras ; 29,000 in Travancore, and a modest

1,500 in Burma. The interesting fact, however, is the prodigious increase in production. The production last year was 262,560,000 lb. or three and a half times what it was twenty-five years ago. In the same time the area has increased only 95 per cent. The exports by sea in 1909-10 increased by over 15,000,000 lb., as compared with those of 1908-09. The direct shipments to the United Kingdom increased by over twelve million pounds; Russia levies on Indian tea imported by European Frontier or the Black Sea a duty of 12 annas 3 pies per pound; Germany 5 annas 4 pies; France (if direct India) 9 annas; Austria-Hungary 9 annas 9 pie; Japan (black tea) 3 annas 9 pie; South Africa 4 annas; the United Kingdom 5 annas; China 5 per cent.; and the United States no duty at all.

Indian Goat and Sheep-skins

The Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Commerce and Industry, has forwarded to the Madras Government a Memorandum prepared by Mr. Alfred Seymour-Jones, Chairman of the International Commission for the Preservation, Cure and Disinfection of Hides and Skins, on the subject of East India tanned goat and sheep-skins, with the request that the information contained in it may be made known to all those interested in the tanning industry in Madras. During 1907, the total number of skins exported was, according to a table prepared by Messrs. Dyster, Naldar & Co., London, 19,352,543. But in 1909 the figure did not exceed 17,272,750. A decrease of over two million skins in three years has naturally caused a good deal of inconvenience in the London market, for Madras and Bombay—of which Madras takes the lion's share—are the two Presidencies which furnish the bulk of East India tanned skins. The memorandum reveals the fact that almost a serious crisis has arisen in the raw hide and skin supply of the world, and that British dealers are generally exercised over the shortness of supply. Quite naturally attention has now been turned towards India. It has become almost a fashion to turn to India for the supply of raw materials when the mills of England work short time. The cotton supply is now short, and so the Lancashire merchants approached Lord Morley and asked him to "practically compel" the Indian people to grow more cotton, so that the Mills of Manchester may not be shut up. Now the British leather dealers have turned towards India and are likely to approach India Office to come to their rescue. What a nice milch-cow India is after all!

The Indian Telegraph Department

The Administration Report of the Indian Telegraph Department for 1909-10 published recently shows that the capital account at the close of the year amounted to Rs. 108,970,113, the expenditure on that head in 1909-10 being Rs. 2,519,323, which included Rs. 25,878, the outlay in the P.W.D. on telegraph buildings. The Revenue earned was Rs. 12,109,219 and the working expenses Rs. 12,112,784. The surplus amounts to Rs. 6,435 representing a return on capital outlay of 0.06 per cent. As compared with the previous year, the working expenses have increased by Rs. 367,454 on which Rs. 122,703 are under general charges and Rs. 27,080 under signalling. The receipts from all sources amounted to Rs. 12,119,219, as

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compared with Rs. 13,35,301 in the previous year. The decrease in the value of telegrams is associated with a decrease in their number the value having decreased by 11·66 percent. and the number, by 7·11 per cent. The decrease in value is made up of Rs. 1,112,246 under paid telegrams and Rs. 4,927 under *pro forma* value of news, free and concessional telegrams. The rapid disposal of messages has been maintained and the averages of 88 offices that keep up tablet checks show that 81·9 per cent. of the sent and transit traffic was disposed of within ten minutes, 91·8 within 20 minutes, and 94·8 within forty minutes. As regards delivered message 77 per cent are sent out within 5 minutes of their being received. There have been many complaints of mutilation during the year, and the matter is receiving the closest attention, but the public are probably unaware to what extent they are themselves responsible for this owing to the very general use of uncouth and bizarre artificial words in Code messages. It is extremely difficult for a telegraphist to deal with such words with accuracy at the same speed with which he disposes of ordinary words, and mutilations are chiefly due to his endeavouring to maintain his speed.

SELECTIONS

THE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM

(Concluded from THE INDIAN WORLD of June 1910).

In India provision must be made for training the men diverted from literary pursuits to take an active part in the re-establishment of the hereditary artisans of their native lands. It would be premature to discuss the details of the training, as that must depend on inquiries and researches not yet made. Certain general principles are of application from the outset. There must be trade schools in which foremen can be trained for the specified industries and these should be furnished with a model equipment the value of which should be clearly demonstrated under strictly practical conditions. In order that hand labour may be developed to its highest possible efficiency, it is essential that the appliances, tools and machinery should be maintained in the best possible order; mechanical workshops will be required to train fitters, mechanics and carpenters and to afford instruction in the elements of mechanical engineering which underlie and are necessary to all manufacturing processes. Lastly, technical colleges and schools of science will be required, in which the best intellects the country can place at the disposal of its industries will be prepared to take up the leadership and carry on the work initiated by those having qualifications acquired abroad who will act as pioneers to the movement.

India sustains great loss and will continue to suffer so long as the best of her sons devote their energies and abilities almost solely to the legal profession and Government service; such service, however valuable it may be, does not directly contribute to the material welfare of the community. In any country litigation is a necessary evil but it is ten times worse when it is allowed to absorb such an enormous proportion of the available trained intelligence as is the case in India. There the legal profession is unduly prominent and its ranks are consequently overcrowded. Litigation is fostered and the growth of technicalities stimulated, so that the machinery of justice is clogged. Indians are naturally prone to resort to the law courts on every possible occasion, the luxury of a civil suit having a strange fascination which few who can afford it succeed in withstanding permanently. The introduction of new interests into the life of the people would tend to check this tendency; anything that will create a wider outlook and broader views should be encouraged. The backwardness of India is not a little due to this parasitic growth and it is time that it were checked. The diversion to industrial pursuits of part of the stream of graduates flowing from the universities is a promising antidote and will perhaps gradually educate the public to consider the man who devotes his life to the promotion of the well-being and prosperity of his fellows deserving of greater honour than he who keeps them at variance and batters upon their failings and misfortunes.

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THE POSSIBLE INDUSTRIAL FUTURE OF INDIA .

We are come now to the last stage in our discussion of India's future industrial position and that is to illustrate by concrete examples the possibility of working upon the lines briefly indicated. It has been assumed that her industries can be developed without leading to the hideous concentration of human life and human activity in smoke-begrimed cities, with unparalleled luxury for the few and squalour for the many. This is based upon the idea that our ever-increasing command of natural forces will enable us to operate with equal advantage on a small as on a large scale ; that there is a reaction against the deadening influence of production by machinery, in favour of the greater variety offered by products into the fabrication of which individual skill and fancy have been allowed to enter ; that as there is therefore a field for Indian labour which can be developed by a judicious combination of the man with the machine, the former should be trained to afford the fullest possible play to his God-given faculties and that mechanical ingenuity should be directed to providing him with the means to exercise those faculties to the greatest possible advantage.

The problem to be solved is the difficult one of finding the happy mean between the individual working for himself and the great capitalistic organisation employing thousands of operatives in lives of monotony and drudgery. The single man or family is too small an economic unit to succeed, the modern mill or factory entails too much social degradation to be encouraged. The free play of private enterprise in the West has produced an unstable civilisation, in which the various elements are in antagonism with one another. Is it necessary that India should follow on the same lines ? Is it not rather worth our while to attempt to direct her course so that advantage may be taken of the experience that has been gained to avoid, as far as may be, the unhealthy and undesirable features which are becoming so prominent in Europe and America ?

The Government are clearly justified in intervening to prevent the artisan, if they can, from being driven out of his hereditary calling and to start him upon a new line of progress that will not land him in the evil plight that has befallen his fellows under the modern industrial system. The object to be obtained is the amelioration of the condition of vast numbers of people and not the creation of opportunities for concentrating great wealth in a few centres and in the hands of a small minority of the population. If this premise be accepted, the problem should be studied with a view to working along the lines indicated and such assistance obtained from outside as is likely to prove useful. Much work has already been done by such scientific services as the Geological Survey of India in determining the available mineral resources, by the Forest Departments of the various provinces in ascertaining and conserving the value of the vegetation, by the Public Works Department in its various branches in all that pertains to improving means of communication and utilising sources of irrigation. The scientist, the mechanical engineer and the manufacturer have all done something to demonstrate the value of these resources, which should now be examined in greater detail with the specific object of increasing the opportunities of the indigenous industrial popula-

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tion. Industrial experiment and investigation are required and for such specially qualified men must be employed. Something in this direction has already been done and may be brought to notice, not because of its intrinsic importance but because it is pioneer work that will serve to show clearly the method adopted of solving this question.

Lifting Water.—The chief requisites of the Indian agriculturist are water and manure, both of which, in the absence of public sources of water supply, he has obtained hitherto through the agency of cattle. Water is lifted from between three and four million wells; as the quantity required is large, the expense is a very heavy charge upon the ryots. Careful investigation of the indigenous methods of lifting water demonstrated the high degree of efficiency attained in applying the power and no improvement seemed to be practicable until the oil engine became a source of motive power, so economical in fuel, so simple in action and involving so small a capital outlay that it was easily brought within the range of the wealthier ryot who had a sufficient water supply to justify using it to drive a centrifugal pump. In the South of India, through Government agency, large numbers have been installed and there is no doubt that their use will extend rapidly as their advantages become better appreciated. The requirements of India in this direction have now attracted the attention of engineers in England and, especially since the invention by Mr. Humphrey of the gas pump, it cannot be doubted that there will be a rapid development of mechanical methods of lifting water on a small scale that will greatly conduce to the prosperity of the ryot and at the same time familiarise him with the advantages of employing better tools or appliances in his daily work. Where the individual ryots are farming on too small a scale, the advantages of a number co-operating are apparent and have already been utilised.

Searching for Water.—The application of the oil engine and pump to lifting water for irrigation has extended the range through which water can be lifted profitably and rendered it possible to go to greater depths in search of water. To facilitate this work, boring tools have been introduced and through their agency valuable supplies have been discovered; these have greatly increased the value of the land in the neighbourhood. The cost of a set of boring tools being beyond the means of individual ryots and special experience being necessary to make use of them, the work of boring for water has been taken up in some cases by public bodies and in others by private individuals who are making it a special business. An immense amount of work in this direction may profitably be undertaken in India but there are difficulties, especially in connection with deep boring, that render it desirable that Government should continue the work and assume the risks. So far the pioneer work has been done in an entirely haphazard way, though with great success. It now requires to be put on a more scientific basis under the direction of geological experts.

Leather.—The manufacture of leather is an old village industry which has been much affected by the growth of the export trade in raw hides and skins and in partially tanned leather. This is by no means to be regretted, as the "chuckler" made very inferior leather and spoilt a vast quantity of valuable raw material. The modern chrome process supplies a material much better suited to

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Indian requirements; through the efforts the Government experimental tannery in Madras has made, this is now becoming widely known and appreciated for such purposes as water bags, sandals, harness, and boots and shoes. Small Indian tanneries are being started and afford excellent examples of what can be accomplished by private enterprise, either by co-operation or by individuals. The advantage to the country at large of the general employment of chrome leather will be very considerable, as it will reduce the Indian consumption of hides by approximately one-half and thus throw on the market for export a large quantity of raw material for which there is always a good demand.

Weaving.—This is the most important of the indigenous industries, and, despite the competition of imported piece-goods and the products of the Indian power-loom factories, still gives employment to about two million looms. Much attention has of late been directed to the question as to how best to assist the hand-loom weavers and several new forms of hand-loom have been invented but none has as yet proved superior to the English hand-loom. The fly-shuttle is slowly making headway and will eventually be used by all plain weavers. By its use the rate of picking can be doubled, but this does not mean that the out-turn of the weaver will be increased by the same amount, as extended observations show that the hand-loom weaver does not spend more than half his time throwing the shuttle, the balance being spent in mending broken ends, adjusting the warp and performing other minor operations. Experimental weaving-sheds have thrown a good deal of light on the problems connected with this industry and there is now a fair prospect that eventually it will be put on a much more satisfactory basis. Indian methods of preparing the warp and of sizing and dressing it are in even greater need of improvement, and experiments are now in progress to determine how this can be achieved. The arrangement of the warp presents no difficulty, but the dressing, to obtain the same results as by hand-brushing, is still in the experimental stage.

It is much to be desired that the Lancashire weaving mechanicians should have their attention directed to the Indian hand-loom problem and efforts are being made to supply them with adequate data as a preliminary. What is wanted is an improved hand-loom and not a light power-loom driven by hand or by pedals. The material of which it is constructed should be of wood preferably, and a high rate of picking is less essential than a gentle handling of the warp when opening the shed and when beating up. Some modification of what are known as "linen-dressing machines" will probably be found suitable but they have not yet been tried under the conditions which prevail in India.

Already a revolution is in progress in the hand-weaving industry, brought about by attempts to make practical application of the clearer knowledge we now possess of the conditions under which it has hitherto been carried on. Both brains and capital are flowing into it, to the advantage of the hand weaver and the general improvement of the relations between the artisan and the other castes. It is true that no great success has attended the efforts of those who have organised the hand weavers into small factories but they have managed to hold their own, in spite of the

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mistakes and ignorance of the pioneers in this movement ; the former will be remedied and the latter dissipated as experience is acquired. The weavers themselves are so backward that the attempts to get them to co-operate have not been successful ; nevertheless the small factories will probably do well when the technical questions connected with their equipment have been solved. What we may look forward to in the future are groups of from fifty to two hundred weavers centred round a warping and dressing plant. This will supply warps to the weavers, who may either be collected in a shed or will work in their own homes. The trade will be in the hands of those who run the warping plant and on them will mainly fall the work of introducing improved looms and methods among the hand weavers. Though trades-unionism is undeveloped in India, the passive resistance of the weavers to any change is a serious factor which those experienced in the ways of the artisan will not lightly ignore. The part which Government should play in this movement is to supply the skilled technical knowledge required to devise the equipment and when that step has been taken to start demonstration factories and trade schools for the instruction of those who want to become foremen and master weavers.

Metal-Working.—The metal-workers of India are skilled craftsmen working with very crude and imperfect tools and possessing little or no technical knowledge. Some years ago aluminium was introduced into the metal-working class at the School of Arts at Madras and a large business created in hollow-ware made of that metal. This was eventually disposed of by sale to a private company, which still continues to deal exclusively in such goods. The processes of drawing and spinning were employed for the first time in Southern India and a large number of workmen trained ; unfortunately the factory is now a purely private concern and has little influence on the practices of the artisans outside. The teaching of metal-working processes can only be done in a factory and anything similar to the aluminium venture is not likely to be attempted again in view of the opposition which is aroused when any State or State-aided institution adopts commercial methods for the disposal of the finished products which must be made to furnish sufficient opportunity for the acquisition of skill and experience. Glass, earthenware, and enamelled iron-ware have made serious inroads in the trade of the brass and copper workers and there is but little hope that the loss can be made good. The increasing wealth of the country to some extent counteracts the tendency to introduce cheap substitutes for the ancient metal wares ; this tendency might be greatly assisted if the metal-workers were taught to turn out lighter and better finished work. That this could be done there is no doubt and a trade school in one of the big metal-work centres, with a staff of competent teachers in each branch of the trade, is the only way in which the desired end can be attained. The workshops should be furnished with good tools and the metal-workers encouraged to come and use them for their own work. Gradually they would discover the value of such appliances and it would not be long before they found a way of getting them for themselves. Very small factories are already common in the trade and the lines along which development will naturally take place are clearly indicated.

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Artistic Handicrafts.—The art industries of India have declined chiefly because the wealthy Indian patrons have disappeared and all that is wanted to revive them is an appreciative market. There are signs that the frequent exhibitions now held in various parts of India have done something to create a new interest in these old arts and it is probable that the Swadeshi movement has strengthened it. In Madras, the Victoria Memorial has taken the form of a hall in which a permanent exhibition of the art handicrafts of the Presidency are exhibited. A large fund is available for the purchase of good specimens of the various crafts; when these are sold new commissions are given and a much-needed stimulus to the production of only the best work provided. It is too early to say what the ultimate result of this novel method of dealing with the decadence will be, as it has not yet developed to its full extent; there is justification for the hope that it will be a success. The collections are steadily increasing in size and in artistic merit and attract purchasers, who will buy a thing they can see and admire but who formerly would not give orders because there was no certainty either as to the date on which they would be completed or as to the quality of the work put into them.

Tools and Machinery.—The manufacturing engineers and mechanicians have devoted themselves mainly to the design and production of machinery as automatic as possible in its action and with as large an out-turn as possible. The tendency has encouraged industrial concentration. In India all work is done by manual labour or with the assistance of cattle; water power is only available and to but a limited extent in the hills; wind power has never been used, as over the greater part of the country the energy of the winds is too slight and of too variable a character to be of any value. The oil engine, when of small size, is much more economical than a steam engine of the same size; it costs less and is much simpler to look after. For these reasons it has to some extent come into use in India and will probably be very largely used in the future. The ideal engine would be a small gas engine working with gas made from wood. Already engines of about twenty horse-power with suction gas producers using charcoal are employed; something much smaller than this is wanted and if wood can be substituted for charcoal it will greatly reduce the working expenses. Already there are hundreds of oil engines in use and there will, in course of time, be many thousands. There is therefore a fair inducement to engineers to study Indian requirements, as every improvement will extend the range of their employment. It is the very rapid progress that has been made with internal combustion engines that has raised hopes that India may gradually acquire an industrial system based on small units of production and that is all the more likely to come about if the attention of the engineering world is drawn to this fact. Each industry and every branch of it should be the subject of investigation to ascertain the lines along which motive power may with advantage be introduced. The water-lifting question has already been discussed and need not be further alluded to. This is the largest field for the immediate application of power but there are several others of great importance which have been opened out, in which a great deal more could be done

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if the machinery on the market were better adapted to the work to be carried out.

(1) *Sugar Mills*.—For the crushing of sugar-cane, rolls 9 in. x 18 in. are now in use in several places and are driven by oil engines. The results are very satisfactory where there is a sufficient area of cane in the immediate neighbourhood of the mill to keep it at work throughout the season. About 100 acres of cane could be dealt with by a single mill of this size; as no such area is grown by a single ryot, co-operative working is the only way out of the difficulty. Growing sugar is a very profitable operation but it requires capital and is subject to risks. Heavy manuring is a necessity and with cattle-driven mills the crushing of the canes is a long and tedious operation. Consequently, ryots usually only grow a small patch of cane. The extended use of artificial manures and of power-driven mills would probably result in a very considerable increase in the production of sugar.

(2) *Oil Mills*.—Oil is usually extracted in wooden rotary mills, of a very primitive type worked by cattle, or in large screw presses worked by men. Both systems are naturally expensive; attempts have been and are still being made to apply oil engines to do the work. The mill or press has yet to be designed which will displace those now in use. The home consumption of oil in India is very considerable and it only requires the application of some of the ingenuity which has been devoted to large extraction plants to the production of a small plant which can be driven by a small engine to effect a considerable saving in the cost of producing a prime necessity of life. Oil seeds are very widely grown and as the primitive methods of extraction easily hold their own against the big mills, the improvement of the small mills and the substitution of oil engines for animal power in driving them is obviously the direction in which to work. If the problem be solved, the demand for such mills will be very large, as the labour costs are now very heavy and for years past have been steadily rising.

(3) *Rice-Hulling Machines*.—Almost all the rice consumed in India is still cleaned by hand, only that portion of the crop which is exported being treated in mills driven by power. There are a number of rice-hullers on the market, but those that are satisfactory are too large to suit the restricted scale on which village rice merchants deal, and a really good huller that would not require more than four or five horse-power to drive it would be in good demand. Many ryots who have an engine and pump would like to employ the engine to drive either an oil mill or a rice-huller when there is no necessity to lift water for irrigation.

(4) *Saw Mills*.—There are but few steam saw mills in the country, nearly all the timber being reduced to scantlings by hand-cutting. Not only is the cost of labour for such work high but there is also a considerable waste of wood, owing to the irregularity of hand-sawing. Circular saws or large band saws require too much power but a simple type of frame saw, with a single blade, can be constructed to do a great variety of work and take not more than three or four horse-power. There is sufficient work for a plant on this scale in almost every town in the country and it only requires that the advantages to be obtained from their employment should be demonstrated for a demand for them to spring up.

(5). *Fibre-Cleaning Machinery*.—The cost of extracting fibres, even with the cheap labour available for such work, is very high and improvements in the machines already in existence are urgently called for, especially for aloe and plantain fibres. These machines should be of small capacity, as the quantity of raw material from which the fibre is extracted is not usually very large in any one place and the cost of carting it from a distance is prohibitive.

It is not necessary to give further examples of the opportunities for the display of mechanical ingenuity in meeting the requirements of the people of India. The object of this paper will be to a large extent gained if attention be directed by it to the field which is open to original workers ; further inquiry will probably reveal a large number of instances in which a comparatively small amount of capital expended on tools and plant would greatly increase the efficiency of Indian labour. At the outset, progress will be slow, chiefly because of the difficulty of bringing the men with sufficient inventive skill into touch with the rural communities whose wants have to be studied. India now requires the services of many industrial experts and it should be recognised that adequate rewards must be offered to those who will take up Indian industrial problems. In technical colleges, in trade schools and in demonstration workshops, the science and engineering skill of the West must be applied to the peculiar industrial problems which call for solution.

Scientific research having no other object than that of enlarging the bounds of human knowledge is a luxury which India cannot at present afford to indulge in, nor does it greatly attract the Indian mind. Scientific methods have first to be taught in the country and applied to the practical problem of raising the industrial status of the people. This work affords as much opportunity for the exercise of intellectual attainments as will be found in any laboratory and it is that to which men in the service of India must devote themselves if they are to render her real assistance. (Mr. Alfred Chatterton in *Science Progress*)

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD'S IMPRESSIONS

I. AT LAHORE

A thing one very quickly learns in India is to take it in bits. The political movement in Bengal, Bombay, and the Punjab presents differences of method and outlook which must influence conclusions about Indian nationalism—a subject of particular interest at the present moment.

Lahore is the capital of the Punjab, and the centre of its political activities. Here one meets amongst leaders Lajpat Rai, and amongst organisations the Arya Samaj. Moreover, as in the Punjab the Hindu and the Mahomedan practically balance each other ; it is in the Punjab that one can best understand the difficulties which must beset a Nationalist movement in India. When one has gone round the Arya Samaj school and college in the morning, under the guidance of the Samaj leaders, interviewed the reception committee of the Indian National Congress in the afternoon, dined with the Moslem League in the evening, and filled in the interstices with interviews with British officials, one

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begins to understand the intricacy of Lahore—e. g., Punjab—politics.

A PERSECUTED SOCIETY

The centre and source of Punjab activities is the Arya Samaj, and its propaganda must be first of all understood. By the Anglo-Indian officials it is regarded as a political body—as a society which has some occult creeds, and which pursues its way under cloaks of deceit. Commissioners and deputy commissioners, district magistrates, collectors, and policemen regard the Arya as a seditious organisation, and indictments have been known to be made against men solely on the ground that they belonged to this society, and they have been bound over to keep the peace because they were found preaching its doctrines. The Arya has therefore come to consider itself persecuted ; it is glorifying in the fact ; it records its tribulations with flourishes of trumpets in every issue of its official organ ; it appeals for support for its members when they are arrested—and the Punjab officials play in the most innocent way into its hands.

The Arya Samaj is purely a religious society, and was founded to carry on the teachings of Swami Dayanand Sarasvati, one of the many holy men who arise in the course of a generation in Hindu religious life. Born in 1824, the Swami died in 1883. In a sentence or two his teaching was directed towards bringing Hindu religion back to the purity of the Vedas. The worship of idols had deteriorated the Hindu and had led to all manner of social evils. The rule of caste should be broken ; early marriages should be ended ; education in accordance with classical Hindu methods should be given to the people. In this there was nothing new. It was one part of that characteristic revival of the ancient ways which is going on in India to-day. India is returning to herself through the pathway of the West.

But the Swami inculcated a spirit as well as a doctrine. Part of his revelation was that the Aryan was the chosen people, the Vedas the chosen gospel, India the chosen land. Austere, independent, dogmatic, and puritanical was his character, and he imparted those qualities to his followers. You meet them, therefore, to-day in Lahore, their capital city, down and determined, ready to sacrifice and be sacrificed, propagandists of an accomplished order. They are opposed to the Mohammedans, they are opposed to the Christians ; they attack both. They ask no favours from the Government, they do nothing about the verandahs of commissioners. Their one thought is to convert India to their views.

THE ARYA MOVEMENT

With this main purpose in view, they have studied the methods of other propagandists. What have the Christians done ? Established schools and orphanages. The Arya determined to do the same. What has the Government done ? Established famine relief schemes, promoted education, and so on. The Arya promotes famine and other charitable relief, and is working out its own educational theories. But its greatest asset is the spirit of its members. It is not always lovely and attractive. It is perhaps hard and bigoted. But it is self-sacrificing, and when embodied in such men as Lala Hans Raj, the ascetic principal of the Arya College, it flinches at the obstacle.

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Now, this is exactly the kind of movement which the ordinary British official in India cannot understand. He suspects it. It seems a menace to him. He reads all sorts of occult meaning into its teachings and its actions. Hated by the Mahommedans and the Christians alike, the Anglo-Indian calls it seditious and persecutes its members. It thus is enabled to pose before the people as the body specially selected by the governing authority for punishment, with the result that the wrath of magistrates does it more good than the excellence of its own propaganda.

As illustrations of the boggy character of the Arya, I may cite two things. I was told by a British official that in a hidden corner of the grounds of the Arya College there was a place where the students were taught wrestling—in view of eventualities—but that I should not be shown that. When we were walking round the grounds, accompanied by the Arya Samaj Committee, a sand-patch, which I had not noticed to be of any importance, was pointed out to me. They laughed merrily. "This," the chairman said, "is where we secretly teach our seditious students to wrestle." It was nothing but what one sees in nearly every village, for wrestling is a very old Indian sport. If, for instance, the tourist who finds his way to the show city of Fatepur Sikri would turn down to the left from the Akbar entrance-gate to where the hand carpet-weavers work, he will find the little square of well-troddens and where the youths keep this exercise.

OFFICIALISM AND ITS ERRORS

The second matter is regarding the Gurukul. This is a school in which a section of the Aryas started to revive Indian education on the most extreme traditional lines. The pupils are taught the virtues and practices of an asceticism which few in India practise to-day. Next year, when the first batch of boys leaves, I was told that yellow robed sedition-mongers would be available to roam over the country, nominally as Arya propagandists. When I obtained the real facts, they were that two brothers alone leave next year, and that the present intention of their parents is to send them to England. I refer to these two things, not merely because they are whispered about in India, but because they have figured in Indian controversies at home.

In brief: the Arya Samaj is a religious organisation, Indian in its inspiration. It proclaims one God; it is at war with superstition; it is winning back to Hinduism men who had been converted to Mahommedanism and Christianity. It also opposes the quiescent modes of worship, and imposes the test of conduct upon its professed followers. If the Government would only let it alone it would soon reach its proper place in Indian life. At present the Government is endowing it with fictitious power by persecuting its members.

II. THE KHYBER AND THE PATHAN

The Pathan lives in the hills between India and Afghanistan, and is a delightful fellow. He has no bows and salaams. He looks you in the face as one gentleman looks another, and is as interested in you as you are in him. His smile is perfect; his face is as handsome as a woman's. The fact that he is likely to be

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shot one day by a neighbour, from behind a boulder, seems to raise his thoughts above the mundane affairs of life, and he swaggers along prepared to take pot luck when it comes. There has been nobody like him since the peace between England and Scotland was cemented and the Borderer and the High-lander both bade the world adieu. Even the blindest Anglo-Indian cannot despise him. He is a man and a brother amongst white men.

A BELIEVER IN RIFLES

He is a devout Mohammedan, and tolerates no new-fangled notions either in theology or in politics. He believes in rifles, and despises bombs. For the same reason he holds the Babu in contempt. He dearly loves a raid, and if caught red-handed he dies like a man. He has no affection for us, but he holds us in great respect. During one of our recent campaigns on the frontier, a Pathan company was blazing away at the enemy from the ancient rifles with which we have armed them, and with old-fashioned gunpowder. An English regiment with which the company was co-operating, assuming that whoever used black powder was the heathen, poured into their colleagues a hail of bullets. "This is too bad," remarked a Pathan to his officer. "We do not mind fighting the English if that was the game, but both the English and the others—that is not fair." That is the Pathan all over.

Four of them were sent out with us as an escort one day, and we fell a-talking. They told me of one of their comrades in arms who went to his village on a week-end leave of absence. During the two days he was away he had stormed and blown up a fort erected by one with whom he had a feud, killed two men, and burned a village. He turned up at the beginning of the week as though nothing had happened, and as the scene of the exploit was outside the British sphere of influence, there was no sequel so far as we were concerned. I asked one of them if he was the proud possessor of a blood feud. "No," he replied, "I live too near to the British border," but he looked like a child who has been asked if it has a six pence, and in replying that it has not, indicates, "But would I not like to have one!"

To get into the Pathan's mind one has to go up into the mountains of the frontier, where he lives. There every village is a fort. Strong mud walls surround it, and a citadel rises up in its midst. If it is in the neighbourhood of a stream or of a neutral road, like the Khyber, there will likely be a trench dug down to the stream or the road for purposes of protection. In some cases the trench may be a tunnel for extra safety. Over the villages tower the hills, bare rocks glittering in the sun, and fiercely hot like ovens. On little plateaux, or at the bottom of river beds, small fields of maize and other grain may be seen, and on the bare mountain sides or in the dusty channels that are water-courses in the rains the village flocks of goats find something to eat.

HIS DOMESTIC SIDE

The domestic side of the Pathan is seen in the Khyber. The Khyber road itself is sacred against him. He can walk on it, but he may not fight on it. If he meet his enemy there, both are in sanctuary and greet each other like Christians. A murder on this road is an offence against the British Government, and would be punished. Thus law and order runs in a channel through the country towards Kabul.

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True, the law-and-order still needs the support of the rifle, but not so much as it used to do. On Tuesdays and Fridays the British Government sends an escort of troops up the Pass to protect caravans going between India and Afghanistan, and a special force called the Khyber Rifles has been enrolled for that purpose. Therefore, on those days, and on special occasions when necessary, a cavalcade starts from the Jamrud Fort, on the Indian side of the Pass. Hundreds of camels and scores of donkeys and buffaloes, laden with everything, from grand pianos to scrap-iron, fall into line. The march to Kabul begins. The dusty-red road ascends and becomes steely-grey in colour. The mountains close in. With rifles slung across their backs, the hillmen appear tending their flocks or whacking their donkeys, or wandering aimlessly about, thinking perhaps of the good old times when caravans gave sport and an ampler living. Silhouetted against the sky on every hill-top two or three guards are seen keeping watch, and forts are frequently passed. As the road winds in its ascent, magnificent views of the great Indus Plain open out below, with Peshawar in the far distance.

But they say that the escorts now are but ceremonies in which the realities of past times survive. We went through with four men whereas, we were told by one of them, a hundred would not have been sufficient a few years ago. And yet one never knows. I doubt if we have heard the last of these Dougal Dalgettys of the border. Gun-running from Muscat has become a great trade—we were told of one tribal family that was trying to raise enough wind to buy a cannon; and the hillmen are better armed than our own native levies. It is said that the tribes are getting restive in parts, and I have been told tales of religious societies and mullahs—most of them probably baseless.

"ENJOYING HIMSELF"

Of this, however, we may be certain. The Pathan is not in the least afraid of us. He is prepared to play at targets with us or with anybody else if the spirit moves him. And the spirit can easily move him. It is said that he has been following with much head-shaking recent events in Turkey, for unlike the younger Moham-medans of the plains below, he has his doubts about recent events in the world of Islam. Moreover, we have driven him up into the hills and have confined him too much. Life becomes harder for him, time now flows slowly and inertly through his sand-glass. The call to action would find him quite willing, and he would have no thought of what the consequences would be. It would be the will of the Lord. It would be the fate of man. It would be the event fore-ordained since the beginning of the world. And the Pathan for a few brief weeks would take his rifle off his back, and the hills would echo and re-echo the crack of guns and the cries of fighting-men. The Pathan would be enjoying himself.

III. THE GENIUS OF BENGAL

On the outskirts tall chimneys belch out black smoke; the river is crowded with craft; the streets are choked with traffic. Proud men come with figures of prosperity to lay before you, with

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plans of dock extension to explain to you, with projects of improvement with which to entice you. This is a new world. I keep asking myself constantly, "Am I still in India?" The impact of impressions both on mind and eye is of a new kind. I am breathing a new atmosphere. Here there is life and aggressive effort. This is Bengal.

From the moment I set foot in India the winds have been whispering to me, "Beware of the Babu! Beware of Bengal." And here I am passing under the spell of both.

THE BABU AND THE BRITISHER

The Babu is very irritating to the British official. For the Babu is clever, he is persistent, he has absorbed Western knowledge, he is discontented as a degraded subordinate, and he is consequently impertinent at times. He is said to be corrupt, to have no sense of honour, to be a coward. He has inherited the wrath of Macaulay. The gulf between the Babu and the Britisher in Calcutta is deep and wide, and officials of great experience told me it was not being filled up. I do not think it is likely to be, and the reason is not far to seek.

The Bengalee inspires the Indian Nationalist movement. In Bombay the Nationalist is a Liberal politician, a reformer who takes what he can get and makes the best use of it. In the Punjab he is a dour, unimaginative person who shows a tendency to work in a lonely furrow. In Bengal he is a person of lively imagination who thinks of India, and whose nationalism finds expression, not only in politics, but in every form of intellectual activity. Indeed, I have not taken away with me a very favourable impression of Bengal politics. There are no good political leaders there. They have excellent speakers and eloquent writers, but none of their prominent men seem to have that heaven-given capacity to lead. They are magnificent agitators (I use the word in no uncomplimentary sense). They can prepare men to be led, but no shepherd there steps forward to pipe the flocks to the green pasture.

But Bengal is perhaps doing better than political agitation. It is idealising India. It is translating nationalism into religion, into music and poetry, into painting and literature. I called on one whose name is on every lip as a wild extremist who toys with bombs and across whose path the shadow of the hangman falls. He sat under a printed text: "I will go on in the strength of the Lord God"; he talked of the things which trouble the soul of man; he wandered aimlessly into the dim regions of aspiration where the mind finds a soothing resting-place. He was far more of a mystic than of a politician. He saw India seated on a temple throne. But how it was to arise, what the next step was to be, what the morrow of independence was to bring—to these things he had given little thought.

A LITERARY AND ARTISTIC REVIVAL

Another whom I visited in an old crumbling place of many rooms, where a joint family dwelt in ancient careless style, began by blessing me in the name of his gods, by telling me about his brother who had withdrawn from the world and who is in sorrow because the plaintive voice of India will intrude upon his meditations, and by informing me about their common family worship. I asked for books and pamphlets published by him, and he brought

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me the lives of saints and meditations on the Infinite. He told me that he longed to leave the things that are seen and distract, and plunge into that ocean of contemplation where men here seek to find oblivion. He edits one of the most detested Bengal papers. From Bengal gush innumerable freshets of religion, all flowing to revive and invigorate the Nationalist spirit.

A literary revival makes for the same end. It is still crude, particularly in its romance, but it is groping after Hindu realism. It is written in Bengalee in the same aggressive way that some of our Irish friends are trying to revive the use of Erse. It is not so good as the Bengalee literature of last generation, when Chandra Chatterjee was writing his "Anandamath" and Taraknath Ganguli his "Svarnalata." But its intention and spirit are quite clear.

So also in music, poetry and the fine arts. The last, glowing with nationalist spirit, has been revived by Tagore and some of his pupils. The former enjoys already a vigorous popular life. They brought us out on the river on Sunday, and sang to us—"Bande Mataram" amongst other things. Their "Marseillaise" and their "Carmagnole" are hymns thanking God for endowing life with beauty, are invocations to India, their mother, full of yearning endearments. They sang from well-thumbed copies of a collection of hymns written by Tagore, the poet, and the music, much of it new, and all so unlike our own, clung round our hearts and stole again and again all that day into our ears.

When we were still in the North-West we were told of this incident. A concert was held one evening at one of the orphan schools controlled by a missionary society in the Punjab, the boys themselves doing the entertaining. The Punjabees sang their rather monotonous and common popular songs, but one lad singing in an unknown tongue swept the auditors off their legs by the vim of his style and the enchantment of his music. He had been picked up on the Calcutta streets, and he was singing some of the Bengalee national hymns.

INDIA IN SONG AND WORSHIP

That is what Bengal is doing for the National movement. It is creating India by song and worship, it is clothing her in queenly garments. Its politics must be for some time an uncertain mingling of extremist impossibilism and moderate opportunism. It is romantic, whilst the Punjab is dogmatic. Whether the story be true or not, I was told that the political dacoits of Bengal took their inspiration and guidance from Chatterjee's novel, the "Anandamath," with its heroic "Children" lodging in dark woods and marshalled to fight for their Mother, India, by monkish warriors. Bengal will brood for long over the bereavement to its heart caused by the Partition; it will cling fondly to Swadeshi; on the shores of its enthusiasm it will throw up the bomb-thrower as a troubled sea throws up foam; and from this surging of prayer and song and political strife will come India—if India ever does come.

Later on I sat at the table of the Great Official, and, in bad temper and rude manner, he demanded of me to tell him where I had been and whom I had seen, and of what I was thinking. I told him of the hymns and the pictures and the prayers. And he laughed a great rude Western laugh and explained things by reasons made up of blind Western superficialities. He knew nothing about the pictures; the hymns were a mixture of double meaning

THE PROBLEM FACING US

and sedition to him. Each sentence ended with the authoritative, "I know." But I have heard the children sing, and the women talk, and the men join in with both. And I think I know.

IV. THE PROBLEM FACING US

The strength of India is her impassivity. Raids and conquests and revolutions have passed over her, and she has hardly altered.

The stranger to-day may be deluded by the Western aspect of Calcutta, by the smoking chimneys of Bombay, and by the busy harbours of both, into a belief that he is seeing a new India at last arise—an India of the West ; but I have a suspicion that when the new India comes it will be wonderfully like the old. The factory has come to stay, the agricultural community may pass away, a proletarian class of landless wage-earners will remain herself.

In all her activities, she is going back upon her old self. When the Indian youth three-quarters of a century ago was allured by Western culture, he prided himself on being a child of the French Revolution. He got drunk to show that he was emancipated ; he danced before his elders in the streets, and shouted, "I eat meat," to show that he was a Western. He quoted Hume, and criticised his gods. When he retained religious beliefs, he either became a christian or adopted an eclectic kind of Hinduism more Western than Indian.

All that is changed. We rejected him from our Western circles ; we cursed him for his impudence ; we laughed at him for his silliness ; we threw him back upon himself. To-day he is returning to his own sources of being. His religious revivals are revivals of his old faith. He is returning to the Vedas, to the Gita, to his gurus. Indian history, Indian science, Indian art, Indian philosophy, Indian craftsmanship—these he is pursuing in order to realise himself.

COUNTRY OF CONTRADICTIONS

He finds the largest measure of rapture in contemplating India as his mother goddess. His *Bande Mataram* is no mere poetic expression to him. It is literally true that India is his mother. The Western mind cannot grasp this. But if you are fortunate enough to get some Nationalist enthusiast to pour out his faith to you, you get a glimmering of light upon this point. India is the outward sign and embodiment of his faith. She is the object of the lavish affection of his gods ; she is the culture, the religion, the civilisation of the Indian. No one can understand the meaning and the force of the Nationalist movement unless and until he has gained a conception of the land as the deified Mother Land.

The next thing which the stranger discovers is that Indians—at any rate, Hindus, and not a few Mohammedans—always think of India as a whole. In spite of her sixty or seventy languages and many more dialects, in spite of her different races and castes, in spite of her great distances, she is always thought of as a whole, including Ceylon. In her legends, the councils of her gods ruled the whole land south of the great mountains, her pilgrims wandered to her shrines from all her corners. The Hindu of the north, whose world

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is bounded by his fields, as a devout man repeats the prayer, "Hail ! O, ye Ganges, Jamna, Godavari, Sarasvati, Narmada, Sindu and Kaveri, come, approach these waters." This sense of unity in the heart of the Hindu is a greater binding force than the separatist force of the differences in social status, caste and religion.

Thus it is that the Nationalist movement to-day is essentially a religious movement. The Gita—the Hindu Gospel according to St. John—plays as great a part in the extremist political movement in India as the Psalms played in the Puritan movement. Thus we discover that India is more self-conscious to-day than ever she has been under our rule. She is not apologising for herself ; she is glorying in herself. She is, so to speak, arraying herself once more in the feasts, the offerings, the festivals, and the ceremonies which she laid aside shamefacedly when the Western movement was upon her, and was telling her credulous ear that she was heathen and barbaric.

NOT IN SPIRITUAL SUBJECTION

But this awakened India has been by no means uninfluenced by the West. India is full of contradictions. The *pons asinorum* of Indian politics is to discover the unity consistent with the contradictions. The West has broken India's bonds of social bondage, and has taught her something of individual equality and freedom. It has put a disturbing and agitating element into her mass. That element is neither purely Eastern nor purely Western. It is, at present, an unhappy blending of both, and is mainly composed of the men we have been educating in our ways, and whom we have told that there is now no place in the world for them. The educated minority which is giving so much trouble to our officials are goaded on by economic poverty, by unfulfilled political desire, by pride in their own race, and by resentment at their exclusion from Anglo-Indian society.

Consequently, two things appear to me to be as plain as noonday. The first is that the soul and genius of India is putting itself in opposition to us ; the second is that we are trying to run away from the consequences of our own educational policy and political teaching. As governors of an oriental country we have not the "personality" to keep it in spiritual subjection nor have we the courage to allow it to develop on our own political line. Two qualities in the ruling race will keep India subject—spiritual power and rational consistence. We have neither ; therefore our path is to be strewn with thorns.

One of the difficulties of the situation is that the Indian himself now lacks the governing capacity. He writes well, he speaks well, he argues well—when he is having it his own way. There are exceptions to this reservation—as every body knows who remembers Mr. Bannerji's courageous and effective attack upon Lord Cromer at the Imperial Journalists' Conference last year. But speaking generally, the fault of the Indian is the fault of every people that has been subject for generations. He cannot stand up in the presence of the conqueror and speak plainly to his face.

PRELIMINARY TO PEACE

And with this, there is another circumstance which is of great political importance. The mass mind of India is perhaps the most credulous of mankind. It moves as the waters move under

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the moon. It swells with expectation. Every year it hails some Messiah. It does not seem to be a thing floating in the air, swaying obedient to every breath. And it is subtle withal. We think of it as moved by gossip, by mysterious intercommunings, by a baffling system of freemasonry.

The official policy adapted to this situation is undoubtedly one aimed at keeping the people apart, and so the distinctions between Hindu and Mohammedan are made the most of. For the rest, repression is the order of the day. The Indian is an exaggerator by nature. He thinks in terms of the absolute; he speaks and writes in the same terms.

Our Press Laws and Seditious Meetings Acts can therefore always be defended by inelegant extracts from speeches and newspaper comments, and every time we put the screw on we only succeed in solidifying the opposition to our rule. For the time we create silence, but we remove none of the resentment; we only bank it up.

Thus it is that whoever goes with a fresh and independent mind to India—a mind which is at the disposal of neither the officials nor the National Congress—is struck first of all with Indian differences—differences between caste and creed, differences between the Oriental and the Occidental—and proceeds through many experiences to discover unity in Indian national life and similarity between Indian problems and our own.

Hence the preliminary to an Indian peace is a recognition of the fact that the great political problems of India come from the West and from Western culture which might have been withheld but not having been withheld has produced consequences which must be faced—and that the type of official we now require is that bred and trained in Parliamentary methods. If we could persuade the Civil Service of India that it is greater to be a Prime Minister of the British kind than an Akbar or a Grand Mogul, all would soon be well. India cries aloud for statesmanship, not for force and repressive edicts.

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STRANGE SIGNIFICANCES

The significance of certain symbols in embroideries, carpets, prints of sorts, in designs engraved in wood, embossed on metal work, or painted "paper mache" work is a fascinating study in India. Collectors of Indian curios always seem to be anxious to get the symbolic meaning of these designs. Sir Herbert Risley's Ethnographic office was asked to supply information for an American savant. We quote a few selections for our readers :—

Beetle.—Wings of the gold beetles are used in decorating peacock-feather fans and "morchels" or royal flyflaps—symbols of Royalty.

As blue beetle (Sanskrit "madhup") it represents one that lives on honey, and is portrayed near the face of the young lady whose "lotus like" face it is supposed to have mistaken for that flower. (Vide Kalidas's *Sakuntala*).

Bird.—Simple bird would not signify anything, but a parrot is a messenger of love, a sparrow indicates bumper crop, cranes

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symbolize cunning, vultures show death, eagles indicate royalty, an owl is the charger of Laxmi, the goddess of Wealth in Bengal, but is inauspicious in Western India, peacocks represent royalty, swans are the chargers of Brahma, crows are inauspicious among Hindus, but auspicious among Moslems, crow-pheasants are auspicious and so is the "chas, *Coracius indica*," the Indian Roller bird.

Boar.—A boar with a ball on its right tusk represents Vishnu, the Protector in his third incarnation when he lifted up and saved the Earth from being engulfed by the great flood (the deluge).

Circle.—Means a zero and is considered inauspicious. One of the Maharajas of India returned a costly landau to the British manufacturer because it had circles of embroidered tape on its cushions.

Cobra.—Cobra alone is inauspicious because it reminds one of death. But cobra as "shesha," on whose coils sleeps Lord Vishnu with his consort Laxmi, the goddess of Wealth, seated near him is very auspicious. Cobra round the waist of Ganesh, the god of success, is also auspicious and so it is round the neck of his father, Shiva.

Crane.—The Indian crane is the symbol of a rogue, a cheat, a false devotee, a religious hypocrite. Crane-like ("baka") means hypocrisy. A poet addressing a crane says :—

"You stand on one leg like a devotee performing austerities, but you can only cheat senseless fishes ; your hypocrisy is well known to the learned, they are aware of it."

Crescent.—Crescent signifies descent in the lunar line of Kings of the warrior race (Kshatriya), or it indicates Mahomedan faith. When in tattoo marks it is associated with a little star below it, it means the devoted love of "Rohini" (Venus) to the Moon (who is masculine in Indian mythology).

Crocodile.—Is the charger on which the sacred river Ganges (personified) rides. It is her charger, when therefore drawn with a female figure seated on it, it signifies the Goddess Ganga (Ganges). When drawn as holding an elephant in its tremendous jaws it shows distress and tenacity, as a story goes in the *Mahabharat* that an elephant was once caught by a crocodile. God Vishnu alone could separate the combatants by sending them both to heaven.

Crow.—Is an evil foreboder among Hindus and a good omen among Mohamedans. A Minister of Hyderabad, it is said, always looked at a crow the first thing in the morning and that one of his attendants was told off to stand with a crow in a cage facing his window.

Deer.—A doe is symbolical of love towards animals because of its association with Shakuntala in the *Lost Ring*—a very popular drama by Kalidas.

Dragon.—In India indicates death.

Eagle.—*Gurud*, the eagle of Heaven, is the charger of Vishnu and the destroyer of venomous snakes. It was embossed on the coins of the Imperial House of the Guptas—known as *Garud-dhvaja* (lit. one who has the Eagle on his banner). The Kshatrias of the Punjab feed it on the Shradh-day when they perform the obsequies of their parents.

Egg.—An egg with the figure of a babe inside it indicates the universe. (*Brahmanda*.)

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Elephant—Is a sign of Royalty in India, as Kings possess them. Two elephants facing each other and holding jugs of water over a female figure represent Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, but an elephant being dragged by a crocodile shows one in great distress but tenacious. A white elephant is a symbol of the Burmese King. An elephant with six snouts shows Buddha in one of his former births and one with seven snouts represents the charger of Indra, the God of Heaven.

Hound.—Dogs are shown only in company of Martand, the Sun-God (compare Canis). With Trimurti where they represent the "vedas" are always four in number (one of them is a grey hound).

Lion.—Is the king of the forests. A lion's figure on the handles of a chair indicates that it is a throne. A throne is called *Simhasan* (literally lion-seat). It is also the charger of the goddess Durga.

Lizard.—Is inauspicious.

Lotus.—Is the symbol of Lakshmi, the goddess of Wealth. It is the national flower of India just as the rose is of England, the thistle of Scotland or shamrock leaves of Ireland.

Owl.—An owl in Bengal is considered auspicious because there it is the charger of Laxmi, the goddess of Wealth, but in Western India it is considered an ominous bird.

Ox.—Or bull is the charger of Shiva. The sacred nature of the humped bull is well known in India.

Stork—(the Indian heron) has been associated with cunning and deceit. It is said that it stands on one leg like an Indian ascetic as if it has been performing severe austerities, but as soon as a fish comes within reach it pounces on it and devours it. People who assume the garb of religious men and cheat others are called "bak" (storks, herons).

PREHISTORIC RACES OF INDIA

Speaking before the last annual meeting of the British Association on the pre-historic races of India, Mr. W. Crooke said that the materials collected by field workers in various regions of the world, and popular accounts of savage religions, customs, and folk-lore continued to arrive in such increasing numbers that the need of a central bureau for the classification of this mass of facts had become increasingly apparent. It was true that they had suffered a set-back, it was to be hoped only temporary in the rejection of an appeal made to the Prime Minister for a grant-in-aid of the Royal Anthropological Institute. But if they persisted in urging their claims to official support the establishment of an Imperial Bureau of Ethnology could not be long deferred. Much of the work in India, the Dominions, and other parts of the Empire had been done by amateurs, that was to say, by officers in the service of the Crown, missionaries, or planters, who understood the languages, manners, and prejudices of the people, but had not received the advantage of scientific training. Some of this work was in its kind useful; but there seemed reason to believe that inquiries conducted by this agency had almost reached their limit. Having then practically exhausted their present

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agency it was incumbent upon them to press upon the Governments throughout the Empire the necessity of entrusting the supervision of ethnographical surveys to specialists. This principle had been recognised in the case of botany, geology, and archæology ; and it was high time that it was extended to anthropology. It was the possession of such a trained staff that had enabled the American Government to carry out with success a survey of the natives of the Philippine Islands ; and it was gratifying to record that the Canadian Legislature, in response to resolutions adopted by this section at the Winnipeg meeting, had recently voted funds to provide the salary of a superintendent of the Ethnological Survey. They might confidently expect that other Governments throughout the Empire would soon follow this laudable example. No time was to be lost, because the tragedy of the extinction of the savage was approaching the final act, and their grand-children would search for him in vain, except perhaps in the slums of our greater cities.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS IN INDIA

Assuming then that in the near future anthropological inquiries would be organized on practical lines, he invited attention to some special problems in India which deserved intensive study, and which could be solved in no other way. The first question which awaited examination was that of the prehistoric races and their relation to the present population. Unfortunately the materials for this inquiry were still imperfect. They could realize what the position of prehistoric archæology in Europe would be if the series of palæolithic barrows, the bone carvings of the cave-dwellers, the relics from kitchen-middens and lake dwellings were absent. The caves of Central India, it was true, had supplied stone implements and some rude rock paintings. But the secrets of successive horde of invaders from the north, their forts and dwellings, lay deep in the alluvium, or were still covered by shapeless mounds. Tropical heat and torrential rain, the ravages of treasure-hunters, and the practice of cremation had destroyed much of the remains of the dead. The epigraphical evidence was enormously later in date than that from Babylon, Assyria, or Egypt ; and the Oriental indifference to the past and the growth of a sacred literature written to subserve the interests of a priestly class weakened the value of the historical record.

Further, India possessed as yet no seriation of ceramic types such as that devised by Professor Flinders Petrie which had enabled him to arrange the Egyptian tombs on scientific principles ; or that which Professor Oscar Montelius had established for the remains of the Bronze Age. Mr. Marshall, the Director of the Archæological Survey, admitted that the Indian museums contained few specimens of metal work the age of which was even approximately known.

Though the record of the prehistoric culture was imperfect, they could roughly define its successive stages.

PALÆOLITHIC MAN

The palæolithic implements found in the laterite deposits belonged to the later Pleistocene period, and displayed a technique similar to that of the river-drift series from Western Europe. The Eoliths, which had excited such acute controversy, had up to the

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present not been discovered ; and so far as was at present known, the palæolithic series from India appeared to be of later date than the European. Palæolithic man seemed to have occupied the eastern coast of the peninsula, whence he migrated inland, using in turn quartzose, chert, quartzite, limestone, or sandstone for his weapons : that is to say, he seemed not to have inhabited those districts which at a later time were seats of neolithic culture. Early man, according to what was perhaps the most reasonable theory, was first specialized in Malaysia, and his northwards route was marked by discoveries at Johore and other sites in that region. Thence he possibly passed into India. The other view represented palæolithic man as an immigrant from Europe. At any rate, his occupation of parts of Southern India was antecedent to the action of those forces which produced its present form ere the great rivers had excavated their present channels, and prior to the deposition of the masses of alluvium and gravel which covered the implements which were the only evidence of his existence. Between the palæolithic and the neolithic races there was a great geological and culture gap ; and no attempt to bridge it had been made except by the suggestion that the missing links might be found in the cave deposits when they underwent examination.

There was reason, however, to believe that the neolithic and the Iron Age cultures were continuous, and that an important element in the present population survived from the neolithic period. Relics of the neolithic were much more widely spread than those of the palæolithic age. They extended all over Southern India, the Deccan, and the central or Vindhyan range. Mr. Bruce Foote had discovered at various sites in the south factories of neolithic implements associated with wheel-made pottery of a fairly advanced type showing that the Stone Age had survived side by side with that of metal down to comparatively recent times.

THE ABSENCE OF A BRONZE AGE

There was no trustworthy evidence for the existence of an Age of Bronze. The single fine implement of this metal which had been discovered was probably, like the artistic vessels from the Nilgiri interments, of foreign origin ; and other implement of a less defined type seemed to be the result of imperfect metallurgy. The absence of Bronze Age in India had been explained by the scarcity of tin and the impossibility of procuring it from its chief source in the Malay-Burman region, where the mines did not seem to have been worked in ancient times. But another view deserved consideration. Professor Ridgeway had shown that all the sites where native iron was smelted were carboniferous *strata* and ironstone had been heated by eruptions of basalt ; and iron was thus produced by a natural reduction of the ore. In Africa as well as India the absence of the Bronze Age seemed to be due to the abundant supplies of iron ores which could be worked by processes simpler than those required in the case of bronze. In India iron might have been independently discovered towards the close of the neolithic period, and iron might have displaced copper without the intervention of bronze. However this might be, the Copper Age in India, which had been carefully studied by Mr. V. A. Smith, was of great importance. Implements of this metal in the form of flat and barcelts, swords, daggers, harpoon, spear, and arrow heads, with ornaments and a

strange figure probably human, had been found at numerous sites in Northern India. In Western Europe, according to Dr. Munro, the Copper Age was of short duration ; but Mr. Smith believed that in India the variety of types indicated a long period of development. No mention of iron occurred in the Rig-veda ; but it appeared in the Atharvan, which could not be dated much later than 1000 B. C. It was now recognized that there was a still obscure *stratum* of Babylonian influence underlying the Aryan culture ; and if, as was generally supposed, the manufacture of iron was established by the Chalybes at the head-waters of the Euphrates, who passed it down the delta, its use might have spread thence among the Indo-Aryans. It certainly appeared late in the South Indian dolmen period ; and they had the alternatives of believing that it was introduced there by the Dravidian trade with the Persian Gulf, which certainly arose before the seventh century before Christ, or that it was independently discovered by the Dravidians who still extracted it in a rude way from the native ores.

MODERN SUCCESSORS OF PRIMITIVE RACES

The question remained, to what races might they attribute these successive phases of culture in Southern India ? The most primitive type identifiable in the population of South India was the Negrito, which appeared among the vedas of Ceylon and among the Andamanes. The Negrito type deserved special examination in relation to the recent discovery of pygmies in New Guinea, and the monograph on the pygmy races in general by Dr. P. W. Schmidt, who regarded them as the most archaic human type, from which he supposed the more modern races were developed, not by a process of gradual evolution, but *per saltum*. If there were any force in these speculations, Dr. Schmidt was justified in expressing his conviction that the investigation of the pygmy races was, at the present moment, one of the weightiest and most urgent, if not the most weighty and most urgent, of the tasks of ethnological and anthropological science. This Negrito stock was followed and to a considerable extent absorbed by that which was usually designated the Dravidian.

THE ORIGIN OF CASTE

The second great problem was the origin and development of caste. They had yet to seek a definition which would cover the complex phases of this institution and effect a reconciliation between the views of Indian observers who traced it to the clash of races or colours, and that of the sociologists, who lay little stress on race or colour and relied more upon the influence of environment, physical or moral. They must abandon the insular method which treated it only in relation to India, and ignored the analogous grouping of rank and class which was prepotent in Western Europe and elsewhere and was now slowly losing ground in the face of industrial development. It was by the study of tribes which were on the border land of Hinduism that they must look for a solution of the problem. The conflict of the Aryan and aboriginal culture, on which the religious and social systems of Hinduism were based, was reproduced in the contact between modern Hinduism and the forest tribes. Since the Hindus were the only members of the Aryan stock among whom they found endogamous groups with exogamous sections the suggestion of

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Professor Frazer that they might have borrowed it from the non-Aryans gained probability. Again, when they spoke of the tribe in India, they must remember that it assumed at least seven racial types ranging from the elaborate exogamous groups of the Rajputs to the more archaic form characteristic of the Baloch and Pathan tribes of the western frontier, attached to which were alien sections affiliated by the obligation to join in the common blood-feud, which in process of time developed into a fiction of blood-brotherhood. Thus among the Marri of Baluchistan they could trace the course of evolution: admission to participate in the common blood-feud, admission to participation in a share of the tribal land, and finally admission to kinship in the tribe. This elasticity of structure had permitted not only the admission of non-Aryan tribes into the Rajput body in modern times, but prepared them to understand how the majority of the Rajputs were created by a similar process of fusion, the newcomers being known as the Gurjaras, who entered India in the train of the Huns in the fifth or sixth centuries of our era. The recognition of this fact, by far the most important contribution made in recent times to the ethnology of India, was due to a group of Bombay scholars, the late Mr. A. M. L. Jackson, whose untimely death at the hand of an assassin they deeply regretted, and the brothers Bhandarkar.

ETHNOGRAPHY AND MODERN SOCIAL PROBLEMS

At the present time it was incumbent upon them to preach, in season and out of season, that the information which ethnography was competent to supply was the true basis of administrative and social reform. If, for example, we were now in possession of the facts which an anthropometrical survey of our home population would supply, many of our social problems would assume a clearer aspect. Such, for instance, were the questions of degeneration due to slum life and malnutrition, the influence of alcoholism on industrial efficiency, the condition of dangerous and sweated industries, and that of the aliens settled in our midst.

This was more clearly the case in those regions where a large native population was controlled by a small European minority. The negro question in America taught us a useful lesson, applicable to native races in most parts of the Empire. In India, whenever the Government had made really serious mistakes, the failure had been due to ignorance or disregard of the beliefs or prejudices of the subject people. A little more than a century ago a mutiny of native troops at Vellore was due to injudicious attempts to change a form of head-dress which they believed to be a symbol of their religion or caste; ignorance of the condition of the Santals allowed them to be driven to frenzy by the extortions of money-lenders, which culminated in a serious outbreak; the greased cartridges of the Great Mutiny, and the revolt against measures, adopted in defiance of native feeling, to check the plague epidemic taught a similar lesson.

PRACTICAL USES OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Anthropology had thus a practical as well as a scientific side. Unfortunately the inadequate resources of the societies devoted to the study of man proved that the practical value of anthropology was as yet only imperfectly realized. If its progress was to be continuous they must convince the politician that it had an important

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part to play in the schemes in which he was interested. Thus it was certain that in the near future the relations between the foreigner and the native races would demand the increasing attention of statesmen at home and abroad. Here anthropology had a wide field of action in the examination of the causes which menaced the very existence of the savage ; of the condition of the mixed races, like the Creolo or the Eurasian ; of the relations of native law and custom to the higher jurisprudence ; and of the decay of primitive industries in the face of industrial competition. One of its chief tasks must be the examination of the physical and moral condition of the depressed classes of our home population, and the effect of modern systems of education on the mind and body of the child. It would thus be in a position to assist the servants of the State to meet the ever-increasing responsibilities imposed upon them ; and it would help to dispel the ignorance and misconceptions which prevailed even among the intelligent classes in this country in regard to the condition of the native races, who, by a strange decree of destiny, had been entrusted to their charge.

LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

In the October number of the *Imperial and Quarterly Review*, Mr. Forrest continues his article on the industrial development of India with reference to the future, and more especially in connexion with Mr. Spring's paper which he makes the basis of his criticism and observations.

Mr. Forrest has not confined himself solely to an examination of the industrial situation but has gone out of his way to discover defects in the system of Hindu education, society and religion. But none need fear or resent the verdict of a critic. Perhaps it may be urged that the writer has not mentioned those defects so much as to have a laugh at our expense as to draw the attention of his readers towards them from a sincere desire to have them remedied.

Mr. Forrest begins his paper with a description of the condition of industrialism as it was 50 years ago in England, Holland and France. Curiously enough there is a striking resemblance between the then industrialism of England and that of India of today. The English had the same apathy towards industrialism as the Indians have still towards it. The English, like the Indian universities of today, ignored technical and scientific education. The English educationist held that education was to be general and not special. Its object was to "train the mind so as to fit a man fully and completely for his life work." Crafts were only to be learnt from the craftsman. As far as Mr. Forrest remembers, there was then no school or college where engineering as a professional equipment could be learnt. A father desirous of giving his son engineering education would have to send him to some working partner of that profession and had to pay premium which varied with the eminence of the firm. In Holland and France (both countries now famous for engineering) the case was different. While in England the people had personal knowledge in the matter (it was the English nature to set the practical above the theoretical), in Holland and France it was held that a sound theoretical knowledge should precede practice. In England the State College of Military Engineering was confined solely to that purpose, but in France and Holland the schools of Military Engineering

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gave instructions to those who intended to enter the service of the State as well as to those who wished to follow it as a private profession. But neither country, says Mr. Forrest, has any reason to cry down its own system. Holland and France have produced foremost examples of military fortifications and internal navigation. So has England done in building great railways, irrigating large canals and constructing great water-works. The English has given the new industrial and commercial era a strong impetus. It was they who first brought the motive power of steam into use. The English made first the spinning and the weaving machines and built the ocean-going steamers. Even in the master arts of sculpture and painting their products can compete with the best works of the foreign countries. It is noteworthy that this remarkable success was not dependant upon the multiplication of the places of teaching nor was their absence a great hindrance to the progress and development of industrialism in England. The example of England affords a great object lesson to us,—Indians.

Evidently Mr. Forrest is not inclined to put that value on science or combination of science and literature in the curriculum of schools which many are anxious to secure for it. He quotes from one whom he considers an authority on the subject to say that the predictions of a few years back have been falsified. Professor Dewey, the chairman of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, takes a very gloomy view of the results obtained in the past few years, during which science has been awarded a prominent place in the curriculum of the American Schools. "The words objective and subjective, the outer things and the inner ourselves," observes Mr. Forrest, "sum up the whole of our present phase of life." The objects with which we are surrounded and our relations towards them—through the medium of our senses—make up our education. Dwelling house was the first workshop. Father and mother were the teachers and the children were the pupils. In these dwelling places appeared the sciences as well as the crafts. In the house worked the distaff, the mother and the grand-mother, the far-back ancestor and progenitor of the spinning jenny. 'Adam delved and Eve span.'

As time went on things grew and expanded. "Home communities passed into village communities, into town and into cities, and there appeared the carpenter and the smith, potter and the washerman. Industries were specialized and separate organisations made." The old order changed. The settled order of things, unbroken through long ages is disturbed by incursion, in force,

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of new men and new ideas, and there take place outbursts of energy in the field of literature, religion and industry, which send a pulsation all round. For instance, what a tremendous effect was produced in the world by the rise of the religion of Mahomet, and by the rise of the new industrialism in England ! Man had obtained the power of steam and invented the spinning and weaving machines, which removed one of his greatest wants. What brought about this invention ? asks Mr. Forrest. "The having to meet the competition of the Indian textile basis which were supplanting our local manufactures" and adds : "this was a better way of doing it than by means of self-denying, self-injuring swadeshi ordinance or high tariff."

Trade and commerce have now greatly multiplied in India and vast extension has taken place in the organization of education. To-day there is a talk of assigning a chair in connexion with every industry. Enormous provision has also been made for the technical teaching and the number of institutes and polytechnics for that purpose is very great. They have been too much multiplied with the result that doubts are being raised as to their need or value. Indeed, it is asserted that those technical schools have been built, like the Dreadnoughts, not with reference to absolute needs. What is now most wanted, says Mr. Forrest, is intension and not extension. "It is better to have a few well-equipped technical Colleges than 2 or 3 dozen badly equipped ones. An Indian gentleman had said in the discussion on Mr. Spring's paper that multiplication of technical institutes in India would be advantageous in providing berths for the alumni of the Universities. But Mr. Forrest points out that the enormous extension of technical education in England came *after* and not *before* the industrial expansion. It did not produce that expansion, but the expansion produced it." He commends to the special notice of his readers the following extract, more especially its last clause : "Most of the wonderful discoveries which have raised these manufactures—as the jenny, the mule, the carding-machine owe their existence to the natural genius of uneducated men of the working-men class. Its progress and present results owe little to science, nothing to patronage, but all to the unaided efforts of the natural genius and practical experience." "The great motive power in the production of these discoveries," adds Mr. Forrest, "was the need and demand for them."

It is no good arguing against science or scientific education, says Mr. Forrest, but he is only opposed to having technical schools sown

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broad cast over the land. We have had enough of multiplication of places of instructions," Mr. Forrest says, "over whose working we have very little control. Praise may be given according to the number of saplings planted, but how many grew into noble trees and how many came up poor and stunted was for the future." "These are the old bottles, here the new wine, here the wooden funnels (glass ones not available—too costly) for pouring it in ; and perhaps the bottles and the wine may not quite suit one another. There may be the danger of the latter bursting the former ; it may be poured in too quickly, in too large a quantity ; the funnels may be badly constructed, of poor material—a material tainting the wine. There ought to be no pouring in without thought and care and deep reflection. If there is anything our rule in India wants it is observation, observation, observation,—thought, thought, thought !"

Scientific and technical teaching, Mr. Forrest tells us, is no new thing in India : it is co-eval with the founding of the Government colleges. Sixty years ago the college at Agra possessed a good library, a museum and a laboratory in which were delivered an annual course of lectures in Natural Philosophy accompanied by experiments. But what were the effects of those lectures of the science teaching ? An agricultural college was started in Madras in 1854. Fifty years after it transpired that the curriculum was "unsuitable," the teaching staff was "inadequate," the practical work "inefficient." The college has been abolished.

Mr. Forrest then proceeds to make copious extracts from the "Fifth Quinquennial Report on Education in India" to show the actual progress of education, technical and otherwise. He quotes : "the crucial difficulty is the procurement of teachers . . . there is at this moment no normal school of handicrafts in India which means that the bottom stone of the technical Education has yet to be laid and that such schools as exist are under half-trained men."

Erroneously enough, he thinks that there is the "crucial" difficulty of obtaining scholars also. "They are induced to come," he says, "by means of stipends, and with these they will continue till the end of the curriculum, but only up to the time when some post or appointment offers itself." This might have been the case, we say, 15 or 20 years before, but it is hardly creditable now.

As to Mr. Spring's proposition that when technical education is being introduced into a province schools must come first, Mr. Forrest says, "the beginning time is past and trial has been made. Scientific and technical education has been introduced in every province." But with what result ? As to its progress in one

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province the report says : " there is as yet little demand for the technical education, and the little advance that has been made has practically left unaffected the great mass of the industrial population." In the face of the above declaration, Mr. Forrest will not increase, says he, the number of schools five-fold which would be the case if Mr. Spring's proposal was carried out. In the case of agriculture (regarding which it was said by the agency of Government that India had been a land of skilled agriculturists for hundreds of generations) no better results have been obtained. Although " the results achieved are incommensurate with the time, labour and money devoted to the subject," it is gratifying to learn that Government is determined " to prosecute with more system and energy than heretofore the enquiries into the facts of the Indian agriculture which will enable us to further its development." And the experience of other countries demonstrates that agriculture is capable of development by the application of science, like the other industries of today.

After the above dismal record, it is indeed refreshing and encouraging to read that "all the four engineering colleges (Sibpur, Rurki, Madras and Bombay) have begun a new era of expansion and improvement." The students of the Sibpore Engineering College, it is stated, completely constructed (the boiler excepted) an eighty boat launch with twice compound condensing engines.

Mr. Forrest has not failed to take note of the founding of the Society for the Promotion of Technical Education in Bengal and even admits that " it has been in the right direction." Nevertheless he unhesitatingly declares that he does not see anything good in swadeshi movement but " ignorance, foolishness and malignity."

Mr. Spring may say that " in the adequate extension of indigenous industrialism by the aid of indigenous capital and under indigenous control and management lies the only hope of an appreciable enhancement of India's wealth, and of an improvement in the material comfort and prosperity of the mass of her people," but Mr. Forrest thinks that an " increase in the wealth of India and in the comfort and prosperity of her people has taken place without the advent of these conditions." Mr. Forrest says that he too desiderates these conditions, but he would not have things stand still till they come. A man who determines to wear the " old, inefficient local made spectacles " will only hurt his eyes. If he is anxious to improve indigenous industries let him throw all his energy and means into the work and bring it up to the best-known level by the aid of superior knowledge

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With regard to the apathy of the upper and middle classes of Indians towards technical education, Mr. Forrest quotes from the Quinquennial Report to show that it is fast disappearing and that "the demand in many places is very strong." But for the introduction into India of what Mr. Spring calls "new education," he would not even at the cost of placing himself among "those incapable of drawing wise conclusions from reliable premise" impose fresh taxation on the people of India. There has been a great waste of money in the past on the arts and technical schools, Mr. Forrest says, on the authority of Mr. E. B. Havell, formerly Principal of the Calcutta School of Art, and points out that already the expenditure on education had risen from 578½ lakhs in 1902 to 847 lakhs in 1907.

Although he recognizes the value of science and scientific education, Mr. Forrest is afraid that at this moment the educational pendulum is swinging too much that way. He fully agrees with Mr. Spring that India has had too much a "surfeit of poetry and philosophy," but that does not affect his contention that this remedy must come rather from a higher literature than from science. There are certain deficiencies of the mind and character of the Indian, says Mr. Forrest, which have been noticed by all foreign travellers and students of India from the very earliest to the present time. A Frenchman who recently travelled in India has summed them up in one word. It is *sluggishness*. And he adds : "the raising and strengthening must come more from the literary than the scientific side of our teaching." So Mr. Forrest would not have Shakespeare given up for a book on entomology. He fully endorses the view recorded in the Educational Report previously mentioned, *viz* : "one of the chief hindrances to the further progress of technical education arises from the differences in the system of general education upon which it must be based and for which it cannot be substituted."

Mr. Forrest, however, thinks that ample and judicious measures are being taken by the reawakened authorities as a result of which the system of education in India "is beginning" to have a soul as well as a form." It is the attention, he says, that is being paid to the location of the Colleges, to the placing of them amid good and natural surroundings, and to the making of them residential to the utmost extent possible by providing adequate accommodation for the students and the teachers in the same compound. "Let the English teachers who are to be installed into these institutions be chosen with the utmost care, for qualities of

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enthusiasm and sympathy, as well as for the needful intellectual ability."

Mr. Forrest puts his foot down upon the habit of praising every thing Indian, particularly Indian industries, which has come into vogue in recent years, and says that what is most needed is "correct statement, a clear close vision, and a calm and cool judgment." There are those whose eyes are blurred by party passions, who think it necessary to be either pro-English or pro-Indian. There are others who intoxicated by their own fine feelings "survey Indian things from a superior height and are either "violently pro-English or anti-Indian."

"One writer tells us," goes on Mr. Forrest, "that every blacksmith and carpenter in India is an artist," although the fact is just the reverse. Another writer has drawn a most idyllic picture of the village potter, but in the report of an Inspector of Schools he is characterized as the despised potter "who has to eke out his living by beating the drums." With regard to weaving—the premier industry of India—reference is never made but in poetical epithets. The weaver's condition has, however, always been poor. A century ago Abbe Dubois wrote: "They had not the means of buying the material or supporting themselves and their families." Coming to the present time we do not find that their condition has at all bettered. The bad condition of the present-day Indian weaver and of the English weaver at the beginning of the last century, says Mr. Forrest, was due to the "common want of capital, high price of the yarn and the slow and distant sales." But the fundamental reason of the poor condition of the weaver everywhere, he thinks, is the easy nature of his employment.

Mr. Forrest winds up his long article by summing up the situation with reference to the civilization of the land—as it displays itself in the manners and customs, literature and industries of the people. It is said the Hindus "have a civilization far older than our own" but that antecedent civilization, the writer says, still lies in its old condition and presents features and characteristics that in the more advanced civilizations have long since passed away. "Man's works reflect his mind and character, and affect them too," says Mr. Forrest. "So all the literature of India and its industries show forth some sort of childishness of the time of their origin." Many of the English educated students of India of today come from a section of the people, Mr. Forrest believes, who are in that condition of immaturity. To such, the writer fears, the western "mental pabulum" might be too strong a meat and might cause "mental

indigestion." "Many of the industries, such as carpet-making, embroidery and the like, are of a feminine character. Many are cottage industries. Through all has appeared and still appear a sort of childishness of the above description. With wonderful dexterity of hand appears a strange atrophy of the mind. All is repetition, copying and imitation. There is no invention, no inventiveness. The deft fingers are alive, but the brain seems dead."

THE INFLUENCE OF EUROPEAN SCIENCE ON INDIAN THOUGHT

Mr. Kanwar Sain contributes the second instalment of his interesting article on *The Influence of European Science on Indian Thought* to the September number of the *Hindustan Review*. Mr. Sain begins by referring to the knowledge of Practical Astronomy in ancient India and observes :

"The Indians were by no means strangers to this science before our contact with the West—as I have already pointed out in the first section of this paper. Every village Pandit could read a Sanskrit Almanac, could forecast eclipses by a simple calculation and could caste a horoscope—thanks to the popular belief in astrology, not yet quite extinct. Most of the Hindus had to ascertain the relative positions of the planets and the sun with reference to the Zodiacs, for the sake of their almost daily religious observances."

"All that is grand and noble and poetical in Astronomy had been in a way anticipated in the *Surya Siddhanta* and *Siddhanta Siromani*. And beyond attaining to mathematical accuracy and instrumental range and precision—(objects, which in themselves no doubt are extremely important) we have derived little inspiration from Western astronomy."

Geology, on the other hand, the writer holds, has taught us much that is new and striking and observes :

"It would be difficult indeed to find in the old literature parallels of the doctrines inculcated by this science—doctrines which have given a more or less violent shock to our old and settled views. The recognition, for example, of the primitive state of man—artless, houseless, possibly even speechless,—knocks on the head our cherished theories of a golden age in the dawn of creation. It was quite natural, therefore, that the broad conclusions of this science were received at first with a certain degree of reserve, if not suspicion. Nevertheless, no storm was raised against the lessons of

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this science in India as was done in Europe. And strange as it may seem, some old texts were unearthed in order to square the new conceptions of geological ages with cycles of old."

Passing on to the higher branches of science, the writer finds that biology too has presented to us a considerable body of knowledge of a new order and describes the results of the study of biology in India in the following words:—

"In his luminous series of experiments on the responses in plants and minerals, Doctor J. C. Bose has endeavoured to demonstrate that there is indeed no absolute difference in kind between the living and the so-called non-living matter : that, looked at from the scientific point of view, all substances, however inert, are alive : nay more—for aught we can say to the contrary—matter, energy, life-principle, are all manifestations of one and the same Entity."

"Botany and Zoology, studied in the light of Polentology, and comparative anatomy have made it possible to look upon all the species of plant and animals as members or branches of a common geneological tree of life—the varieties in types being explicable on the hypothesis of difference in the environments. Now this view again, while it lends further support to the monistic belief, has given a severe shock to the prevailing notions based on the Hindu and Mahomedan mythologies alike. Whereas in Europe the storm of hostile criticism against Darwin's and Huxley's views has subsided, in India subdued doubts are, I think, still entertained as to the correctness of the above generalization. From the pulpits one often hears protests against the acceptance of a creed supposed to dispense with the necessity of a Providence."

"But the greatest contribution to pure science made by Biology is the declaration of the principle of Evolution, with which are associated the immortal names of Darwin, Huxley and Herbert Spencer.

"Societies grow according to evolution. There is evolution in language, in arts, in government, in religion. In short, evolution governs every phase of existence and thought. In the light of this doctrine, the universe is no longer looked upon as having been created in its perfection by a fiat. On the contrary there is visible a slow and steady process of constant variation, gradual adaptation and consequent natural selection—all occurring in obedience to certain laws—some known, others unknown—tending in the long run to what may be termed Absolute Perfection or some "far off Divine event" of which, however, we can scarcely form any definite conception.

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“Grand and novel as this doctrine appears to be at first sight, it may, however, be safely affirmed that the idea is as old as our own Gautama Buddha, who seems to have not only realized this principle in all its aspects, but also preached the moral application of it throughout the length and breadth of India. The Buddhistic Philosophy of Karma and Reincarnation, as developed from his teachings—and as distinguished from the old Hindu doctrine of the transmigration of the soul—is a close parallel in many directions to the philosophy of Herbert Spencer. The more one compares them the more one finds that the latter is, as it were, a resuscitation of the former.”

As to the net effects of the study of science upon the Indian mind, the writer relates them thus :

“The critical spirit is already abroad in our country. A glance at the newspaper and periodical literature is enough to convince one of this. . . . We are at any rate no longer content with mere authority, and want to know the how and why of things. The spirit of scientific inquiry is increasingly in evidence in the elucidation of sacred texts. Tilak’s critical study of the Vedic literature, for example, led him to propound the arctic origin of the Aryans. There is, moreover, a marked lack of devotional literature in our vernaculars, except perhaps in Bengal. Even the old writings of Gosain Tulsi Das, Surdas, Bhagat, Kabir and Guru Nanak are losing the hold they deserve on the educated community. That wave of enthusiasm is long past which elicited even from a Mahomedan poet, Nazeer, the eulogy of Shri Krishna. Modern Urdu poetry, too, shorn of its by far the larger amorous or fanciful portion, breathes a spirit of criticism, and betrays the state of uncertain ideals. Sensible prose is gaining ground day by day, and thoughtful essays on a variety of topics find place in respectable vernacular reviews. Old gods are being dethroned, but new ones have not yet been set up in their places. Attempts are being made here and there to evolve systems of practical religion in conformity with the result of scientific inquiry. In Europe, rationalism is trying to work itself up, if possible, into a religion—and Positivism already lays claims to bring such a one. The birth and growth of the Dev Samaj, the so-called “science-grounded religion” in the Punjab, is to my mind a clear indication of the prevalence, however limited, of the atheistic or agnostic tendencies of the present education.

“But so far as I have been able to gauge the influence of science, I think we have not yet wholly accepted the Philosophy of Doubt—

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thanks to the teaching of the Upanishads, the Vedant, the Bhagwad Gita, and the Koran. The rise and rapid spread of the rationalistic revivals among the Hindus and Mahomedans alike seems to me to be a convincing proof of this. The founders of the Brahmo Samaj, although deeply saturated with western learning, have nevertheless adhered to their ancient monistic faith. So also Swami Dayanand Saraswati succeeded in establishing and popularizing the Arya Samaj on the rationalistic interpretation of the Vedas. In the Punjab and the United Provinces, the literature and sermons of this reformed church have acted as a charm against the heterodoxical tendencies imparted by science. Sir Sayyad Ahmad Khan was nothing if not a reformer imbued with European ideas ; and yet no more enthusiastic Mahomedan ever set himself to the task of collecting the straying flock to the fold.

“ Indeed, the present trend seems to me to be the other way about. The Theosophical Society has brought about quite a reaction in a section of the advanced public opinion. The marvellous strides of psychical research, and the suggestive writings of Sir Oliver Lodge, Henry Meyers and Professor Crookes—not to speak of a host of other European and American savants—have lent an easy handle, and given an apparant scientific sanction, to the reinstallation of the gods of old. The impact of western scientific ideas gave the Indian mind a rather large swing from the peaceful contemplation of the divine philosophy and poetry. It has drawn the student away from the dreamy twilight of vague imaginings and landed him in the full blaze of facts and figures. A dazed sense of bewilderment and helplessness was the first natural result. Conflicts of science and philosophy perturbed his thought and confounded his judgment. As the compass needle is disturbed and thrown into quick vibrations under the action of artificial magnets or the Aurora Borealis, so too the Indian mind has been swayed backwards and forwards under the influence of European science. In spite of the deflections, however, the Indian mind has, I think, up to the present remained, on the whole, true to its original bearings. It has not yet forsaken its belief in the Supreme One, nor lost that,

Sense sublime,
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round earth, and in the mind of man.

“ Rather it has held fast to the monistic faith, towards which science itself seems to point. एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति . Indian

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philosophy has proved a veritable lode-star or acted even as the powerful magnetism of mother earth in guiding and controlling the needle. "That art Thou," say the Upanishads, and the Vedantists add :—Not a part not a mode of that, but identically That, that absolute spirit of the world. "As pure water poured into pure water remains the same, thus, O Goutama, is the self of a thinker who knows. Water in water, fire in fire, ether in ether, no one can distinguish them ; likewise a man whose mind has entered into the self." "Every man," says Sufi Gulshan Raz, "whose heart is no longer shaken by any doubt knows with certainty that there is no being save only one. In his Divine mystery the me, the we, the thou, are not found, for in the one there can be no distinction." "There is a verge of the mind which these things haunt," says Professor James, "and whispers there from mingle with the operations of our understanding, even as the waters of the infinite ocean send their waves to break among the pebbles that lie upon our shores."

"As against the melancholy roar of the ebb of the sea of faith, one may sing with Swinburne—

Here begins the sea that ends not till the world's end. Where we stand,
Could we know the next high sea mark set beyond these waves that gleam,
We should know what never man hath known, nor eye of man hath scann'd,
Ah, but here man's heart leaps, yearning towards the gloom venturesome glee,
From the shore that hath no shore beyond it set in all the sea."

THE PRESENT UPHEAVAL IN INDIA

Mr. Bepinchandra Pal contributes a rather very interesting article on the present Indian situation to the pages of the November number of the *Socialist Review*. Mr. Pal begins thus :—

"India is on the threshold of a tremendous revolution. It is not merely a political upheaval, but a new and large movement of thought, such as has always and everywhere been the parent of mighty social and civic reconstructions. Behind the great Revolution in France stood the philosophy of the French illumination with its declaration of the supremacy of human reason and the human personality over every scriptural, church, social, or political authority. So it is in the present revolution in India. It is the fruit of a new philosophy of life, and a new social, economic, and political ideal based upon that philosophy. The great thought-movement that stands behind the present troubles in British India has had a strange and interesting evolution during the last half-a-

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century. In one sense, it is a new movement, yet in another it is not new, but only a fresh phase of the old thoughts of India. In one sense it is the result of British rule, in another sense it may well claim an independent and indigenous origin. It is really the natural expression of the old, old, philosophies of India under the new conditions—intellectual, economic, and political—created largely by the British connection.

The plea that the withdrawal of the authority of the British would at once drive India into "barbarous anarchy" does not hold good today, but it "implies," says Mr. Pal, "only a denial of all that England has herself done during the last one-hundred and fifty years." The state of things which existed at the time when the English had acquired the sovereign political authority in India was not any more "the nature and constitution of Indian Society" than was the universal chaos which reigned over the Roman Empire after its fall.

As a matter of fact there was a highly civilized and settled government in India when the Mahomedans established their sway. And Mr. Pal rightly points out :—

"India was not a mere geographical entity, even under the Hindus. There were then, as even now, many principalities and provinces, but really one country, Hindustan ; many languages, but practically one literature, Sanskrit ; diverse laws and customs, but really one social economy, the Hindu ; many sects, but one religion, Hinduism. The Hindu nation stood united upon two things, first, a common scriptural authority, the Vedas ; and second, a common social economy based on caste and order."

In the peculiar religious institutions of the Hindus as well as in their admirable social organisation there lay the potentialities of a federal government. Their religion itself "is not one religion but really a federation of many religions." The Hindu Society is not a uniform body, but practically a collection or corporation of different communities, called castes, that have their own customs and laws, and that manage their caste affairs themselves without any interference from the other castes.

In the civic life of the Hindus there also could be found the germ of the same federal idea. And lastly, in the larger political life, says Mr. Pal, the federal idea dominated to a very remarkable extent.

"The Hindu King was never an autocrat. The monarchical office, though hereditary, was held, however, subject always to the popular veto. The King was always an equal among equals. He

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was only the Chief Magistrate, the head of the Executive, and had absolutely no legislative authority, not even to the slight extent to which it is exercised in European constitutional monarchies, by the sovereign's right of veto. And the regard for the rights, freedom and privileges of the subject, which characterised the Hindu monarchies, was also evident in the dealings of a superior monarch with his feudatory princes. We hardly find any instance of a great and powerful monarch appropriating another's state by right of conquest. When a king was defeated or killed by another, the victor either gave him back his throne or placed his lawful heirs upon it."

Mr. Pal elaborates his theory of federal unity in India in the following manner :

"The wonderful expansiveness and adaptability of Hinduism are entirely due to its federal character. Freedom of the parts in the unity of the whole, this is the fundamental concept involved in the federal idea. It has been the spirit of Hindu universalism from almost immemorial times. Indeed there are evidences even in the existing sacramental and religious habits of the people, of the growth of national consciousness even among ancient Hindus."

"The type of this Hindu nation was, however, somewhat different from what we find in the other parts of the world. In Europe, nations grew through the accretion of more less fluid tribal organisations, and the amalgamation of more or less nebulous cultures. This process of accretion, a universal process in the evolution of ethnic groups, naturally developed a general uniformity of beliefs and customs among the different groups or sections of a nation. As long as the Hindus were absorbing primitive and undeveloped races into their own social and religious economy, this process of amalgamation was also present in their own evolution. But as soon as they came in contact not with nebulous but with considerably developed cultures and civilisations like those of the Dravadians or the Graeco-Bactrians, the necessities of the situation evolved a new method—namely the federal—of racial growth and unity. The process of racial amalgamation in Europe was further helped by the introduction of Christianity, which imposed one uniform religious creed and social code upon the people. European nations are, therefore, united in language, in literature, in history and tradition, and above all in religious and social life. From some point of view there is more uniformity among the divers races and nations that inhabit the European continent than there is in India. The absence of such uniformity in India does not, however, destroy her title to nationhood. It only shows that we have here a new type of a nation. It is

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what may be called the federal type, a more complex and developed type of national organisation than what is familiar to European."

The Mahomedans succeeded to this glorious heritage of the Hindus and their methods of government even gave further impetus to the evolution of Indian nationalism. The central political power of Delhi contributed fresh elements to the old national unity. Mr. Pal points out that

"Hindu or Mahomedan, Bengalee or Mahratta, every potentate had to receive his *sanad* or title from the Emperor of Delhi. But subject to this general allegiance and a more or less fixed tribute to be paid to the Imperial Treasury, these several princes and chiefs enjoyed almost absolute freedom within their own dominions. The Emperor was Mahomedan, but the empire was a composite organisation in which both the Hindu and the Mahomedan had equal place."

But according to Mr. Pal the credit of bringing India into line with the modernism of today belongs in a large measure to the British rule. This work, Mr. Pal frankly admits, has been done by two things, *viz.* (1) English education and (2) British laws and methods of administration.

Mr. Pal proceeds to observe :

"English education has done the work of intellection. It has liberated the thought of India from its ancient and mediæval grooves. The first effect of the new illumination which the British rulers carried to the country was the growth of a movement of social and religious revolt, represented by the Brahmo Samaj in Bengal, the Prarthana Samaj Bombay, and the Arya Samaj in the Panjab. All these are movements of what may be called Unitarian Hinduism, and are in many ways similar to the modern Unitarian movements in Christendom. They are all essentially movements of freedom. In the name of freedom of thought, the Brahmo Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj have totally denied the authority of scriptures and priests to dictate man's faith. The Arya Samaj, while accepting the Vedas as a scriptural authority, has claimed the right of absolute private judgment in the interpretation of this authority. All these have abjured what they call idolatry. They have all broken through caste, removed the old social disabilities of women, and have made for a larger and freer domestic and social life than what had been known before. The leaders as well as the general body of these reformers have been men of the highest castes, who lost the immense social advantages they had in the old social order. The repudiation of caste and custom at such enormous self-sacrifice by men and women

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of spotless moral character has had naturally a deep and far-reaching influence upon society at large. Their presence in the country has raised endless questionings, both in the classes and the masses alike, and there is a general relaxation all round of the old social bonds, while numerous attempts are being made even in the name of orthodoxy itself, to re-adjust the old faiths and institutions with a view to harmonise them with the requirements of modern life and thought."

"The old laws, specially among the Hindus, were based upon the division of society into caste or order. Under the Mahomedans, while the civil rights of the different castes and orders were left undisturbed, every caste was placed under the same criminal law. The British followed the same precedence, but by means of better organisation they brought the people more strictly under one uniform system of criminal law than the Mahomedans had been able to do. Under the Mahomedans, people enjoyed a certain amount of freedom in regard to local affairs, both civil and criminal. The Indian Penal Code and the Indian Criminal Procedure Code destroyed this local freedom altogether. In olden times the village landlord exercised both civil and criminal jurisdiction over his tenants. But all this was gradually taken away from him. The British Law Courts have brought the most powerful landlord and the most respected Hindu or Mahomedan priest to the same level as that of the poorest and the lowliest of the people. Leaders of society whose words had hitherto been the law to the people, or whose name had a terror in the community, could now be dragged, handcuffed, and rope-tied before an ordinary police-officer on the complaint of the meanest. You cannot proclaim absolute equality before the law of a people brought up in the atmosphere and tradition of rigid and hide-bound systems of castes and orders without quickening a spirit of freedom and self-assertion in the community. You cannot introduce the principles of democratic government in a country, ruled from time immemorial by rigid social inequalities, without creating a new democratic spirit there."

As a result of this democratic spirit, a general upheaval and awakening is seen in different caste movements in India at the present day. Altogether, Mr. Pal thinks, England

"stands face to face to-day with the forces that she has herself to a large extent created in this country. It is her refusal to recognise the natural fruit of her own work and to give scope and play to the new intellectual, moral, social, and political forces that is the root of all her present troubles in India. It is in this

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psychological analysis of the situation that the foreign reader must seek for and find the real meaning and significance of the things that are happening from day to day in British India. This is the key to the whole situation."

WHAT DOES INDIA WANT POLITICALLY?

Every reflecting Indian must at one time or another have asked himself the question which Mr. Saint Nihal Singh discusses in the *Fortnightly Review*, viz. What does India—or more pertinently—educated India want politically?

No single answer is possible, says the Sikh journalist. Until recently the ideal of every educated Indian was autonomy under the ægis of the British. But since the victory of Japan over Russia and the "awakening" of the East it has undergone a change. At present there are two distinct political parties in India known as the Moderates and the Extremists, who hold different political opinions. While the ideal of the Moderates remains the same, that of the Extremists has soared higher. The extremists dream of a perfectly autonomous India which will have no connexion whatever with the British Government, though the means they would adopt to gain this end are not very clear. There is yet another party known by various names such as Anarchists, Nihilists and Terrorists, whose programme is to drive the British out of India by sheer brute force and whose political fanaticism "expresses itself in bomb-throwing and other acts of violence." But Nihilism is not an inherent trait in the Hindu and the number of Nihilists is, therefore, limited. Not even the ranks of the Extremists are very well filled. The greater bulk of the educated Indians, Hindus and Mahomedans, belong to the "Moderate" party, who take for granted the paramount power of the British and they are always in favour of working in a peaceful and constitutional way "to secure the desired change in the constitution of their government."

The better mind of England, it seems, is not opposed to such an aspiration, says Mr. S. Nihal Singh. The appointment of a Hindu to the Executive Council of the Viceroy and the Governor-General of India, and of one Hindu and one Mahomedan to the Secretary of State for India's Council in England, and lastly the Reform Scheme of Lord Morley, all bear testimony to this. But while the people of India have loyally and gratefully accepted the gift of Lord Morley, they regard it as a "half loaf" and "only an initial instalment and not a complete and final fulfilment of their desire for self-government".

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The policy of Government has hitherto been to keep all power to itself and to the white Civil Service. The great majority of the best-salaried positions are held by the English and the taxes are levied by them. The English make the laws for the Indians and control the finance. The people have no voice in these matters. Even the Indian Universities have practically been converted into departments of the Government. It is the virtual reversal of this state of affairs for which the Indians are agitating, and in this connection Mr. Nihal Singh observes :

“Indian autonomy essentially means this : and the agitation in India is bound to continue so long as the majority of Governmental positions, carrying the higher salaries and the executive, administrative and financial authority, are not held by the natives of the land. Educated Indians urge that they are capable of efficiently discharging the duties connected with the responsible Government at all positions. The controversy about Indian autonomy rages around this claim. Plainly interpreted, India's political aspirations mean the substitution of native in lieu of the present-day alien administrative agency, East Indians not objecting to run their government under the guidance of the British.”

Having defined what India wants politically, Mr. Singh proceeds to examine what are the grounds of such a political desire. He asks, “Do the Indians realize the contingency that should they be given what they ask would they be able to manage efficiently India's Governmental affairs with the co-operation of the English ? ” and in reply asserts that “a careful examination of the annals of the land is bound to convince a thinking person that this query should be answered in the affirmative.”

Mr. Saint Nihal Singh contributes another article to the *Westminster Gazette* on constitutional reform in India and discusses the Reform Scheme of Lord Morley. He judges its merits chiefly by the result which, in his opinion it has achieved in restoring peace and order. Mr. Saint Nihal Singh recognizes that the repressive measures adopted by Government have gone to some extent to improve the situation, but without reforms, he thinks, they were but half measures. The crisis was narrowly averted from precipitating by the grant of political concessions. As a result of the wise policy of Lord Morley and Lord Minto the country is now more tranquil than ever since the partition of Bengal, when Lord Curzon, as it were, “vigorously stirred up the brains of the Bengalis with a spoon.” The reforms, says the Sikh Journalist, had come at the psychological moment *i.e.* at a time when even those honest and

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sturdy workers who had resorted to nothing but constitutional methods had grown tired and impatient of Britain's indifference to their wants and wishes. Moreover, the success of the concession would have been problematical had the gift been less generous.

Mr. Saint Nihal Singh mentions certain special features of the reforms which, he says, have appealed most to the educated Indians, the Hindus and the Mahomedans alike. They are : the right of interpellation and of putting supplementary questions ; the right to divide the Councils for the purpose of recording votes, the right of "moving resolution" on important State questions, including finance, the provision of a non-official majority in the Provincial councils and the lessening of official control over the administration of Municipalities and District Boards.

REVIEWS & NOTICES OF BOOKS

INDIAN MINERALOGY

[Quinquennial Review of the Mineral Production of India during the years, 1904 to 1908].

Referring to the old file of this periodical it will be found that the first quinquennial review of the mineral production in India, published by the Indian Geological Department, was noticed in the first issue of the *Indian World*. This first quinquennial review was the work of Sir (then Mr.) Thomas Holland and the present volume under review bears the seal of the joint-authorship of Sir Thomas Holland and Dr. Fermor. The latter gentleman has already made his mark in the scientific world by his voluminous and exhaustive work on Indian manganese,* and possibly this is the last official publication of the Indian Geological Survey with which we may have an opportunity of seeing the name of Sir Thomas associated as the Director of the department. During his short tenure of Directorship, Sir Thomas Holland did all that was possible to push on the mineral industries of India and the general awakening of the people to the development of the treasures which are lying hidden within the crust of this earth is, in no small way, due to his writings, and as a proof of this may be mentioned the rapidity with which the publications dealing with the mineral production of India are running out of print. In this connection a note of warning is necessary for the guidance of those enthusiasts who want to invest their capital on mineral exploitations. There are quacks in all professions, but possibly there is nowhere a greater percentage of them than in the Indian mineralogical world of today and on many an occasion these so-called experts have been the cause of ruin of many capitalists. Gentlemen willing to develop the mineral resources of the country should always make it a point to have their cases thoroughly examined by competent hands before they launch out any big scheme of their own. I am afraid this is a digression, but the security of investment is my excuse.

The present volume under review is a bulky one and we are afraid that there have been included in it many things the absence of which would have been preferred because they have already been published

* Mem. Geol. Surv. India, Vol, xxxvii.

in previous volumes and are well-known to students of Indian geology, while in their present abridged form they certainly fail to interest the ordinary reader. Following the plan already established,* the minerals have been divided into 2 groups and *diamond* and *chromite* have been promoted, as it were, from group No. 2 to group No. 1. We hope that after another 5 years a few more of these viz. aluminium-ore, building materials (including marble), copper-ore and slate will be similarly added to the list of the minerals of group I. The total value of the minerals of this group that have been obtained shows an increase of 56·14 per cent., though there has been a decrease in the values obtained for gold, silver, graphite and amber. The values obtained for manganese-ore and petroleum have been mainly instrumental in turning the scale to India's advantage.

It is needless to point out that the decrease in the value of such precious minerals as gold, ruby, and amber need not alarm us ; but when one finds that ' the total value of the imports of minerals and products obtained directly from minerals, and of the articles manufactured from these, was over £32,000,000 in the year 1908, whilst the value of the mineral production of the country was not quite £8,000,000,' it is difficult not to awaken to the fact of heavy foreign exploitation. The heavy financial losses the country is undergoing owing to the export of raw materials without subjecting them to metallurgical operations in the country can be very well estimated by taking the case of any of the several minerals which are thus exported annually, and the case for manganese-ores has been very ably pointed out by Dr. Fermor in his monograph above alluded to, where he has shown clearly that during a period of 15 years *i.e.*, from 1892 to 1906, India has suffered a loss of 13½ crores of rupees by simply exporting the raw mineral without manufacturing *ferromanganese* out of this useful material. Any one acquainted with the geology of India knows the great extent of the deposits of high grade iron-ores in many parts of the country, and considering the abundance of manganese ores and the recent discoveries of the tungsten-bearing minerals, the condition for the manufacture of the different kinds of steel must be very favourable but still, with the exception of the Burakar iron works, there are no other works engaged in the actual metallurgy of the ores on the spot and in the manufacture of useful articles from their product. However, ere long, we hope to see the Tata Iron and Steel Company putting

* Rec. Geol. Surv. India ; Rec. xxxii. pt. 1.

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forth their articles in the market, though the history of this Company does not reflect much credit upon the enterprise of Indian capitalists in as much as the bulk of its nominal capital of Rs. 2,31,75,000 has been subscribed to by Europeans and thus, with the exception of the coolie wages, India is not likely to derive any very large share of the benefit accruing from this enterprise.

During the period under review the maximum output of coal has come from the Bengal fields where the lead is maintained by Jherria and this fact is interesting when we consider the special features of the field. As is well-known, many of the coal deposits of Jherria are mere surface deposits and thus the working of these beds, conducted chiefly by means of quarries, is much easier and among the proprietors of these mines are to be met with several Indian gentlemen. There is no big and well-organised Indian company yet launched to work out the numerous coal-deposits and this is due not so much to the inability of the Indians to work out joint-stock companies as is suggested at some quarters but to the lack of technical education and consequent diffidence. The history of the coal industry shows that about a third of the total output is consumed by the railway companies while the companies receive from 98 to 99 per cent of their total requirements from the Indian fields. This fact deserves a very careful notice. If we leave out of consideration at present those mineral deposits which are lying far away from railway lines, still the deposits lying by the railway lines are at a great disadvantage because the freight for the imported foreign articles is much less than what is charged for by the Indian railways. In this connection it may be noted that while discussing the question of the use of Indian marbles for the construction of the Victoria Memorial Hall the superiority of the Indian marbles to the Italian ones was definitely and conclusively established, but the question of freight came as an insurmountable obstacle and, but for the generosity of the Jodhpur Durbar, it would have been impossible to have Indian marbles for the Memorial. Of all the minerals, the freight for coal is very low because the railway companies themselves are interested in it and a few of them have got collieries of their own. While, therefore, they all require the material for their own consumption the question should now be seriously considered whether an agitation should not be set on foot to ask the railway companies to reduce their freight for the conveyance of mineral matters so that the Indians may not be obliged to buy imported materials on account of their cheap price due mainly to the very low freight charges. In future India shall have to fight with Japan for the supply of coal to the

eastern islands, but from the figures available at present, it is quite difficult to say what the result of this competition will be. It appears to us that the working of the Chinese deposits under the influence of Japan is bound to come out very soon, and this will seriously interfere with the Indian export trade in the Pacific region. The production of graphite was at its minimum in 1907, but the doubling of the value of production in the very next year shows that the graphitic industry has passed through one of its crises while the development of factories and of metallurgical operations and the expected openings of several pencil manufactories, of which a beginning has already been made near Calcutta, are sure to create a great demand for the article in the market. The review under notice does not give any figures as to the distribution of the total quantity of production and this remark also applies to many other minerals included in group I. In the previous review this group was established to include all minerals for which approximately trustworthy returns were available, and these returns should certainly include the returns for production, expenditure and import. Without these three kinds of returns no definite opinion can be formed as regards the industrial development of the country so far as it depends upon the mineral resources. In some cases, as in the case of *chromite*, it may be urged that a return of expenditure is not absolutely necessary as the whole quantities of ore-bodies obtained is exported as raw materials but such remarks are not of universal application. We may cite the case of gold, by way of illustration. The section on this yellow metal includes 7 different tables, but we have no figure showing how the total quantity of gold, produced after crushing, during this period, and valued at £11,331,536, has been spent, for we have reasons to believe that part of this mineral has been utilised locally and part has been exported. We hope, in the future, attempts will be made by the authorities to keep this point in view and publish tables of returns accordingly.

The returns for petroleum are extremely interesting. With the opening up and the working out of many of the oil-fields, notably in Burma, the curve of the output, with the exception of a solitary year, namely 1903, shows a gradual and very steep *up* and it is worthy of note that this upward movement of the curve begins from 1898—the year following the publication of Dr. Noetling's monograph.* Kerosine oil and wax-candles are among the necessities

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of life and when we consider that during the period under review petroleum worth Rs. 145,813,098 was imported while the total value of the mineral-oil obtained for the same period was Rs. 151,186,236 it is clear that at present there is an ample market for the oil for local consumption only and the interest that seems to have been created for oil exploitation in Burma and Assam leaves us every reason to hope that after the lapse of another 5 years the returns for petroleum will be still further improved. In this connection it has been pointed out that, though during the period under review the Indian production has just been doubled, the other countries have also exported an increased amount of the oil to this country showing the great demand of the substance. The following table will show the relative position of India among the oil-bearing countries in the world :—

Countries	1902	1907
United States	... 47'94	63'34
Russia	... 43'50	23'59
Sumatra, Java and Borneo	... 3'17	3'33
Galicia	... 2'24	3'19
Roumania	... 1'11	3'10
India	... 0'87	1'66
Japan	... 0'64	0'77
Mexico	...	0'38
Canada	... 0'28	0'30
Germany	... 0'20	0'29
Peru	... 0'03	0'02
Italy	...	0'02
Other countries	... 0'02	0'01

From these figures it will appear that the United States have made a very rapid progress and thrown Russia quite in the background during the last five years, and with the exception of Roumania the output from India has been in excess of that produced from any other country, comparatively speaking, and this is certainly a very strong point in favour of the future possibilities of the Indian mineral oil.

During the period under review there has also been an increase in the total amount of the output of mica though after 1906-07 the curve has assumed a downward direction. India, however, still holds her command of the mica-market in the world, and the following table gives an account of the production of mica from

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the three chief mica-producing countries, viz Canada, India and the United States :—

Period	Canada	India	United States	Total
	£	£	£	£
1894-98	72,991	316,016	75,147	464,154
1898-1903	160,552	426,851	122,382	709,785
1904-1908	285,351	867,553	251,299	1,404,203
Total	518,894	1,610,420	448,828	2,578,142
Per cent. of total	20·1	62·5	17·4	100·0

The invention of *micunite* has contributed much to the rapid increase in the mica trade and much of the material previously thrown away is now becoming useful. In this connection we may point out the extensive deposits of *mica-schists* in Bengal and many parts of India. In many countries bricks have been manufactured out of *mica-schists* and the methods employed in those countries should also be tried in India to see if better and more desirable bricks cannot be prepared out of the stuff.*

Brazil, India, Russia and Spain are the four chief manganese-producing countries in the world. In 1893, the Indian production was below the Brazilian output and nearly coincided with the Spanish but both these two countries have now been left far behind and India is now seriously contesting with Russia for the first place. In table 52 of the volume under review, the annual production of manganese by the twelve leading producers is given from which the following relationships may be worked out :—

	1904	1905	1906	1907
Austria	... 1·11	1·17	0·71	0·73
Brazil	... 22·75	19·02	6·51	10·37
Cuba	... 1·72	0·60	1·01	1·52
France	... 1·22	0·58	0·60	0·80
Greece	... 0·93	0·63	0·53	0·49
Hungary	... 1·27	0·84	0·59	0·35
India	... 16·58	21·29	31·09	40·11
Japan	... 0·48	1·19	0·69	1·00
Russia	... 45·46	48·78	52·58	40·36
Spain	... 2·04	2·20	3·38	2·98
Turkey	... 5·36	2·46	1·07	0·61
United Kingdom	0·98	1·23	1·24	0·71

* *Scientific American*, December 18, 1909.

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On these annual outputs the authors remark that 'the zenith was reached in 1907, with an output of 902,291 tons, the year 1908 witnessing a set-back, owing to the general commercial depression and fall in the demand for steel. The cause of the very large increase in the Indian manganese-ore production for the years 1905, 1906 and 1907, was partly the great activity in the steel trade of the world, and to a smaller extent, the political disturbances in the Caucasus, owing to which buyers, who once satisfied their wants from the Caucasus, were compelled to have recourse to India. The ores found in the Caucasus are soft and friable, and are worked by a large number of small workers, who do not trouble to clean this ore to a uniform standard. Moreover the railway freights are very high, whilst rolling stock is said to be inadequate. The consequence is that iron masters have found it dangerous to rely too much on the Caucasus for their supplies, and prefer the Indian ore, which is not only more suitable for the blast furnaces, on account of its hard lump form, but is also selected with care by the manganese companies so that the ore exported is of a moderately uniform quality. Hence much of the demand for Indian ore created by the political troubles in the Caucasus is likely to be of a permanent nature. The depression that has come over the Indian manganese industry during 1908 affects the Caucasus also, and is due to a lessened demand for manganese-ore by the steel trade, and not to Russia having recaptured any of its lost custom.'*

Among the other minerals of group 1 mention may be made of salt. The bulk of the material (above 60 p. c.) is derived from seawater and there was a larger increase of foreign salt during the past five years than during the previous period reviewed, the principal increase being during the last 3 years. The average amount of salt produced in the country was 1,167,785 statute tons per year, and when we consider that about 20 lbs. of salt are necessary for every head per year, a simple calculation shows that the *swadeshi* salt is only possible to supply a third of the total demand for the article and this quantity taken in conjunction with the amount of salt imported proves that the total amount of consumption per head is only 13½ lbs. *i. e.* about a third less than what has been found to be necessary. Thus we are affronted with a very serious problem and steps should be taken to study this question thoroughly and deficiency should be made up either by developing the local sources of output of which many have not been tapped as yet or by a further reduction in the salt-tax so that the imported material may be brought

* P. 128.

more and more within the reach of the poorest sections of the people.

Tin is now profitably worked in Burma where the metal occurs in combination with oxygen. The ore is worked in three different localities and during the period under review material of the total value of Rs. 82,4400 was raised from these places. Some part of the material thus obtained is exported chiefly to the Straits Settlements in the form of block tin and partly as tin-ore, and India has to depend upon Straits Settlements for a large supply of block tin. In comparing the figures it appears that while the export price of 1 cwt. of block tin is about £6'4, the import price of the same quantity of substance is about £7'4 so that for every cwt. exported and re-imported India suffers a loss of £1 per cwt. and this calculated for the last 5 years amounts to about Rs. 25,000. There are possibilities of obtaining this ore in commercial quantities in many parts of the country as in the Palanpur State and Hazaribagh district, and steps should be taken to exploit these and other promising places to stop any further import of foreign block-tin. It may be noted here that during the last few years India had to pay Rs. 17,416,140 for the value of the imported block-tin.

Coming now to minerals of group II, we find that they include a large number of materials though we do not understand why sulphuric acid has found a place in a review of the mineral production. The additions to this group include barytes, nickel and tungsten minerals. India possesses a very large source of income in the building materials of which there are so many different varieties which are likewise of very wide extent. Regular and systematic quarries are not numerous, and 'during the present quinquennium, the value of building and engineering materials imported from foreign countries into India has had an average value of £315,240, exclusive of stone and marble, which have averaged £26,574 annually during the same period.' Three ways of the development of bauxite have so far been suggested, but there is a fourth way in which part of this bauxite may be utilised, namely, in the manufacture of alum for which there must be a gradually increasing demand in consequence of the establishment of tanning and dyeing factories. The China-clay and fire-clay deposits have been found to be suitable for the manufacture of porcelain and fire-bricks of the highest quality, while the *terre cotta* clays have been found suitable for the manufacture of ornamental stone-ware vases and tiles and bricks of good quality.

Smelting of copper in the original primitive way must have

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been very common in ancient India as is shown by the large quantities of slag which are to be met with in many parts of the country. The people of the country require copper and brass utensils for their every day use and in these five years copper and brass articles of the total value of Rs. 108,737,100 have been imported. There are many copper-bearing deposits in the land, but with the exception of those at Singbhum it has not been attempted to work out any of those systematically and this is extremely unfortunate. Investigations into the glass-making materials show that 'the quartz-sand of the requisite purity and of suitable texture' to produce very high quality glass-wares is absent. In the last quinquennial review exactly similar remarks were made as regards the absence of the very best kinds of quartz-sand and at the same time we find that 'during the past ten years the annual imports of glass and glassware have gradually risen in value from £440,000 to over £900,000 in 1907, with a fall to a little over £800,000 in 1908.' This shows what an immense field exists in India for glass industry and the reopening of the Rajpur Glass-Works shows that, though unable to produce, at present, first class glass articles, there is a very large market for articles of inferior qualities and a systematic investigation should be made as to the extent to which the immense and extensive sand deposits on the large Indian rivers can be profitably utilised. Some works should be started to remelt the broken glass articles and manufacture new things out of them, and in this way also a check can be exercised on this increasing import of glass and glassware.

The review under notice contains a very clear account of the Indian marbles. Experiments covering over a period of three years and nine months were carried on to compare the specific gravity, porosity and resistance to weathering of the Indian marbles as well as of the Italian and the Grecian ones and it has been definitely established that in every way the Indian marbles are superior to the foreign ones and, though in these tests, comparison was made of 'the average Indian marbles with the average foreign marbles, overlooking the fact that, in each case, the pieces were derived from several localities, yet, if the most typical localities in each case be taken, say Makrana for India and Carrara for the foreign marbles, and the figures for these two localities compared it is seen that a similar superiority is shown for the Makrana marble over the Carrara marble. This should be an eye-opener to our countrymen and regular systematic quarries should be established in the marble-bearing places. The inland localities

are rather unfavourably situated but 'in Burma there are hills of marble standing on the banks of the Irrawady, and therefore well-suited for water transport.'

Towards the close of this review mention is made of some rare minerals which have been found in India within recent years and a few of these, if found in sufficiently large quantities, are sure to prove profitable sources of wealth and attempts should be made both by the Government and private capitalists to investigate into their occurrences and estimate their amount and the cost of bringing them into the market.

It appears from this quinquennial review that new deposits of minerals are being found out from year to year, but as yet no serious attempt has been made by any well-organised Indian Company to crush and melt the ores on the spot and consequently the minerals are still being exported as raw materials. India gets something, to begin with, as her share as a labourer but subsequently she has to pay a very large sum for the imported articles, in many cases manufactured out of the raw materials supplied by her. This is indeed a very serious state of affairs and unless the people themselves can manufacture, the future is very dark. The introduction of a high class technological institute has now become an absolute desideratum, if Indians are to take their place in the competition of the world. The Bengal Technical Institute, established sometime ago, has been unfortunately quite unable to solve this problem and the diverse courses of studies that the Institute has undertaken to teach, and the classes of students that are usually admitted into the Institute, do not warrant any results better than what we are having for the last few years. Many of the so-called National Schools are quite in a moribund state. The very recent amalgamation of the Technical Institute and the National Council of Education has been a move quite in the right direction and we earnestly appeal to the authorities of the united organisation not to waste their funds and energy on any and every possible course of study, because such a procedure is destined to fail in the long run, but to equip their institution properly as a high-class technological college fit for undertaking the teaching of one or two courses of study, the particular courses being settled after expert advice with due regard to local requirements and possibilities.

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LIST OF RECENT BOOKS ON INDIA

STEBBING, E. P.—Jungle By-Ways in India (Lane, 12s. 6d.)

WILKINSON, MAJOR—Life and Wild Sports in India (Southern Publishing Co., London. 6d.)

GANGA PRASAD—The Caste System : its Origin and Growth, its Social Evils and their Remedies (Second Edition, revised and enlarged. The Tract Department of the *Arya Pratinidhi Sabha*, U. P. -/6/-)

FLEMING, REV. D. S.—Suggestions for Social Helpfulness (Natesan & Co., Madras.)

MACDONALD, RAMSAY—The Awakening in India.

SHERER, J. W.—Havelock's March on Cawnpore (Nelson London, 1s.)

BRADLEY-BIRT, F. B.—Chota Nagpore (Revised Second Edition.)

BAIRD, J. G. A.—Private Letters of the Marquis of Dalhousie (London, Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 21s.)

ILBERT, SIR C. P.—The Government of India (Revised Third Edition. Henry Troude, London.)

S. N. SE N.—The Report of the Conventions of Religions in India, 1909. (The Vivekanand Society, Calcutta. 2 vols. 4/-).

ARTICLES

BENGALI AS A LINGUA FRANCA

May a mere student of Bengali, and one who now studies it among many lets and hindrances thousands of miles away from Bengal, say a word or two without presumption on the subject of a recent article on *The Possibilities of the Bengali Language*? I have not been able to get hold of the original article and must confine my remarks to the very interesting summary of it published in the June number of *The Indian World*.

As to whether Bengali is likely to be adopted as a second language outside Bengal, much as French is used in most European countries, I dare not express an opinion. It has a serious rival in English, and in English translations of such books as Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's novels. Personally, I think it is worth any one's while to learn enough of the language to read Bengali literature in the original. The English translations of Bengali books are commonly very poorly executed and give a very faint idea of the qualities of Bengali style. Especially is this the case, I venture to think, in attempts to translate the characteristic humour of Bankim, and especially where he uses a florid sanscritised style to give point to his satire. A merely literal rendering of such passages completely omits the sly and subtle irony of the original. Bengali poetry, again, is extremely difficult to translate, being very elliptic and allusive. Much of its fascination, too, depends on its copious rhymes which are often used to give point to an epigram. It is almost impossible to give an adequate equivalent of such rhymed passages as, e.g. ;—

কট পাখী, নাহি ছাখী, বরষ সে মাল ।
মিচা কর, মাখে মর, ভুলিল অম্বাল ।

No one who knows even a little Bengali will deny that the learning of the language yields a rich reward to a student of its singularly picturesque and flexible idioms. No one can deny that Bengali is an extremely expressive language and one that lends itself to a great variety of styles. Even a foreigner and a beginner can see the remarkable difference between the styles, say, of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, of Vidyasagar, (which to most Englishmen seems charmingly scholarly and polished,) of Bankim Chandra

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Chatterjee, and Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri. The language is evidently one that is suited to many kinds of individual expression and is therefore better fitted to be the vehicle of an original literature than one in which the canon of style is fixed and conventional. For this, among other reasons, I venture to think that the three defects in Bengali pointed out by Professor Jogesh Chandra Ray are of little practical importance. It is true, to be sure, that the spoken language has many dialects. But surely these are what should attract the attention of scholars, since in these may be found some clue to the origin of Bengali as a separate speech. In France a careful and systematic survey of all the dialects is being made. French may be described as Latin spoken by people whose ancestors belonged to many races and spoke many tongues, but were mostly Celtic folk. I suppose about three-fourths of French words in the literary language can be traced to Latin. But in the spoken language of rustics there probably survive traces of the pre-Latin days, and it is of the utmost scientific importance and interest to note these before the spread of education has wholly obliterated such relics of primitive culture. So is it, no doubt, in Bengal. In northern Bengal, the process of change is actually going on before our eyes. The Koches, for instance have practically abandoned their own Tibeto-Burmese tongue and speak Bengali or Assamese. They speak it, however, "with a difference," and both pronunciation and syntax still betray the linguistic neophyte. The Meches are mostly big lot, and can use both their own agglutinative Bodo speech and Bengali as well. All over Bengal there must lurk strains of primitive speech in the talk of the lower and aboriginal castes and classes. The contributions made by such primitive elements to a national language are by no means to be despised. It must be remembered that the literary language is largely moulded by men of books and learning who are out of touch with the needs, the sentiments, the emotions of common, simple men. Yet in the observation and imagination of such people, living mostly out of doors and in contact with the beauty and power of natural forces, there is a poetry which is often wanting to the second-hand and derivative impressions of scholars. Such certainly is the Celtic element in the literatures of North-Western Europe. Matthew Arnold believed that the rhymed metres of modern Europe were not derived from the stately unrhymed verses of classical poetry but from Celtic verse. He was probably only partly right, since Latin readily lent itself to rhyme, as any inflected language will. The outburst of rhyme was probably due to a change in pronuncia-

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tion and stress, to the transition from *quantity* to *accent*. But this may have been due to the influence of Keltic methods of pronouncing. May not some similar transition have produced metres of modern Bengal from the stately *slokas* of Sanskrit? I know that the matter has been investigated by, amongst others, the learned and painstaking author of *Vanga Bhasa o Sahitya*. He has proved, what no one would be hardy enough to deny, the evolution of Bengali verse from Sanskrit verse. But he has omitted, I venture to think, the *nature* of the change, which is a close parallel to the transition from the quantitative Latin verse to the *stress* of its modern descendant. This is due to a change in pronunciation and tone. May not, must not, there have been a similar change as Sanskrit spread with the Hindu religion into Eastern India? And would it not be interesting to see what traces of this change may be found in local dialects? A comparison of the Vedic accents with the almost atonic pronunciation of modern Bengali would surely lead to interesting results. So, too, with syntax and inflexion. When a language is borrowed by a whole race, as Latin was borrowed and adopted by the Spanish and French, the native vocabulary is speedily replaced by new words, but the local modes of thought often survive in the *vakya-rachana*, in the arrangement of words in phrases; and also in inflexions, which are almost always of local origin. It would be very interesting to discover how the Bengali plural in *রা* came into existence: how words like *দেঁ* and *হরনে* came to be used to mark the ablative; how *কি* was adopted as the sign of the dative accusative; many such problems may perhaps be solved by an attentive study of dialect. Note, for instance, the use of *দেঁ* in Assamese to mark the ablative. This is exactly parallel to the English use of "from" which, like the Assamese *দেঁ*, comes from the root found in the Sanskrit *परा*, the Latin *perendie*, the Greek 'peran.' The Scottish *frac* or *fra* is singularly like the Assamese *দেঁ*. If, therefore, the Bengali dialects are destined to perish, drowned by the flooding literary speech, let us hope that our *Pundits* will keep some record of local dialects. In them probably exists the most valuable philosophical material.

Another defect is said to be "the divergence between the spoken and the written tongue." But is this a defect? Surely it is, on the contrary, a merit. If any literature were confined to the homely speech of illiterate people, its means of expression, and especially of abstract expression, would be singularly limited. Moreover, is not the alleged discrepancy between spoken and written Bengali chiefly one of vocabulary, and due to the fact that literary Bengali

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freely borrows *tatsamas* from its mother Sanskrit? If the difference were one of syntax or idiom, it would be a serious matter. But is the difference complained of greater than that between the language of Milton and that of ordinary and even educated Englishmen? Surely a literature that was doomed to use only the words of the mart and the field would be a feeble instrument for the expression of the thoughts of poets and philosophers. And is it a fact that literary Bengali is difficult for educated Bengalis to understand? Would any school-boy have much difficulty in comprehending a passage such as that beginning

मोहित मोहिनीरूपे, कङ्कला हरये
पश्यति ;—“केन हि वा एकाकिनी दिशि,
ए विजय स्थले, तीना, गणेश-जननि ? etc.

It is true that the school-boy would not talk thus himself, any more than the British school-boy would use Miltonian periods to express his simple ideas and boyish emotions.

Thirdly, it is objected that Bengali is not a phonetic language. And here I note a statement which, frankly, has surprised me. The learned author of the article on which I am commenting says that “English, and in a much greater degree French, are also non-phonetic tongues.” I wish I could accept the implied compliment to my native English. But a tongue which has such anomalies as ‘plough,’ ‘dough,’ ‘tough,’ ‘cough,’ ‘lough,’ ‘rough,’ can hardly enter into comparison with French in which the pronunciation of both consonants and vowels is mostly constant, and where the difficulty of speaking correctly for foreigners is chiefly due to *tone*. There are, it is true, mute consonants in French, but these are easily learned, and occur in accordance with quite simple rules. So, surely, is it with Bengali. It is true that, for instance, *Lakshmi* is pronounced *Lokhi*, and *Aksa* as *Akhya*. But the same groups of letters are always pronounced in the same way. There is a little uncertainty as to some of the vowels. For instance, the short *i* is often pronounced long, as in *बिब*, *पिता*. But this peculiarity is easily mastered. Think of the differences of the pronunciation of the English “e” in such a line as

“Seen here and there and everywhere !”

A foreigner may find a difficulty in correctly pronouncing Bengali words, because the language contains sounds which may be unfamiliar to his ear and vocal organs. But if he has learned the language by hearing and speaking, spelling should certainly not

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present such difficulties as dismay English children in their school-days.

Finally, the writer of the article in the *Modern Review* proposes gravely to abandon the beautiful and clear Bengali script in favour of the greatly inferior Devanagari, whose thick lines and minute differences between letters, especially in compound letters, is extremely trying to the eye. Surely no one who has used both scripts will say that **সবদ্বিহীন** is either prettier or easier to read than **उबद्विहिन**. Let no one rashly interfere with a language. In both France and England there are those, at the present moment, who would introduce a barbarous "simplified spelling," and would artificially introduce a substitute for a system which has a long and interesting history. A national script and a traditional spelling are part of our inheritance from our ancestors. To a people who read much, the *look* of words is almost as important as the *sound* of them, as may be seen by that interesting phenomenon which, in English, some people call "eye-rhymes." It is these inherited peculiarities which give a language its individuality and its charm. People are too wont to change their costume of mind and body for the most trivial reasons. Let me, a foreigner, raise a gentle protest against the abolition of the beautiful, clear, and legible Bengali script. It can be written badly, as can any other means of representing spoken words. But I have seen old Bengali records which were models of seemly and shapely calligraphy, far more legible and beautiful in my humble opinion, than the stiff straight lines of Sanscrit Mss. If the Dravidians choose to adopt Bengali as a second language, by all means let them. But why abandon, in their favour, the script in which Bharat Chandra and Madhu Sudhan, Vidyasagar and Bankim wrote works which should be the pride of every patriotic Bengali?

I must apologise for writing, perhaps too dogmatically, on a subject which should be reserved for the discussions of native scholars. My excuse is that the laudable desire to extend the influence of Bengali may lead to the loss of qualities which have made Bengali literature the most copious, varied, and original literature in the peninsula. It may be that some of its originality and merit are due to indigenous sources as yet hardly suspected and little explored. These may perhaps be detected by diligent students of the dialects, which can, evidently, only be investigated by native scholars. To them I would venture to recommend a perusal of the latest European systems of phonetic writing. Indians have, as a rule, quicker and more accurate ears for consonantal

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sounds than Europeans, if only because the Indian alphabets are so much more complete and systematic in that particular than the ill-arranged and defective alphabets of Europe. But both are defective in signs to mark the elusive differences of vowel-pronunciation, and it is probably in these that dialectical peculiarities chiefly consist. I may also venture to suggest the use of the phonograph as an aid to the ear. A phrase once recorded on the phonograph can be repeated indefinitely, and at any pace that suits the student. It is always well to have a mechanical check to the ear, which is apt to be misled by spelling, and by the listener's own ideas of how a word ought to be pronounced.

But I am straying beyond my subject and my competence. I have only ventured to write at all because it seems to me that Bengalis may not realise in what high honour and esteem their language and literature are held by foreigners, and may endanger the noble inheritance their fathers have handed down to them in the vain attempt to make of one of the great literary languages of India a mere Volapuk or Esperanto. Rather, if a foreigner may venture to make the suggestion, should its beauties and its origins be attentively and reverently studied. And may I, finally, point out with much diffidence what seems to me a danger in modern Bengali style? It seems to me (I may be wrong) that some recent writers have tried to invent an unnecessarily involved and elaborate style, and especially, perhaps, in works of a scientific or quasi-scientific character. Here French rather than English or German should, I venture to suggest, be the model of Bengali writers. Bengali has more than once been called the French of India, and even a foreigner knows that Bengali authors can write with a pellucid ease and distinction such as would do credit to the most classical French writer. I would not venture to make this suggestion if I had not recently submitted a difficult passage in a modern book to a distinguished Bengali official now living in London. He told me, in effect, that the difficulty of the passage was entirely due to the pedantry of the writer and to his use of unnecessarily cumbrous constructions to express perfectly simple and commonplace ideas. Surely one of the most conspicuous merits of good Bengali style, as of good French style, is its transparency, its logic, its elegance. Where a language abounds in good models, there is no excuse for writing in such a way as to throw unnecessary burdens on the intelligence and the patience of the reader.

I heartily hope that many Indians from other provinces will

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study the ingenious, graceful and copious literature of Bengal in the original, and will not be content with crude and careless translations into English. Translation is the most difficult of literary arts, and can hardly be successfully attempted except by those who are absolutely bilingual. I hope too that Bengalis, in the patriotic admiration of their own literature, will not forget the debt it owed, and still owes, to Western literature. That, after all, is only the repayment of the debt the West owes to the ancient culture and civilisation of the East. Nearly all the best modern Bengali writers were competent, and some of them were profound, students of English literature. What would Bankim have been without Sir Walter Scott and Bulwer Lytton ? And did not Madhu Sudhan take Milton as well as the Sanscrit poets as his model ? At a time when political feeling is apt to run high, it should be the privilege of the student and the scholar to point to a field where rivalry can only be friendly, and can only result in a fresher and more cultivated enjoyment of the literatures of India and Europe, all traceable back to a common origin, to the linguistic impulse which produced the Homeric hymns and the hymns, not less beautiful and spontaneous, of the Vedas. Those things survive and give solace and enjoyment to the successive generations of men, long after the political controversies that raged round their authors have been committed to kindly oblivion.

A Retired I. C. S.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE INDIAN ECONOMIC PROBLEM

(Contd. from the September Number)

The want of capital is keenly felt everywhere in the land. The ryot is poor and indebted and has hardly any capital to improve his petty farm ; the weaver in the cottage has no capital to purchase a better loom or to set up industry independently of the oppressive money-lender ; the enterprising employer and business man, if at all there is one, has often to wind up his business or to proclaim himself a bankrupt for want of any reserve ; the newly returned student from Japan or America or Germany, who has perhaps after hard study in a foreign land learnt glass making or mechanical engineering or the manufacture of matches or dyeing, finds no encouragement in his native country, none to help him with capital for employing the faculties which he with so much difficulty has developed ; and lastly, the patriotic Swadeshist fails in competing with

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a foreign navigation company, because of lack of capital. Our railways are worked by foreign capital ; the Government has to undertake the construction of the various public works of utility by borrowing capital from foreign markets at a very high rate of interest ; the profits which are the outcome of the development of the natural resources of our land go to fill the pockets of foreigners who finance the working of these resources with their capital; and we owe our national debt to this 'drain'. This is the state of our country at the present day ; and every one recognises that through this want of capital there is so much waste of the genius, the industry, and the resources of our land. What is it, then, that leads us to be so very lacking in enterprise and that makes the country so much shy to invest its capital ? This is a natural and pertinent question to ask ourselves,—a question which suggests itself to any one trying to understand the various aspects of the Indian economic problem.

The question why we are so much lacking in enterprise is very difficult to answer. Our national character has to be analysed ; we have to enquire how the successive waves of foreign invasion, the teachings of our religion and philosophy, the peculiarities of the various civilizations with which we have hitherto come into contact, have given a special turn to our faculties or deadened them altogether in certain respects. These are subjects upon which no definite opinion may be safely expressed. And now we have to take into account the discouragement so often given to those handful of merchants and labourers who with considerable adventure migrate to foreign lands and make their fortunes by dint of their hard labour. It may be true that so much of land in the country is still left uncultivated, and will prove to be of immense benefit to those who leave their homes and colonise these places ; but there to start life in a new place, to clear forest land, and to set up a new industry, this requires not merely enterprise but also encouragement of a quite different sort. In the economic world, causes and results are inter-dependent and often change their position. Want of capital is the cause of want of enterprise and want of enterprise is, as some state, the cause of lack of capital. Therefore this question of enterprise cannot be fully solved unless we take not only economic but also political, religious, and psychological facts into consideration.

We are on a firmer ground when we come to the discussion of the question of want of capital in our country. Diverse causes have already been assigned for this by men who have been engaged in speaking and writing about our economic difficulties. The power of the Indian to save anything is very little ; the little he saves is

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hoarded and is not employed as capital ; there is no diversity of occupation for the people and no new avenues of livelihood ; agriculture is the only important industry in the country and with the old methods of production the income obtained is very little and only new lines of industry would lead us to have more wealth and to save more capital. The quaint beliefs of the people lead them to endow the temples and mutts with enormous sums of money, which are wasted in many cases, abused in others, and therefore unemployed as capital ; the method of poor relief in India leads also in many cases to the uneconomic waste of wealth ; and so on. From these well-known reasons, it may be clearly seen that it is the peculiar nature of our investments that is the central feature in the economic problem of India. Remove this peculiarity and India is sure to grow prosperous.

Each of the causes here assigned requires a separate essay to deal with. Statistics comparing the annual income of an Indian with that of an Englishman or an American or a Frenchman reveal to us how small is the return which the Indian obtains for his labour. The Indian is willing to save ; he is also economical ; but he has very little left to save. Moreover, the savings he accumulates he spends on either an extravagant wedding or a funeral ceremony, though this is a point often disputed. And then agriculture as carried on in India affords very little income to the peasant, and with the heavy taxation he has to bear makes him rather a debtor than a creditor with capital. Capital which is the result of the utilisation of all the existing forms of labour cannot be created in a country like ours where so much of the labour is wasted for want of employment ; agricultural labours are employed only for six months in the year : from the harvest to the sowing season there is generally very little demand for labourers ; and owing to the absence of other industries in the country, these agricultural labourers cannot utilise their energies in any profitable way during the season of agricultural inactivity. It is also true that there is a large amount of hoarded wealth in the country and wealth in the form of jewels and ornaments ; and if banking facilities are afforded, or, better than this, if the value of improved methods in agriculture is better demonstrated to the peasants in the village much of the hoarded wealth and many of the jewels may be converted into capital. Once more the method of poor relief and of charitable endowments is uneconomic and wasteful ; both are not organised ; and guided by false notions of philanthropy and religion much wealth, which can be profitably employed as capital, is wasted in relieving the able-bodied

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poor, in encouraging idleness and sin, and in promoting drunkenness and debauchery. In conclusion, it may be said that though the main cause of the want of capital is the small income obtained by the Indian and therefore his lack of power to save, there are so many secondary causes arising from the wasteful method of consuming the income obtained.

We have therefore to recognise that the lack of enterprise and the want of capital have in a great measure contributed to the poverty of India, and have hindered the growth of the material prosperity of the land. It will be no waste of labour, nor will it be irrelevant, to deal in some greater detail about this question of capital and to show that the want of capital is the central feature of our economic problem at the present day.

There is a cry everywhere that our agriculture should be improved. But in improving our agriculture the main difficulty is not so much to enlighten the conservative minded people of the land, who are so much attached to the ancestral methods of carrying on cultivation as is generally supposed, but to supply them with the necessary capital. The ryot, already encumbered with debt, unable as he is to pay even the annual interest from his agricultural produce, and perhaps having already mortgaged his land, cannot any further borrow money to buy a better plough, a stronger pair of oxen, and much less to introduce the more costly methods of improvement, however profitable they may prove to be in the long run. Knowledge is not however power at all in his case. The ryot knows pretty well that the fertility of his land may be increased, that his land requires more and better manure. And not only this: he has heard perhaps that with iron ploughs, with chemical manures, and with a rotation of crops he would surely get better profits from his land. But inspite of his knowledge, inspite of the experimental farms, and inspite of the booklets on improvements in agriculture, he is not able to profit by them at all, for his difficulty is not the want of knowledge but the want of capital.

When we go to the other aspect of the problem—the need for a diversity in our industry—we have to recognise that even here the retarding element is the want of Capital. For to start any new manufacturing industry, to work it successfully, and to compete with our stronger rivals in the West, requires the latest machinery, the up-to-date scientific knowledge, and the business habits and energy so characteristic of the Western methods of production. What does all this come to? Once more it is the want of capital. We start our industries hastily with the intention of producing our articles

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much cheaper than when we get them from abroad. But owing to the lack of capital we are not able to do this and in the long run we come to grief in no time. With the cheap labours so largely available in our country, with natural resources so rich, we are not successful in starting manufacturing industries and work them just as they are worked in the west. This is due to the small amount of capital generally forthcoming when a new industry is opened and worked.

It may be asked in this connection whether there are not other difficulties, perhaps more insuperable than want of capital, which retard the growth of our material prosperity? True, there are ; and we have to recognise their existence. But what is argued here is that with an adequate amount of capital at our disposal, we can make a fair amount of progress in our industrial development. It has been argued and truly also that no manufacturing industry of any great importance could be started in our country without the Government coming to our help by adopting a policy of complete protection as the governments of Germany and other European countries, and of the United States of America have done. It can not be denied that infant industries must receive a large amount of such protection if they have to thrive at all. In spite of the truth contained in such statements, we have to note that we are placed in peculiar political circumstances, that the Government is more or less pledged to adopt a policy of free trade in the interests of the manufacturing community in Lancashire, and that it is hoping against hope to expect the Government to extend to our people the benefit of a protective tariff. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, and taking also into account the paramount necessity of increasing the economic prosperity of our land, what we have to do is to accumulate as much capital as possible and to start those industries which do *not* require such protection.

Such an industry is agriculture but unfortunately again it is composed of so many bye-industries. The manufacture of chemical manures, the improvements in the condition of our cattle, the re-organisation of waste land and the production of grass, the construction and working of rice mills, the utilization of the waste products like cotton seed all come under the head of bye-industries of agriculture. There are so many mining and metal industries already in work where we have not to meet any foreign competition, industries which have been preserving their superiority for ages together, but which have to be improved by the investment of additional capital. It should be well understood that capital

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has no fixed form and may be had in any form we please. If an amount of wealth saved is ready and waiting investment, then it matters very little whether it is invested in a manufacturing industry or in an agricultural one. Both satisfy the needs of life ; both are in great demand ; and from any of the two a country may grow prosperous. Instead of constructing a factory with a cotton mill, we may construct farm buildings with a steam engine for pumping water, with a threshing, reaping, and harvesting machine. So many theoretical and practical difficulties stand in the way of protection ; so much scope there exists in our country to do much without resorting to protection ; and it is not always the case that countries producing raw materials are doomed to remain poorer than countries producing manufactured commodities. So we have to recognise that even though the absence of protection retards the growth of so many of our industries, the accumulation of capital will very much make up for this, and that the absence of large quantities of capital is our real difficulty. In order therefore to improve our agriculture, or to give employment to the unemployed, or to secure a diversity in our industries what we must do is not so much to seek for a protective policy from the government—for it is quite impossible—but to open facilities like the co-operative societies and banks for the investment of capital, for the release of hoards, and for the conversion of jewellery into capital. We have to discharge the wasteful forms of consuming wealth in our country and teach the ignorant the advantages of economy and the evils arising from the waste of their accumulated wealth on futile things and on festivals and ceremonies. To create capital must be our immediate aim.

The subject discussed here rather incompletely is a very comprehensive and difficult one. What has been attempted here is to show that every country has its own peculiar economic problem. While the problem in England is that of 'unemployment' arising from 'under-consumption' of wealth, while in Germany it is socialism, in France depopulation, in America, trust and monopolies, in India it is the problem of the poverty of a whole nation. An attempt has also been made to show that our poverty is not due so much to the absence of natural resources, or to the scarcity of labour, but it is due to the want of enterprise in the people, and to the scarcity of capital. The scarcity of capital is the greatest difficulty with us and it has been shown that with more capital at our disposal—even without the advantages of protection—we can make a fair amount of progress. Nothing perhaps has been conclusively proved in this short

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paper and therefore every aspect of the problem must be separately taken up and discussed separately. This I hope to do latter on. In the meantime the main lines here indicated ought to draw public attention.

M. Venkatarangaya

A GLIMPSE INTO ANIMAL LIFE AT ALIPORE

III

THE WILD ASS

En passant I touched in my first article upon the Wild Ass (*Asinus Onager*). But a closer study of the habits and structure of this rather beautiful and interesting animal at a subsequent period has led me to make some further observations on this animal. Animals such as the horse and the dog improve under the process of domestication. On the contrary there are others which deteriorate and, in consequence, become degenerate and dwarfish. Under this last category come the ass and the buffalo. The domestication of the first took place earlier than that of the horse in Asia from an Abyssinian type! * We all of us have seen what an ugly, repulsive and dwarfish sight the domestic ass presents to us! Look at that picture and on this. The domestic ass is an embodiment of neglectful human interference. The wild ass, the progenitor of the former, is a pretty fair, whitish, sturdy race, much larger in size and larger than even the beautiful Shetland pony, the tail of which trails on the ground. Zoologists affirm that the physical characteristic of the ass is its waist of warts in the hind-legs very much like the horse. I have seen in each of the three wild asses—one he and two she-asses confined at Alipore—patches of warts in the fore-legs. They have no dorsal and perpendicular stripes running from the mane to the fore-legs like the common domesticated ass. There is still a larger and handsomer type of wild ass which goes by the scientific name of *Asinus Hemionus*. This latter has dark stripes on its body, and the table-lands of Tibet and Mongolia are its habitat. The common wild ass (*Asinus Onager*) is found in herds in the deserts of Asia. It goes without saying, let me repeat, that the degenerate and dwarfish size of the domesticated ass is the effect of ill treatment and careless breeding. † In corroboration of this theory I

* *Chambers' Encyclopedia.*

† *Chambers' Encyclopedia.*

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would state the fact that Arabia, Syria, Egypt, Spain and Kentucky, where it is well-cared-for, produce varied and improved breeds.*

The enclosure on the left of the Ezra House at Alipore is occupied by the wild asses. The ground within is quite clear of grass and plants, because of the incursions of these asses. One day I saw the garden *mali* giving them some grass along with some weeds taken out of a bed as a feed. One of them showed an amount of intelligence which seemed to me very striking, as I found it was striking the mouthful against the railing in order to cast off the earth from the roots and rootlets. I do not think they are underfed. But from the manner in which they were lustily taking in all that were given them, I thought that they were so. I stroked them gently with the end of my umbrella. And they all seemed to enjoy the stroking.

The domesticated ass is a sad specimen of *Asinus Onager*. It is generally very cruelly treated. And the effect of this cruel treatment on it can easily be read by the man in the street. Man milks the she-ass for the benefit of invalids, but does not, I am exceedingly sorry to say, keep his eye open to the fact that proper tending and nutrients make her yield a larger quantity of milk and a better quality of it than she does when she is left to herself for her sustenance.

In Bengal and Upper India the painstaking donkey, the familiar name of an ass, is used as a beast of burden mostly by the *Dhobis*. That it is used in circus along with the horse shows that it has some amount of intelligence and not entirely devoid of it, as is generally supposed. That it is an emblem of patience and forbearance is clear enough from the fact that it is made the carrier of the Hindu goddess of small-pox, *Shetala* or *Mata Debi*, as she is called in Upper India or India beyond Lower Bengal. The donkey-riding goddess is offered and worshipped with a broomstick, which is also an emblem and implement of cleanliness and tidiness. During the outbreak of this fell disease, every house in the neighbourhood of the occurrence of a case of pox has to be kept neat and clean. And the actual attack should be patiently forborne just as a donkey puts up with all sorts of suffering imaginable.

The wild ass is domesticated not for physical deterioration and degeneracy, but because the domesticated descendant produces a breed crossed with a mare and a he-ass. It is called the *mule*, which is no more a beast of burden than it is one having draft-power and is of much larger size like that of a common horse, though the tail,

* *Chambers' Encyclopædia*.

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the colour and the ears are asinine. Having reversed the order, when the she-ass is crossed with a horse, the *Munny* is produced.* It is more a horse than an ass. It does not bray but neighs. Its tail, colour and ears are equine. The Kiang bears a close resemblance to it.

IV

THE HIPPOPOTAMUS

Africa is the repository of all sorts of relics of the ancient world. She is also the refuge of the animals crowded out from the other quarters of the globe. The hippopotamus is one such refugee. Its fossil remains show that it was once largely distributed in India, Madagascar, England and in the southern countries of Europe. It is a large artiodactyle quadrungulate animal. It belongs to the *Suina* division† of animals, which have the form of a pig. It also makes an equal approach to the massive elephant in shape and limbs, as shall be presently shown. Like the elephant and the pig it is also thick-skinned and it is therefore mis-called as such, derived as it is from the two Greek words, *hippos* a horse and *potamus* a river. The obvious fact remains, however, that the hippopotamus has no resemblance whatever to the horse. It then may naturally be asked: Where has this mistake sprung from? In answer I have no manner of doubt in my mind when I say that the mistake in question has originated with the ancient Greeks, who would call the hippopotamus the 'river-horse.'‡ Sanskrit scholars have, however, made no mistake. They call it as it should be, *Jalahasti*, from the fact of its being like a *Hasti* (elephant), though smaller in size, passing as it does the day-time in water as an aquatic animal. I would call it also a *Jalushukar*, because of the fact that it is also like a boar and sub-classified by Naturalists, as aforesaid, *Suina* living an amphibious life. Like it and the rhinoceros, the elephant and some other animals, it is thick skinned, which is technically called 'pachydermatous.' Underneath the skin there is a thick layer of lard, which renders the *Suina* quite insensible to the eating into the sub-cutaneous layer alluded to above. The hippopotamus is divided into two species. The larger species, which is more commonly met with, is known to us as the *Hippopotamus Amphibious*. The other goes by the name of *Hippopotamus Liberiensis*. At Alipore there is the male of the former at the Buckland House.

* *Chambers' Encyclopedia*.

† *Harmsworth's Encyclopedia*.

‡ *Chambers's Encyclopedia*.

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An easy stroll from the Ezra House to the Buckland House is but an emigration from the blue bed to the brown. A round tank containing shallow and turbid water, or rather the water made so by the restless inmate, occupies the centre of it. It has a strong iron railing all around it. Just beside the tank there is a *kutchra* raised walk for the amphibian. And round the circuitous walk on a raised ground there is another strong iron railing barring the visitors, which has been made the temporary home of the mighty denizen in an unfamiliar climate. The colour of its skin, overgrown with sparse bristly hair, is darkish. The face is nearly four-cornered, the gait of toddlings is like that of an elephant. The molars called tusks are prominent. As a merchandise they are made use of for artificial teeth for man. The incisors are so deep-set in the upper jaw that the writer long laboured under an erroneous impression that the hippopotami were wanting in them. But a glance at the gaping illustration given in the *Chambers' Encyclopædia* removed it, which was subsequently confirmed by any careful observation of the life at Alipore. The ears are short. They are said to be constantly set in motion to catch sounds. But the amphibian confined there is never found to set itself in motion. Notwithstanding the fact that the body is always wet, a sort of frothy fluid trickles down the neck and other limbs that come in contact with one another. The tail is short and gradually tapers down. It is more piggish than elephantine. The legs are short and thick and quite disproportionate to the body. The animal is aquatic by day, and, when it comes out of water to eat a handful of grass from either the servant placed in charge of it or from the curious visitor, who scrapes up some blades of grass from the adjoining land below, it does not stop a long time at the place. The garden menial does so, not for the love of it, but in expectation of a copper from the visitor, for whose amusement he caters. It now and then only opens its mouth wide. There are hair on the lips like the feelers of the feline species. The text-books on natural history affirm that at night it becomes a land-animal, living as it does then on land for its food. At the naturalists' garden at Alipore, Art has been meddlesome with Mother Nature and the animal is fed there by day. Once I have seen it at ten in the morning with rice-gruel, gram and red tomato. The eyes are roused and out-bulging. The wonder of it is that the turbid water of its enclosure does nowise affect its sight. One day an interesting incident was noticed. The huge amphibian placed the hind part of its body just before the pipe,

ANIMAL LIFE AT ALIPORE

which supplies the big roused reservoir with water, and got his body thoroughly washed.

Man's knowledge is at best imperfect and limited. In this vast well-regulated universe nothing is without any Divine purpose. The All-beneficent Divine purpose is manifest in its keeping the hippopotamus wholly in water by day. The line of natural selection and adaptation asserts itself when it prefers water by broad day-light to land. That law is imperative and essentially necessary for the preservation and propagation of the species. The merging-out at night keeps the balance of life and death even. There is, besides, one other good achieved by the nocturnal habit and movement of the amphibian. It then wallows in the mire and thus checks the luxuriant growth of underwood and shrub in the marshes that abound in the Nile regions. Naturalists affirm that it has a retentive memory. Wherever a mishap has occurred to it, by way of risking its own life or that of its young, it would never turn its face towards that direction. It is docile and, on the whole, not harmful. It loves the hand that caresses it. But there are some which are mischievous. At night they enter plantations and work havoc. These mischievous exceptions are called *solitaires*.*

The hippopotamus is a gregarious animal. The female is smaller than the male. The period of gestation extends to eight months or thereabouts. The mother generally carries the calf, which attains maturity in five years, on her back. Thirty years is the longest period that a hippopotamus lives. The largest of the hippopotami measures from 14 feet from the extremity of the upper lip to the tip of the tail. The ordinary length is 12 feet with a height of 5 feet at the shoulders. The circumference of the body at its thickest part is equal to the length. The flesh is delicious. It is eaten with great zest by the natives of Africa and the white colonists. But what is beef to the Hindus, pork to the Mahomedans, it is to certain tribes on the Zambesi. Its hide, fat and tusk are each an article of commerce. The hide is used in the manufacture of elastic whip. Artificial teeth, as I have written to say above, are made of the tusk. The fat lying between the skin and the muscles is one of the delicacies served on an African table. The voice is piggish, though loud and harsh. Only once I have heard it grunting in the Alipore Garden where there is a rare species of this wonderful animal. It is called the pyguny hippopotamus

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(*Hippopotamus Charopsis Liberionsis*) and is less aquatic. And its special characteristic is that it has only two incisors, instead of four, which the ordinary hippopotamus has. I have said it is rare. It is getting fast more so. In a few years more it will be, I am afraid, extinct just as the common hippopotamus has become in India.

The hippopotamus is the Bohemoth of the ancients, of which mention is found in the Book of Job in the Bible.*

Nakur Chandra Biswas

NUR JAHAN

A fountain, in the garden of the queen,
With all the silver splendour of a spray,
That fell like jewels on a screen of leaves,
Did play between the sunbeams glancing through.
And near the fretted marble basin, sat
A maid who gazed with dreamy, half-hid eyes,
Into the laughing tumult of the bowl,
And thought of many things, as maidens think.
And one there was, who stood behind the trees,
A youth, with eyes wherein the light spake love,
Who brooding on the beauty of the maid,
Conceived a strange disquiet in his soul.

And days went by, and then o'er all the realm
A change did pass ; for on the Indian throne
Jehangir took the place of great Akbar.
And though he thought that all things in themselves
Were fair, at times it seemed the world was dark,
Dark as the silent garden of the queen,
Where now the roses drooped and no one came
To watch the fountain and its wondrous spray.
And sunset after sunset slipped away
And all the manhood of the king cried out
Within him for his twin—the girl.

* *Chambers' Encyclopædia.*

And now

Came Kutb-ud-din unto his liege, and prayed
That he might know the desire of his lord,
And offered service. "Brother," said the king,
"The cup is dry, I cannot quench my thirst,
"For he that gave me being, ere he passed
"Denied me that which makes all being sweet
"With something bigger than my empty thoughts :
"Thou know'st, I think, a man, Sher Khan, by name.
"The very one to whom my sire gave,
"A Jhagir in Bengal—with it a maid—
"And for her I thirst."

And then Kutab rose,
And passing out he gathered all his men,
And left the city, riding East in arms.
Then when the moon was old the men returned
With news of onset in the distant Plains,—
How Kutb-ud-din had fallen in the fray,
And how the Sher was slain. And now they brought
To Delhi, to the king, what they desired.
The fountain and the roses and the leaves
Were bright as though to welcome the girl.
And as she sat there with the king, she spake ;
"It is a pity, lord, such things should be,
"For I did learn to love thee long ago,
"When Thou would'st come to watch me through the trees,
"Before the Afgan took me as his bride ;
"And now, this strife, this bloodshed, and this grief
"Have been, ere Thou didst know."

Then spake the king :

"The world is great with gladness and thought
"Of love ; and thou who art its light, shall rule
"My kingdom as thou wilt." And so she ruled
With wisdom, many years, Jehangir's realm.

Ophir

The Progress of the Indian Empire

PROVINCE BY PROVINCE

BOMBAY

Bombay is forging ahead in all departments of life—social, industrial, educational and so forth. Social reform is making head way in Hindu Society on an unprecedented scale. The old opposition to widow marriage is breaking down and late marriages are becoming popular. Widow marriage is no longer the red rag it used to be and the new generation is not repelled by the departure from religion and custom which it was supposed to involve. The marriageable age for girls has been pushed up a good deal by various causes. Educated youths are unwilling to have marriage forced upon them by a mistaken parental solicitude. The ever increasing keenness of the struggle of life, the new standard of living which modern conditions have forced upon society, the economic condition of the country and a better realization of one's responsibilities—all these have combined to facilitate the progress of this much-needed reform. As a rule school boys and college students are unwilling to be married before they have independent means of living. This is as it should be. This reform is, however, comparatively easier. But not so the late marriages of girls. According to current orthodox notions, marriages of girls cannot be deferred beyond the age of thirteen at the latest. Plague and famine, high prices and exorbitant dowries demanded in the marriage market, have forced the hands even of the most orthodox to transgress the eight years' limit. Yet the advance in the marriageable age of girls is not proportional to that in the case of youths and the disparity remains all the same. A full-fledged graduate has to be mated to a girl of fourteen with little education and incomplete physical development. There are, however, hopeful signs that this disparity in age and education will be gradually lessened. Here and there are to be seen unmarried girls of sixteen and seventeen pursuing their school course and the demand for them is every day increasing. Education is being regarded as one of the chief qualifications of a suitable bride and the bargain of marriage is no longer struck entirely by third parties and mainly on monetary considerations.

PROGRESS OF INDIAN EMPIRE (BOMBAY)

The Bombay Presidency may well feel proud of the progress it has been making in female education. 'The proportion of girls going to schools and colleges is among us larger than in any other province of India. Poona—the centre and fountain head of all public movements in this part of the country—has been looked upon as the home of Hindu orthodoxy and very naturally. But the capital of the Mahrattas has beaten even the go-ahead and cosmopolitan "gate of India" hollow in the matter of female education. His Excellency the Governor distributed prizes sometime ago to the pupils of the three institutions conducted under the auspices of the Maharashtra Female Education Society and expressed his complete satisfaction with the excellent work done by that Society. Another healthy sign of the advance of women is the success with which the Seva Sadan is carrying on its noble mission of educating the members of the weaker sex and preparing them for the highly beneficial duties which women are expected to perform in an advanced society. Women have been designed to occupy a very high position in the home and the country, but in these times they can not discharge their duties properly unless they are educated, trained and accomplished. The Poona branch of the Seva Sadan performed its first anniversary the other day and Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar gave away prizes to the girls and ladies who have been receiving instruction of a very useful kind in the special classes that have been started specially for such ladies as cannot, owing to age or other difficulties, go to school. A band of enthusiastic lady-workers have devoted themselves to the Sevasadan movement, and the success they have attained in the course of only twelve months is highly creditable to them. Women have now taken up on themselves the task of the elevation and amelioration of their own sex and the prospects before them are most cheerful. Social Europe has so long been retarded by the indifference and even the opposition of the fair sex itself but now that it has been roused to a consciousness of their condition and the need of improvement, the future is fraught with every hope of rapid progress.

A still clearer indication of the awakening of the social conscience is provided by the way in which the Depressed Classes Mission is winning sympathy from every side. In Bombay and Poona, special schools for the education of the children of the outcasts of Hindu society have been started and with the help of the public they are going on very well. Last month we had a prize

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distribution ceremony in connection with the Poona schools of the Mission. It will however take a long time before the social ban hanging upon the untouchables is removed or greatly relaxed. Their practical exclusion from the pale of society is a legacy of many centuries. It is an evil which time and education alone can remove. In the meantime the efforts that are being made on their behalf are indispensable and deserving of every praise.

Poona has the honour of having in its midst a highly useful institution recently started by public funds and as a memorial to one of the greatest Indians of the last century. The Ranade Industrial and Economic Institute was opened last month by His Excellency Sir George Clarke. The soul of the movement has been another great Indian—the most eminent and worthy disciple of Mr. Ranade, I mean, the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale. It was mainly through his indefatigable efforts that a lakh of rupees were raised in the Deccan for the memorial. What more appropriate and useful form could it take than an Institute of the kind established in Poona? The best part of Mr. Ranade's life was passed in the capital of Maharashtra. It was he who made Poona what it has now become. Almost all the public institutions of the city owed their parentage to him, and he loved Poona with almost filial affection. He was the father, also, of Indian Political Economy and took great interest in the development of indigenous industries. The Institute, which will now perpetuate his memory, is designed to carry into effect some of the objects he had at heart in connection with the economic development of the country. Let us hope the Institute will be able to turn out some tangible and really useful work.

The Senate of our University has been off and on discussing certain changes to be made in the college courses in the light of suggestions made by Government in December, 1908. The attentions proposed were regarded as revolutionary but some of them at least were calculated to be beneficial. The recommendations made by Government may be summed up by saying that the Matriculation was to be abolished and transferred to colleges, the first year's examination taken by the University was to be done away with, the burden of subjects was to be reduced and the study of science and research work were to be encouraged. At the outset a difference of opinion arose as to whether specialization was to be introduced at the end of the first year in college or whether it was

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to come after some general knowledge and culture had been obtained by the students. There was a very hot and protracted controversy and an *impasse* was reached. Sir P. M. Mehta was the sturdy champion of the old order of things and contended that a general culture should precede all specialization. With his tact and influence he carried everything before him and all those who wanted to overhaul the college courses were at their wits' end. To their great relief he is now away in England and his absence has been availed of by the Senate to expedite the work of reform. The first year's University examination now goes and the Arts and Science courses bifurcate at the end of the first year. According to the earlier proposals, all history, ancient and modern, Indian and English, was to disappear from the Arts course as compulsory subjects and it was against such proposals that the opposition of Sir P. M. Mehta was directed. But happily this extreme position was not regarded as tenable and we have now a compromise in which Indian and English history remains and ancient history and political economy go to the voluntary group at the B. A. examination. In the science course, there is, of course, neither to be history nor any second language. Committees have been appointed to draw up the detailed courses and they will, in due time, come up before the Senate. On the whole, the changes that have been accepted by that body are certainly an improvement on the old order of things and will tend to make University education more systematic, substantial and practically useful. Cram will be minimised, much time and energy will be saved, research work will be encouraged and powers of independent thinking fostered.

The scheme for sending an Indian cricket team to England is now complete, and we are told it is to start early in May next. A pretty strong and representative eleven, well equipped and trained, will be placed on the cricket fields of England and there is a likelihood of its being captained by H. H. the Jam Saheb. I have heard complaints made in certain quarters that the Bombay element predominates in what is called an All-India Cricket Team. The idea originated in Bombay and the whole scheme was developed there. But that is no reason why men from other provinces, if they are eligible, should not be asked to join the team. I feel that the Committee which has worked up the scheme has tried its utmost to include in the proposed team the best cricket talent available in all parts of India. But if it is thought that there are any players elsewhere who deserve a place in the team and have not

An All-India
Cricket Team

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been included, it is but just that their claims should be pressed. I find that a proposal has been made to the effect that interprovincial matches should be arranged at some convenient centres so that all players may have a chance of showing their merit and the final selection may be satisfactory to all concerned. This is a suggestion worthy of acceptance and I am told it is going to be adopted. We may have in the coming cold weather a few trial matches, after which sufficient time must be allowed to the final team to get into proper trim by training and practice.

BENGAL

The judgment delivered by Messrs Justices Holmwood and Fletcher on the *Karmayogin* case and the appointment of Mr. Ali Imam, the Standing Counsel to the Government of Bengal, to the office of the Law Member of the Imperial Government and the selection of Rai Bahadur Kishorilal Goswami as the Indian member of the newly-constituted Bengal Executive Council are outstanding facts in the history of Bengal in the month under notice. Besides these, there are a few other matters which also deserve chronicling.

The judgment of Messrs Holmwood and Fletcher has naturally elicited much public admiration not so much because justice has been done to the accused in the case, but because the Judges have taken up a position which will prevent the executive in the future from sanctioning all manner of prosecutions against the Press. The Press in India,—of course, we mean, the Indian section of the Press in this country—is already too much under the mercy of the Police and the law-maker, and it would be unimaginable cruelty if the executive were also allowed to deal with it at its sweet pleasure. Hostile Anglo-Indian critics have no doubt found the judgment a good peg to hang all sorts of abuse both against the people and the High Court, and in one quarter it has been sneeringly described as ‘the magna charta of the political agitator.’ Whether Justices Fletcher and Holmwood intended their judgment to be a magna charta for the Indian political agitator is more than we have any means of knowing, but we refuse to read it in any other way but as an impartial and independent vindication of the liberty of the Press and an unflinching endeavour to maintain the purity of the administration of justice in this country. If such an effort has disappointed the enemies of the educated community in India, the High Court has no reason

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to be sorry. And if its effect would be to discourage hasty prosecutions and unnecessary harassment, the friends of the Indian Press ought not to shrink from clutching at it as their magna charta.

Apart from the danger and risk of having a Hindu and Mahomedan alternately as a Law Member, as the *Times* Mr. Ali Imam would have it, there is nothing to take exception to the appointment of Mr. Ali Imam as the successor of Mr. S. P. Sinha. It may be that Mr. Ali Imam is, what is believed to be in certain quarters, only a glorified criminal lawyer, but it is forgotten that it is not brilliant forensic powers nor a very clever knowledge of jurisprudence that go to make a successful Law Member, for he has hardly to draft any bills or take charge of them in the Council in these days, and in the future shall not have to preside over all Select Committees. Mr. Ali Imam is a fluent speaker, a tactful man, a friend of the Hindus and the Mahomedans alike, and, what seems to us to be his greatest recommendation, he has been trained as a politician and, as a Moslem Leaguer and a whilom Congressman, been in active touch with the political life of New India. Such a man, no matter whether he is possessed of brilliant legal abilities or not, is eminently fitted to occupy a seat in the Government of India and is bound to succeed. Mr. Ali Imam may not emulate the learning of a Mayne or a Macaulay, but if he will succeed in placing before the Council the Indian view of things on every important question that comes before it, he will have done more than enough to earn the gratitude of his people and country.

The selection by Sir Edward of Rai Kissorilal Goswami Bahadur to fill up the seat in his executive council reserved by the Indian Councils Act of 1909 for an Indian gentleman has happily set at rest much wild speculation, a good deal of canvassing and running down of likely nominees. The appointment is the happiest ever made by Sir Edward and both the 'natural' and the popular leaders of the people are satisfied with it. Rai Kissorilal is no dark horse in Bengalee politics and next to the front rank of our politicians he occupies a very distinguished place among the wise heads of Bengal. He has been a legal practitioner of some distinction and a leading member of the British Indian Association; he is suave and gentle and to the manner born. We have no doubt he will be able to bring independence and courage into his work and make local self-government in Bengal a living force instead of a dead issue as it is at present.

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It is with extreme regret we have to refer here to the parting
Mr. S. P. Sinha kick given by Mr. S. P. Sinha to his political critics
in the very unhappy speech delivered by him in
the Calcutta Club a few days back. It is a matter of common
knowledge that Lord Minto himself has never in any official utter-
ance been guilty of any discourteous reference to any school of
politics in this country, and it is therefore all the more regrettable
that Lord Minto's first Indian Law Member should transgress the
canon of sweet reasonableness and call his critics names. And
then what an irony of fate for leaders of the people who have
devoted the better part of their life in public service and in the
study of political problems to be told by a lawyer-politician of less
than two years' experience of public life that they are all tyros
devoid of all sense of 'political perspective' or 'political personality.'
Ah ! for the logic of an after-dinner speech and the statesmanship at
which it is rated at the Esplanade end of Chowringhee !

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

THE
NEW POLICY
IN INDIA
AND THEIR
AUTHORS

Lord Morley, who for the last five years had played to perfection the part of 'the Great Mogul in a frock-coat,' laid down the burden of his office early this month and Lord Minto, who served for the same period as the connecting-rod in the Indian administrative machine, handed over the Indian Viceroyalty to his successor within a fortnight from that date. Lord Minto was sent out to India by Mr. Balfour and John Morley took charge of the India Office a few months later under the Government of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. These two men came to power under very different circumstances as no doubt they had received their political training in two different schools of politics. But whatever may be the circumstances of their appointment, they have run the Indian administration in a spirit of cordial co-operation and will go down in history as the joint authors of a new policy in India.

Since the transfer of the Government of India from the East India Company to the British Crown, the administration of this country has undergone much change and development, each stage of which has been definitely associated with a change of policy. The policy with which Lord Canning administered this vast Empire after the suppression of the Sepoy Revolt got for him the sobriquet of 'Clemency' and the anger of a section of the Anglo-Indian Press. The policy of conciliating the people was continued by Lord Elgin and Sir John Lawrence with a scrupulous regard for the preservation of the customary rights of the peasantry in the land. Lord Mayo came with a policy of financial devolution and decentralisation and Lord Northbrook removed some heavy burdens from Indian trade and industry and gave the land rest. Lord Lytton turned a new leaf altogether and lives in Indian history for his Afghan War and the Vernacular Press Act. Sympathy and straight dealing were the keynote of Lord Ripon's righteous administration. The policy of *divide et impera* remains associated with the memory of Lord Dufferin. Lord Lansdowne was too much in the hands of his home member to have an independent policy of his own and Lord Elgin effaced his personality and allowed himself to be guided by 'mandate' from Whitehall. Lord Curzon brought the policy of

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efficiency into vogue and made Indian administration frankly hostile to Indian aspirations.

The new policy inaugurated in India by Lord Minto is the policy of governing this country with sympathy and firmness or what has come to be known in political parlance as the policy of repression *cum* conciliation. Under the aegis of this new policy, a step has no doubt been taken in advance in constitutional government, but the lines on which it has been based are awfully crude and highly inexpedient. But there are features of the Reform Scheme—such as the appointment of Indians to all the Executive Councils of the Empire—which embody righteous principles and remove serious disabilities. For this boon India will have reason to cherish the memory of Lord Minto's administration with gratitude and affection to a distant day. The spirit of conciliation was carried further by Lord Minto in his dealings with the Indian or the feudatory chiefs, whom Lord Curzon had left in a state of almost sullen discontent. Excepting these two items, there is perhaps nothing else to put to Lord Minto's credit. In his anxiety to put down unrest Lord Minto had forged laws and sanctioned executive measures which have gone a great way in driving sedition underground. The Press has been gagged with a severer law than the one which has made Lord Lytton's name a hated memory to the Indian people. The Platform remains muzzled under a ban put for the first time after nearly three quarters of a century. And the frequent recourse taken to the barbarous Regulation III of 1818 has practically made a struggle for civic rights absolutely impossible in these days. And this is the policy which has passed muster in Indian administration during the last five years and of which Lords Morley and Minto stand as the accredited authors.

Lord Minto, however, did not come to India with either any ambition or any definite policy in his pocket like Lords Dalhousie and Curzon. He came to ease the horse of State in India after a period of strenuous activity and stress, and found himself almost paralysed by a violent outburst of crime and discontent. He inherited the legacy of unrest which Lord Curzon's policy of blistering efficiency had engendered in India, and instead of undoing or modifying the unhappy measure of the partition of Bengal he stuck to the official guns and held fast to official prestige. The operation of the Partition was a blunder ; not to have modified it was a crime. And then from flouting public opinion, Lord Minto went step by step to the length of muzzling all free opinions of

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an uncomfortable kind and brought under his sweep of condemnation all honest enthusiasm for boycott and Swadeshi. The episode of Sir Bampfylde Fuller's resignation is an accident of administration for which neither Lord Minto nor the people of the country had much cause to take credit or rejoice, but the indignation which followed the event showed how the Civil Service was a greater power in the land than even the Viceroy. As Lord Curzon latterly came under the thumb of the 'Chambers of Commerce, so Lord Minto came to be ruled by the Civil Service about the close of his administration. After the Fuller affair, Lord Minto completely gave himself away and the Civil Service had practically everything their own way. Till the end of Lord Minto's viceroyalty, this dominance of the Civil Service was the prevailing feature of Indian administration ; and whether it was on the question of communal representation or more restrictions on the Indian Press or the stultifying of the original reform scheme of Lord Morley by the regulations of Sir Herbert Risley, Lord Minto was completely swept off his feet and carried by the Civil Service. If the Civil Service gave up Sir Bampfylde Fuller as a scape-goat to Lord Minto, Lord Minto in his turn and at a subsequent period offered the Bengal deportees as scape-goats to the Civil Service. And it is a paradox that the Viceroy who carried repression to such an extent and gagged the Press and muzzled the Platform came to be compared at the end of his term to a Canning, a Ripon and a Bentinck. Oh, the insincerity of public life !

Lord Minto's claims to distinction are, however, quite personal as the *Daily News* puts it :—

“ It is hardly necessary to say that Lord Minto will not go down to history as a powerful administrator, or even as a constitutional reformer. His success in India has been personal. There is no country in the world where character and manner in the rulers count for more than they do in India ; and Lord Minto has restored the prestige of the Viceroyalty by nothing more magical than sincerity, courtesy, and courage. His life has been attempted, but he has not ceased to move freely in public. He has restored to the relations between Government House and the leaders of the people the friendliness and hospitality of an earlier time. He has made the Indian Princes understand that they are the friends and allies, and not merely the vassals, of the British Crown.”

And now for the doctrinaire philosopher who for nearly a quinquennium has ruled India from Whitehall. In this connection

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one cannot completely ignore the controversy that has been raging for sometime past about the risks of governing this Empire from the other end of the wire and making the Viceroy a mere conduit-pipe or, in the language of Mr. Montagu, a mere agent. If indeed India could always be governed by a statesman in England like Lord Morley, it would be a blessing both for England and India. If, however, instead of a Morley we have a Brodrick or a Cross for our Secretary of State for India, government from Whitehall would be an unmitigated nuisance. After all, it is only a question of personal equation. Or, as the *Morning Post* says, it is quite in consonance with many historical instances that a statesman who has distinguished himself by the exposition of theoretical principles of government should, when he has power, be disposed to be dogmatic, if not despotic. Looking back upon the events of the five years over which Lord Morley has presided over the destinies and affairs of India, one is bound to admit that he has richly earned the crown of beneficent fame. He has approached the consideration of all Indian questions in an unflagging spirit of conciliation and, though he has erred often and very grievously, it is not his heart but his imperfect knowledge that has been the source of all the mischief in question. He came to the India Office with an enormous credit in the bank of public opinion, and even when he sanctioned measures taking away liberty of public speaking and the freedom of the Press and laws introducing pretty drastic machinery,—measures which have produced a ‘mute, sullen, muzzled, lifeless India’—he was never considered a Pharisee by any class of people either in this country or in England. Freed from all personal partisanship and deep-dyed prepossessions, he recognised the fact that the educated community in India, however infinitesimal, does count a good deal and ‘is making and will make all the difference’ and that it would be “the height of political folly for us at this moment to refuse to do all we can, with prudence and energy, to rally the moderates to the cause of the Government.” The sentiments here expressed were all right but they were unfortunately carried the wrong way about in the Reform Regulations. Equally welcome were his dicta about the rights of ‘the king’s equal subjects’ and ‘the balance of real social forces,’ and here also the spirit of both have been more honoured in the breach than in the observance. His unfortunate and historic allusions to the fur-coat and the attempt to set the prairie on fire indicated to what extent he missed getting the Indian angle of vision. And then there can be no doubt that in several important matters of

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

Indian administration he had gone back upon the principles of a lifetime and had given a long rope to a soul-less bureaucracy. And when in consequence of all this he was harried in the House of Commons, ragged at in the Radical Press, assailed by his party and worried by impatient idealists who, he thought, asked him for the moon,—he got awfully disgusted and got himself translated into the gilded chamber. What a fate for John Morley—the saint of rationalism and the stay and comfort of William Ewart Gladstone in his Homeric struggles with Home Rule for Ireland !

After bringing under survey all his good and weak points, it would be unfair not to admit that his retirement is a heavy misfortune for India, for Great Britain, as well as for the good name of Liberalism. It is true, as the *Nation* (London) has pointed out, that Lord Morley has not always carried with him either Radical opinion in England or reforming Indian opinion here. But judged by the general effect, scope, and intentions of his works and especially by his clear resolution to carry the Indian Civil Service with him on a longer and more adventurous voyage than a close bureaucracy desired to go, he has done remarkably well and almost achieved wonders. He had, however, been led by the nose by the men on the spot rather too much, and this weakness and ignorance led him to countenance all repressive measures. There has no doubt been wide-spread discontent and machinations of ill-equipped and poorly-attended secret societies, but to think that latent and open unrest assumed a menacing activity during his rule recalling the dark days of the Mutiny, is to betray absolute ignorance of the present conditions of Indian life. This no doubt was due to Lord Morley's want of first-hand knowledge of the Indian people and their affairs. The refusal to modify the partition, even while regarding it as not sacrosanct, only because it was a 'settled fact' was a direct negation of all modern principles of government—principles which John Stuart Mill, at whose benignant lamp John Morley had kindled his 'modest rushlight,' had laboured so hard to establish. Lord Morley for once in his life admitted 'prestige' and "settled facts' as good fetishes to pay homage to and was induced to believe that, after all, it was strength that the Oriental admired more than righteousness. What a pity to think of all this !

In concluding this brief review of Lord Morley's Indian administration we are bound to say that, taken everything together, he has kindled greater hopes in our mind than caused disappointment, and that he has succeeded in rousing in England an amount of interest in Indian affairs which no other previous Secretary of

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State for India could ever think of doing. Besides, by his carefully prepared scheme of reform he has managed to give educated Indians a greater share in the political influence of their own country than any other English statesman would ever dream of giving. He has perhaps been the only Secretary of State for India who has approached his task—his sovereign task—of governing India with single-minded devotion and rare energy, and he has tried to live in India all the time he has been at Whitehall. His devotion, energy and efforts have been crowned with success, for, though he has failed to placate the better mind of India and to 'pacify' the country in the sense in which he understood it, he has been able to bring Indian problems into the vortex of practical politics. No small achievement this, and any English statesman ought to feel proud at the work done. Lord Morley has always regarded the government of India by England as 'the most imposing and momentous transaction in the vast scroll of the history of human government.' He himself certainly approached his duty at the India Office from such a sense of stupendous responsibility, and when he retired he had succeeded in restoring among the Indian people a confidence in the righteousness and justice of British rule unknown for about a whole generation. Both England and India have, therefore, very good reasons to feel bound to Lord Morley by ties of deep obligations, and if ever a statue or pillar or park was wanted to commemorate any rule in our day certainly Lord Morley deserves it more than any other living statesman in the world.

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Vol. XII]

DECEMBER—1910

[No. 69

DIARY FOR NOVEMBER, 1910

Date

1. Lord Morley presides over the India Council for the last time today. His Lordship expressed his indebtedness to the Councillors and the officers of the India Office for their loyal co-operation and commended the force, ability and conviction with which divergent views had been held and advocated in the discussions of the Council.

2. A fire breaks out at 11-30 A.M. today in the Kidderpore Docks causing damage to the extent of about a lakh and $\frac{1}{4}$ quarter of Rupees.

4. Lord Minto installs the Maharaja of Patiala on his ancestral *guddi* and invests His Highness with full powers.

H. E. Sir George Clarke, Governor of Bombay, is married today in St. Thomas' Cathedral (Bombay) to Mrs. Reynolds.

5. H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala issues orders upon General Pratap Singh, Commander-in-Chief, and Rajendra Singh to quit his territory within 24 hours.

6. The Secretary of State for India sanctions the permanent retention of the 15th Judge for the Calcutta High Court.

7. Justices Fletcher and Holmwood delivers judgment in the *Karmayogin* case, setting aside the conviction of the Printer who was sentenced by the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta to six months' rigorous imprisonment for publishing an alleged seditious article.

The Earl of Plymouth announces that there will be an Indian section at the Festival of Empire to be held at the Crystal Palace next year, and appeals for the loan of all sorts of Indian relics and objects of interest.

8. Sir Edward Baker lays the foundation stone of the Monghyr Town Hall.

9. Lord Morley yields up his office and Lord Crewe receives the seal as Secretary of State for India before the King and the Privy Councillors at the Marlborough House.

Lord Minto lays the foundation stone of the Minto Park and the Proclamation Pillar at Allahabad.

The Maharaja of Patiala contributes 1 lakh of rupees and makes other valuable gifts to the King Edward Sanatorium at Dharampur.

The Indian ladies-in-purdah present an address to Lady Minto at Allahabad.

10. Lord Minto raises today the Maharajah of Benares to the dignity of a Feudatory Chief.

Sir Edward Baker unveils the portrait of Sir Andrew Fraser, ex-Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in the Agricultural College at Sabour.

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11. Her Excellency Lady Clarke made her first appearance in public this evening when she paid visits, in company with His Excellency Sir George Clarke, to the David and Jacob Sassoon Hospitals.

The *Times* publishes a protest by its special correspondent, Mr. Valentine Chirol, who had lately been in India, against the pleading of Mr. Bonar Law for the retention of the Indian cotton duties.

A report from Madras says that a Government Order is in circulation among the ministerial officers enjoining upon them to combat misrepresentation and remove misapprehension regarding the character and results of British rule and to check any seditious tendencies on the part of their sons or wards.

12. A telegram received to-day from London says that according to an agreement drawn up by France and Britain regarding the Savarkar case, the Arbitration Tribunal will consist of five members of the Hague Court of Arbitration and will meet at Hague on Feb. 14, 1911.

13. The butchers of Calcutta go on a strike owing to the Corporation introducing a revised scale of charges for slaughtering cattle.

14. A slight shock of earthquake was recorded at Simla at 13 hrs. 12m. from a distance of about three thousands miles.

Admiral Fournier writing about India's peril in the *Matin* says that all the *Dreadnoughts* in the world would be powerless to defend India in case of an offensive alliance between Pan-Germanism and Pan-Islamism. He urges that France should have a powerful navy and Britain a powerful army.

Sir E. Hopwood discussed the Indian Question at the Cape with the Union Government and found that the points of difference between the Imperial and the Union Governments were comparatively small. The solution which is contemplated consists in the repeal of the Act of 1907 and the adoption of a general Immigration Law on the Australian model, based on education and not racial qualification.

15. Lord Minto received in Calcutta several farewell addresses on the eve of his departure from India from various public bodies, European and Indian.

The exports of rice and meal from Burma from 1st January to 31st October were 2,459,016 tons, as against 2,460,717 tons during the corresponding period of the last year. Of the total exports, 1,136,597 tons went to Europe and 1,323,419 tons elsewhere.

The triennial programme of Railway Construction has been sent to England for the approval of the Secretary of State. It has been framed on the basis of 15 crores and 5 lakhs, but its reduction to 12 crores and 75 lakhs or thereabout is probably owing to the stringency of the English money market.

Reuter from Peking wires that the Members of the Assembly have warned the Wai-wu-pu not to sign a new opium agreement. They advocate an appeal to Britain for instant prohibition of importation. Many reports have been received from the interior that the measures for suppression are unsatisfactory and that there is a considerable increase in planting.

The Honourable Mr. Spencer Harcourt Butler, C.S.I., C.J.E., a member of the Indian Civil Service, takes upon himself this day the charge of his office of Education Member under the usual salute.

16. Lord Crewe announces today that the King hopes to visit India accompanied by the Queen in order to hold the Coronation Durbar at Delhi on January 1st, 1912.

The administration report of Criminal Justice in the Frontier Province says that the Bannu District suffered from 18 raids by out laws and trans-border ruffians during the last year, while the number of murder rose from 42 to 48. A dozen Hindus were kidnapped for the sake of ransom of whom ten had been released.

A factory for manufacturing candles is started at Triplicane, Madras.

17. At an influential, extraordinary public meeting of the Bhumihaar Brahmins of Behar held this afternoon under the presidency of Raja Chandreshwar Prasad Sinha of Muksudpur Raj, in the premises of the Behar Landholders' Association, a resolution was passed expressing great satisfaction at the investiture of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur of Benares with the powers of a Ruling Chief.

The London Moslem League has sent a letter to the Secretary for the Colonies saying that the visit of the Duke of Connaught to South Africa and arrangements for the Imperial Conference render particularly appropriate an appeal for settlement of the treatment of Indians in the over-sea dominions on the lines calculated to strengthen the bonds of the Empire.

18. A Council is constituted in the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William for the purpose of assisting the Lieutenant-Governor in the executive government of the Province. The Hon'ble Mr. F. A. Slacke, C.S.I., Mr. F. W. Duke, C.S.I., and the Hon'ble Rai Kishori Lal Gosain Bahadur are appointed as members.

The Members of the Calcutta Club gave a dinner to Lord Minto, Mr. S. P. Sinha proposing the toast of "The Viceroy." In paying a tribute to Lord Minto, he stated that his retirement was owing to no ill treatment or any difference between him and the Viceroy or any other member of the Council, but entirely owing to "personal considerations."

An Association is started in the Punjab for promoting the Industrial education of the Hindu youths by sending them to Europe, America and Japan.

Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy-elect, lands in Bombay and receives an address from the Bombay Corporation.

19. It is notified in to-day's *India Gazette* that 42 gentlemen have recently been appointed in England to the Indian Civil Service, one of them being an Indian, Mr. Benegal Narsinga Rau. 9 have been attached to the province of Bengal, 8 to E. B. and A., 10 to U. P. and 5 each to the Central Province, the Punjab and Burma.

The members of the Bengal Executive Council meet at 11 A.M. to-day at Belvedere for the first time.

20. Lord Crewe, speaking at Liverpool, said his recent transference to the India Office was not sought by him, but he accepted it with pride because he did not think any one before him had held the Colonial and the India Offices in succession.

21. The German Crown Prince and Princess arrived in Colombo this morning.

Mr. Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, Barrister-at-Law, resign today his office of Law Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India and hands over his charge to Mr. Ali Imam.

The Right Honourable Charles Baron Hardinge of Penshurst, appointed by the King-Emperor to be His Imperial Majesty's Viceroy and Governor-General of India, arrived at Howrah this morning at 10 A.M. and proceeded to Government House *via* Hooghly Bridge, Strand Road, Fairlie Place and Dalhousie Square.

22 Mr. B. C. Mitter is appointed to be Standing Counsel for the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal. Mr. Mitter was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1897 and has been an Advocate of the Calcutta High Court since January, 1898.

23. The memorial of the accused in the Dacca Conspiracy Case to the Viceroy to have their case tried by the Special Tribunal in the High Court under the Crimes Act is rejected.

The Right Hon'ble Earl of Minto leaves Calcutta today *enroute* for England at 1 P.M. after relinquishing the office of Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

At 1-15 P.M. to-day, Lord Hardinge assumed the office of

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Viceroy and Governor-General of India and the King's Warrant to His Excellency was read by the Home Secretary in the Throne Room. A Royal Salute of 31 guns was fired.

24. A new Limited Liability Company called the "Bombay Fishery Company" is formed at Bombay with a capital of 2 lakhs to develop the fish supply of the port.

Mr. William Henry Clark, C.M.G., appointed an Ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India this day takes upon himself the execution of his office as Commerce and Industry Member under the usual salute.

25. A complete set of rules is issued in to-day's *Gazette of India* regulating the grant to Indian gentlemen of direct commission as officers in Indian regiments. In future an Indian gentleman wishing to join a corps will have to apply personally to its commanding officer. Every candidate will be required to serve on probation for 3 years and if finally accepted by the commander-in-chief, his commission will have the date of the first appointment on probation.

26. His Excellency Lord Hardinge makes his first public speech in Calcutta in reply to an address from the Calcutta Corporation.

To-day's *Burma Gazette* declares the forfeiture of 21 Indian publications to His Majesty "as likely to excite disaffection towards the Crown."

27. The Urdu pamphlet *Masamini Hardyal*, containing articles of Mr. Hardyal, M. A., and the Urdu book *Sri Arabinda Ghosh* by Ram-chandra are declared forfeited to His Majesty by the Punjab Government.

The total approximate gross earnings of State and Guaranteed Railways from April 1 to November 12, 1910, show a gain of Rs. 173,94,460 and Rs. 3,07,60,056 as compared with the corresponding figures for 1909-10 and 1908-09 respectively.

Sanction is accorded to an estimate of the cost of relaying 40 miles of track in the Howrah District and 80 miles in the Dinapore District, East Indian Railway, with 88½ lbs. new rails and at the same time providing additional sleepers.

28. His Excellency Lord Hardinge received at 11 o'clock at the Throne Room, Government House, Calcutta, a deputation of the Phulkian States of the Punjab—Kapurthala, Patiala, Bhawalpur, Nabha and Jhind.

A large collection of ancient weapons was discovered to-day under the earth in Dacca at the bathing ghat near the house of the Raja of Joydebpur.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal appoints a Financial Committee of the Bengal Legislative Council consisting of 12 members, namely, six to be nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor and six to be elected by the non-official members of the Bengal Council for the purpose of discussing the Draft Annual Financial Statement and making recommendations with reference thereto for the consideration of the Government of Bengal.

29. A meeting of the General Committee of the Bengal King Edward Memorial Fund was held this evening at 5 P. M. at Belvedere when a resolution for erecting an equestrian statue of His late Majesty was adopted.

Her Excellency Lady Hardinge paid a visit to the Medical College at 9.30 A. M. this morning. Her Excellency was taken first to the Indian Patients' Wards where Lady Hardinge spent a good part of her time in conversing with a number of patients.

30. At the St. Andrew's Dinner in Calcutta, Mr. MacMorran, the Chairman, struck a lofty and dispassionate note towards Indian aspirations and pleaded for a "better understanding" between the rulers and the ruled.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

It is definitely announced that George V., accompanied by the Queen, will come to India early in 1912 to be crowned Emperor and Empress of India at Delhi. They will hold one Durbar at Delhi January, 1912 and in all likelihood another in Calcutta later on.

The Indians In South Africa

It is believed that in consequence of the new Immigration Law which will shortly be enacted by the Union Government in South Africa there will be a settlement of the Indian question which has been hanging fire since Kruger's days.

Calcutta Fights

Owing to the objections raised by the Marwaris against the sacrifice of cows in a mosque at Amratolla, a quarter of the town where Marwari residents predominate, there occurred several sanguinary fights in the streets of Calcutta on the 10th and 11th inst., resulting in the loss of several lives and considerable injury of life and property.

Viscount Morley's Indian Administration

The *Labour Leader* makes the following comments on Lord Morley's administration of Indian affairs:—Where Lord Curzon had chastised them with whips, under John Morley they were chastised with scorpions. Agitation was punished as sedition, leaders were arrested and deported without trial; the right of public meeting was prohibited; the Indian Press was gagged, editors were fined and imprisoned, and books and pamphlets were proscribed. Had India been a Russian province and John Morley a minion of the Tsar, authority could hardly have revealed itself in a more odious guise. Called to a great and glorious work, he falsified all prophecies and shattered all hopes. Never in all the annals of British Government in India has there been a more cruel or bitter disappointment than Lord Morley's *régime*. But he established reforms, it may be said. The Indian Councils Act is the first step to a better state of things. Quite so. But it is impossible to redeem a great wrong by a small measure of right whatever its potentialities may be. What, then, is the net result of Lord Morley's *régime*? Simply this: that despite his reforms he has left India as discontented as he found it. In reviewing his political career one can hardly fail to be struck with the parallel between John Morley and Edmund Burke. Burke, the eloquent pleader for the American Colonists, the impeacher of Warren Hastings, and the advocate of Catholic emancipation, became in his latter days the arch-reactionary, the champion of tyranny, and the sworn foe of every libertarian principle. And John Morley—we leave the reader to pursue the parallel to the end.

Our Duty in India

Dealing with the duty of the European to the Indian, Mr. MacMorran dealt at the last St. Andrew's Dinner in Calcutta with the need for a better understanding between the two in these words: "The word 'sympathy' as applied to our relations with the people of the land has been adversely criticised. If the word offends I shall not use it, though I trust the quality it represents will ever reside in our hearts and influence our conduct. I should at least like to see more mutual *comprehension*. If 'to understand all is to forgive all,' free personal intercourse between the European and the Indian community on a social footing will do much to remove mutual prejudice. For this reason I consider that, though the movement has not yet proceeded far, the formation three years ago of a club where men of both races may meet together for social intercourse has, even within the narrow field of its operations, done much to promote a better understanding of their different points of view. Scornful writing in the press does not make for comprehension. It only sows discord. As business men we know that five minutes' personal talk has often enabled us to clear up misunderstandings which reams of writing would not have accomplished. If this is true of business, rest assured it is equally true of the other relations of life." Dr. MacMorran closed his admirable address with these sentiments: "There are many personal obligations we owe to the land we live in which the State cannot discharge. Enlightened public opinion can never exist until men of every race have a clear vision of their own duties and the will to fulfil them. What hope is there of the advance of India if the ideals of personal service are low or non-existent? What possibility is there of a higher standard of honesty if no serious effort is made by the public, not to mention the Government, to check the exactions of the various corrupt lictors who stand between officials and the masses and are the real oppressors of the people? From every man, be he governor or governed, there radiates a personal beam of character which has its influence in his wider or narrower circle. It is vain thing to imagine narrower personally inefficient and yet secure a high standard from others, or that if the units are idle and careless the mass will be industrious and provident. Each man of us, European or Indian, should feel a personal responsibility for social service, for the improvement of the area in which he lives. If the Councils are not open to him he should work in less exalted committees. If District Boards or Municipalities are beyond his reach or his range he should still be willing to do something for the community. If he cannot serve the mass he can at least succour the individual. Such simple service, done without hope of reward, has earned undying renown for the nameless Eastern man whose heart was touched by the need of another and whose act of benevolence is enshrined for our instruction in the immortal story of the good Samaritan."

The New Order in India

The Simla correspondent of the *Morning Post* makes the following reflections on the altered attitude of the Anglo-Indian Press:—By comparison with the inflammatory utterances of the indigenous yellow Press, Anglo-Indian violence pales to indiscretion;

but such comparison is better avoided, and we may congratulate ourselves that circumstances now appear to have made it possible to dispense with it. Vanished is the *morgue* of the *Pioneer*, modified the tilting of the *Englishman* at the weakness of the world of Bengal. More and more careful are references which might impinge on Indian susceptibilities; even something like the rudiments of tact, the early signs of sympathy may be detected here and there at the beginning or end of an article, sporadic still, but who knows, under favourable conditions, say favourable economic conditions, how quickly endemic? Such development is naturally as imperceptible, from day to day, as difficult to demonstrate as any other growth; and those who announce it must be content to rest their case upon the general aspect of things as compared with that of even half a decade ago; but if the evidence of a solitary paragraph may be admitted, the readiest to my memory is one from the *Pioneer*, published about the date of the shooting of the informer Gossain in Alipur Gaol, by one of his fellow-malefactors there. One of the leading Calcutta papers describing the crime called it a cowardly one, an expression which affected the *Pioneer* as being so far from the *not juste* as to bring forth a vigorous and satirical paragraph pointing out that however deplorable the assassination there was no cowardice about it. Such a note would have passed unnoticed in England, but it was a bolt from the Indian blue, and caused no small commotion when it fell. Isolated the paragraph was nothing, a mere flash of editorial irritation; but expressed as it was in circumstances of considerable public stress, every line was significant of the forces that are at work upon the Anglo-Indian attitude towards the Indian situation. Comment, moreover, that indicates a general spirit of fairness and desire to treat the new situation that has arisen upon its merits, is no longer isolated. In Bombay the Anglo-Indian Press, doubtless owing to its advanced and practical Parsee public, has for many years paid more serious and interested attention to Indian points of view than has obtained elsewhere in India. Bombay is India's model municipality, and its municipal administration is largely in the hands of its citizens, as is also the industrial enterprise of the city. These facts compel respect; and if they had been true of Calcutta for as many years it is doubtful whether the present state of exacerbation in Bengal would ever have arisen. The Calcutta Press has a different history, and though the *doyen* of English Liberalism in India is published there in the influential person of the *Statesman*, there is a good deal to forget in all the files. Madras, with her dignified and moderate *Mail*, has also to answer for her somewhat reactionary *Times*. In the Punjab the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore will probably respond to the influences that sway the *Pioneer* of Allahabad, to whom it is closely related, and whose change of attitude from a political point of view is probably the most important in India. The Press of all the great cities may be supposed to answer more or less to local influences, but the *Pioneer* cannot easily be credited with seeing through any spectacles provided by Allahabad. Originally presented to the world in official swaddling bands, it has long worn the decorous tail-coat of the bureaucracy, and its superiority in discussing native pretensions was for many years of the deadliest. Of late it has shown itself nevertheless no respecter of Viceroys, and more recently still upon the

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policy of Whitehall it has charged itself with utterance which has brought physical relief to the whole official community. It is therefore with peculiar effectiveness that the *Pioneer* gives the note of conciliation to those of its contemporaries who have been less quick to respond to it. The importance of this change, not only to inter-racial relations of the moment, but to the whole future of India, at present so dim and so portentous, can hardly be over-estimated. Even to reasonable courtesy and restraint there is added a wider view in common of the prosperity of the country, and solidarity by her Press of demand on her behalf, a long step will have been taken in the direction of political equilibrium and content.

Lord Morley's Rule in India

The *Truth* (London) has the following on Lord Morley's administration of Indian affairs:—The two main blots on Lord Morley's career as Indian Secretary of State were his treatment of the question of the Bengal partition and his drastic use of the antiquated provisions of law in regard to deportation without any pretence of judicial inquiry. The Bengal partition, the responsibility for which even its reputed author, Lord Curzon, was so eager to disavow, might well have been, on Lord Morley's first accession to office, held in suspense till the matter had been further inquired into. Had he done this—though I admit that to do so required a certain amount of prompt courage rarely to be found in a man more accustomed to deal with words than with action—it is hardly too much to say that the difficulties which have beset the Indian Government during the last five years would have been greatly lessened, if not entirely avoided. Instead of this prompt action, Lord Morley contented himself with declaring his own personal disapprobation of the partition, while refusing to attempt any modification of that ill-omened measure. A more fatal method of dealing with an Oriental grievance can hardly be imagined. Even granting that the agitation was to a great extent based on sentimental grounds, Lord Morley, as a student of history and a critic of Carlyle, ought to have recognised the enormous part in human affairs which pure sentiment has always played. It would have been quite possible to modify the partition so as to remove the sentimental grievance, while retaining the increased efficiency which a change in the government of Bengal might well be expected to produce. But to the whole grievance Lord Morley could only oppose a blank refusal to reopen the question.

Quite as offensive to the new spirit which is now pervading the entire Asiatic world was Lord Morley's drastic use of the ancient regulation of 1818. With Acts regulating public meetings, with press laws, and the whole paraphernalia of repressive legislation which now exists in India, it was hardly necessary to fall back on an antiquated and crude legal sanction to an act of administration more suited to the days of Roman Imperialism under the worst of the emperors, or a modern Russian Government, than a Government supposed to be controlled by an enlightened democracy. And the result was deplorable. Necessarily dependent on police evidence, the Government—as is almost admitted now—got hold of the wrong men in very many instances, and the sight of innocent suffering is one that has always stirred the hearts of men. But the

spectacle of ignorance or weakness posing as strength by irrational and spasmodic acts of violence is one to which no doubt Lord Morley's studies in history could supply him with many a parallel. This is not an occasion on which to deal with the Indian question as a whole, but when the record of Lord Morley's administration comes hereafter to be written it is probable that the verdict of history on the past five years will hardly reflect the somewhat monotonous eulogy on Lord Morley's statesmanship which is now being poured forth by contemporary journalists.

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

The Expansion of Calcutta Trade

In twenty years the foreign trade of Calcutta has increased by eighty per cent. and its total last year was 305 crores of rupees. In spite of the rivalry of Chittagong and the railway extensions which have diverted produce to Bombay and Kurachee, no less than thirty-eight per cent. of the oversea trade still passes through Calcutta. In twenty years the tonnage of vessels visiting the port has risen from two-and-a-half to six million tons. In the same period the income of the Port Trust has increased from 27 to 120 lakhs. Its policy of concentrating various trades in the vicinity of the Docks has relieved our already overcrowded street traffic which, but for this relief, would long since have rendered necessary the immediate creation of the Improvement Trust instead of allowing it thirteen years to hatch out in the Government incubator. In twenty years the Jute Mill Industry has increased by 300 per cent. and nearly 32,000 looms are now in operation representing a capital of about £10,000,000 and providing employment for about 200,000 workers.

India's Recuperative Powers

In opening the Allahabad Exhibition (December 1, 1910), Sir John Hewett said: "It is only a little over two years since the relief measures due to the great drought of 1907 came to an end. It is calculated that in that year there was food grains enough to feed the 48 million inhabitants of the Province for nine months. The value of this food was estimated at twenty-eight millions pounds sterling and the loss over commercial crops such as cotton, sugar, seame and oil seeds at another ten millions. Would anyone looking around the country to-day have the slightest idea that the Province had at so short a distance of time suffered such a stunning blow as the loss of some thirty-eight millions sterling? The signs of the loss are practically obliterated. A country capable of such marvellous recuperation must be capable of enormous development. The check to its progress is its reliance on one industry, viz., agriculture. The visitor from the West opens his eyes as he travels for hundreds of miles by railway without seeing a single factory chimney. If we want India to prosper we should endeavour to get it studded with factories after the manner of the flourishing countries of modern Europe. We are not, indeed, standing still. A comparison of the engine in use by the East Indian Railway Company fifty years ago, entirely constructed in England, with its modern substitute made in India, seems to show that changes have come upon us. Change is indeed coming about in all directions in such a way that the man

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who lives in India for five years feels a Rip Van Winkle when he returns to it. But we are not moving with anything approaching the requisite pace in the matter of industrial improvement. All around we see young men growing up who need employment. Government service and the professions open to those who have a purely literary education are overstocked. We are turning to industrial and technical education. By itself this move will do no good. It will be likely just as our system of literary education has done, to multiply to an indefinite extent the number for whom no employment can be found. Obviously it is useless to educate an indefinite number of young men to be managers, overseers, and foremen if the factories in which they can be employed do not exist. Nearly five years ago in the Legislative Council of the Governor-General, I ventured to insist on the need for more capital to develop the country. We have moved on a little since then, but the advance in these Provinces has not been very appreciable. Indian capital remains shy. The state and the individual alike lose by its continuing to be idle."

By Rail to England

M. Zvegintseff, a member of the Russian Duma, states that a group of Russians interested in financial and railway enterprise has come to the conclusion that the time has arrived to unite the lines of the European railway system with that of India, thus forming an uninterrupted thoroughfare between Western Europe and Southern Asia, and inaugurating a system which would only be comparable to the Suez Canal, the Trans-Siberian and trans-American lines. Such an enterprise could, however, be formed only as an international combination of financial and commercial men, while the leading interest should be Russian and English. The Russian promoters of the idea have, therefore, formed a Russian group with the view of ultimately developing it into an international company to study the question and afterwards to build the line. This group represents some of the biggest banking, railway, and commercial interests in Russia, and the necessary Russian financial backing is assured. It is proposed to take from Baku, the most southern station on the Russian railway system, a direct line through Persia, via Seistan to Nushki, on the Anglo-Indian system. The main line would follow the shortest route with branches to the Persian Gulf and to Teheran, if it is found that the direct line would not go through the Persian capital. In the opinion of the group, this line must not be regarded as a tool for local political interests and it is held that the line cannot be divided into sections controlled by different groups. It must exist as a whole, and the company must have an international character, not only as regards the financing of the enterprise but also as far as the board that will have to be constituted is concerned. For that reason, though the interests of Russia, England and Persia (the two first as owners of the two ends of the line and the latter as the owner of the territory on which the line develops) must be predominant, yet French, German, and Belgian interests and the interests of any other group that may find it convenient to invest, will be most heartily welcomed. With regard to the Bagdad railway already under construction, this scheme affords no menace whatever to that line. At the present rate of construction the latter cannot reach the region through which

this Persian line proposes to travel for a period of at least eight years and there is so no reason whatever why the Bagdad railway should not at that period profitably effect a junction with the international line now being considered. The capital required for the undertaking is very much less than has been stated. The length of line to be built to connect the existing Russian and Indian lines is only 1,600 miles and a rough survey which has been made leads to the conclusion that for the sum of £18,300,000 the line could be completed. Adding to this the necessary rate of interest for the invested capital for four years (the period of construction) would necessitate the expenditure of another £2,500,000, which the Russian group think quite sufficient for the enterprise.

When the railway is completed the man with only three weeks' holiday—and plenty of money to spare—will be able to take a quick trip to India and back, and stay a week in the country. He will leave Charing Cross on Monday at nine in the morning and start on his race across Europe and Asia, through the cities of the Continent, at 3.32 on Monday afternoon in a comfortable railway carriage. Five o'clock on Monday evening will see him in Brussels, and at nine at night he will have crossed the German frontier at Herbesthal, having seen all Belgium spread before his carriage window. He will sleep, not in a bunk in a rolling ship, but in a comfortable bed, in a "wagon-lit." In the night, while he sleeps he will be borne across Germany, and when Tuesday dawns he will be in Hanover. He will have breakfast in Berlin, and dinner at Alexandrovo, on the Polish frontier. At ten minutes to ten on Tuesday night his train will steam into Moscow Station. By midday on Wednesday his carriage will be rushing through the provinces of Russia towards the Caucasus; through Rjazan, where he can take tea from a samovar on the train, to Kozlov, where he will go to sleep again. He may wake up in the early morning of Thursday and find himself passing through Voronezh; by Thursday night he will have left the River Don behind him; Friday will bring Vladikavkaz to him, and if the train runs at high speed, early on the morning of Saturday he should be in Baku. This is where the porters may cry, "Change here for India," for now, the new line will run across the Persian plateau, along caravan routes where hitherto the only carriage has been the back of a camel. For a time, from the window of his "wagon-lit," he will be able to see the waters of the Caspian Sea, as the train bears him towards Resht. The next capital he will be brought to is Teheran, and then he will have a long journey through Yezd and Kirman, passing little wayside stations named Mahommadabad, and Zein-ud-din, to the to the Customs at Balusistan. Across Baluchistan to Nushki, on the Anglo-Indian line, and on Monday the train will run into the Victoria Terminus in Bombay. The passenger will have travelled 5,700 miles in seven days, and the price of the ticket will have been £ 40.

SELECTIONS

THE ASSAM BORDERLAND

Places, like people, races and individuals, are curiously dependent on whimsical fortune for their fame among the fickle generations of men. The bleak stony north-western frontier of India and its scowling Semitic tribesmen are familiar to all readers of books. Here, it is felt, history has been made, because here history has been recorded. It is the races who write that remain on the lips and dwell in the imaginations of succeeding generations, whereas the infinitely more fascinating and mysterious north-eastern frontier of India, the true meeting place of East and West, is neglected by scholar and traveller alike, and is only known to a mere handful of administrators. Yet here the blue hills that frame the Brahmaputra valley are clad with noble forests, filled in the spring with odorous bloom, above which soar flashing (and mostly nameless) snowy peaks, which, anywhere else in the world, would be the subject of legend and poetry. The climate is pleasant and not unhealthy, as Assam tea-planters know. The savage races that inhabit the hills, genial beings of Indo-Chinese or Tibeto-Burmese origin, are friendly and smiling folk when they are not wrought up—in the fashion that marks the true savage—to fits of sudden and uncontrollable passion, as swiftly transient as the thunderstorms of their hills.

The plains-people, the Assamese proper, are, as all who know them acknowledge, among the most attractive of men. They have rarely come into contact with the Muslim conquerors of the rest of India, and retain the primitive Hindu social ideas which abhor the *purdah* and leave women as free to go abroad unveiled and unashamed as in the West. Nor is this because the Assamese ladies lack the seductions of their sex. Since time immemorial, their charm has been recognised, and the Assam valley has ever been famous as the home of love and magic, a sort of Indian Cythera, where the Indian Cupid and his mother, "*hominum divomque voluptas*," meet with due reverence and honour. In Assam, almost alone in modern India, infant marriage is unknown, and a youth may choose his bride by the pleasant mode of courtship, which to us Europeans seems the fitting and natural prelude to matrimony. Every year, in the mellow-scented spring, when the moon is at its full, is celebrated a festival in which young men and maidens take a part, the eminently cheerful Bihu feast, which is the traditional period for elephants as exciting and romantic as those which made Gretna Green famous. Every magistrate in the Assam valley finds his hands full of business at this season of the year, for custom and propriety require that the parents of runaway young ladies should charge their future sons-in-law with forcible abduction. The brides themselves are compelled by local ideas to assert that they were unwilling victims. But this plea is not very seriously urged, and the matter is usually settled by the payment

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of a fine to the proud parents, who depart quite satisfied that the necessary concessions to publicity and propriety have been made. The only drawback to this ingenious abuse of judicial procedure is that sometimes a real abduction passes unpunished because the culprit succeeds in showing that the girl's reluctance was only feigned. But this rarely happens. The Assamese, for all their soft climate and the associations connected with the worship of Kamaksha Devi, are among the most moral of Indian peoples, and the social evils which stain the lives of great cities are unknown in one of the most simple and prosperous of agricultural populations.

Ethnically, historically, in the matter of linguistic variety, few more interesting people exist, and if they are little known to the outer world, it must be because, till lately they "*carebant vate sacro*." Of late years a good deal has been written about the singularly varied races of Assam. Sir Alexander Mackenzie's famous "Report on the North-East Frontier of Bengal," though it bears a somewhat repellent and official external form, is in reality as amusing and fascinating as a novel. Not less interesting is Mr. E. A. Gait's admirable *History of Assam*, in which patriotic Britons may read by what inevitable steps British rule succeeded to the sway of Shan invaders degenerated by too long a stay in the enervating climate of the rich and seductive Brahmaputra valley. At the present moment Colonel Gurdon, Director of Ethnology in Assam, is editing an excellent series of monographs dealing with the various tribes that dwell in the forests round the chosen home of Kamaldeva. Volumes relating to the Khasis, Mikirs, Manipuris and Garos have already been published, and a volume dealing with that most interesting of Tibeto-Burmese races, the Karharis, is now in the press. A fruitful and pleasant field of study, where the anthropologist may find some clue to the alleged independence of totemistic and matriarchal institutions and the scholar may trace the changes wrought on Hindu ideas when these are adopted as the basis of religious beliefs by Indo-Chinese races.

The chief difficulty in explaining the fascination and interest of this borderland between Dravidian and Mongolian races lies in the enormous wealth of materials. Assam is a perfect museum of many waifs and strays of ethnology, fragments of successive invasions from East and West, left isolated in remote valleys, preserving intact ancient modes of speech and thought that in India proper have been almost obliterated by the spread of Hindu caste and custom. Here we may see by what process caste takes the place of racial and tribal divisions, and how the aboriginal races are quietly adopted into the seemingly exclusive, but really tolerant, Hindu religion. Among this singularly varied population the ethnologist may yet learn much. The forthcoming census of Assam, too, in the capable hands of Mr. James Donald, will probably yield fresh material for the student of primitive humanity.

But what attractions, it may be asked, has Assam from the tourist's point of view? Let it be candidly admitted, once for all, that the new-comer to India had better exhaust his intelligent curiosity on Delhi and Agra and Benares, on the palms and temples of the south, and the mediæval wonders of Rajputana before he turns to the ancient land of Kamrup for a quieter and less harassing travel. The ideal way to see Assam is from the great river, which

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is to it what the Nile is to Egypt. Let the tourist make a rest cure of his travel in Assam. The mail steamers, swift and comfortable and well found in creature comforts, will carry him from Dhubri to Dibrugarh in three or four days, and back again, with the current, in about half that time. Better still, for the leisurely and philosophical traveller, is it to obtain permission, if possible, from the India General Steam Navigation Company to become a passenger on one of their huge cargo steamers, which, with an equally bulky flat lashed on either beam, are almost floating towns. These make their way up and down stream in the most leisurely way, their movements being regulated by the necessity of depositing and picking up cargo. All the better for the passenger who wishes to seize every opportunity of getting on shore. Moreover, the captains and engineers of these steamers are Englishmen who have spent many years on the river, and are usually entertaining companions; with a fund of riverside anecdotes and reminiscences. The long, lazy days on the breezy upper-deck; the exploration of the towns and villages at which the steamer stops; the contemplation of the various types of dusky humanity in the crew; all these furnish a not unpleasant or unprofitable way of spending a fortnight or so. Very often the captains are allowed to carry their wives and families with them, and the skipper's wife may be an expert in Anglo-Indian cookery, capable of giving new gastronomic sensations to her temporary guests. There are worse dishes than such a curry as sometimes spreads its fragrance round the caboose of an inland steamer.

Starting from Dhubri, on the western border of the old province of Assam, now merged in Eastern Bengal, what will the traveller see? Not much at first but low muddy banks, the resort of innumerable lazy alligators, backed by tall grass higher than a man's head. In the far distance to the north are the blue Himalayas, capped here and there by a peak of shining snow. To the south, and nearer at hand, are the Garo Hills, part of the great *massif* which divides the Brahmaputra valley from that of the Surma. But, as the steamer toils upstream, the hills come right down to the water's edge at Gauhati, the ancient capital of what, in the days of the Hindu Epics, was the famous and powerful kingdom of Kamarupa. Little remains of its ancient splendour except the hill temple of Kamaksha, round which linger many legends, of which the traveller may read at length in Mr. Gait's *History*. In mid-stream is the beautiful rocky island, known to Europeans as Peacock Island and to Hindus by a name at once more significant and beautiful. On its summit, ~~are~~ emblems of the modern mingling of old and new, are a pretty temple and the tall iron mast that supports the telegraph wire which joins Assam to distant Calcutta.

At Gauhati, if time permits, the traveller can land and spend two or three days in a visit to Shillong, one of the most attractive and homelike of Indian sanatoria. Here he will be in the midst of the Khasis, a singularly interesting race of highlanders, sturdy, jovial and friendly, whose language shows them to be the kin of the Mons of Southern Burmah and the still more distant aborigines of Annam. The ascent to Shillong by motor runs through some of the loveliest and most varied scenery in India, the numerous waterfalls reminding the traveller of Westmoreland and Cumberland hillsides. Above Gauhati the hills once more recede into the background, and the low-lying banks have little interest save when

a village of Miris or Doms, fisherfolk for the most part, is passed. At Tezpur the hills once more approach the river.

Tezpur is the capital of the great tea-planting district of Darrang, and besides being a pretty little station, is of considerable antiquarian interest. In and about it are the ruins, shattered by earthquakes, of temples, round which various Hindu legends have now gathered. The story runs that these were once the home of a famous monarch called Bana, whose daughter Usha dreamt of a lovely youth. She had a companion called Citra-lekha (which, being interpreted, means "draughtswoman"), who drew portraits of all the princes of India. But in vain, for Usha recognised none of them till, at last, with trembling hand, Citra-lekha depicted Anirudha himself, the handsome grandson of the divine Krishna. It was Anirudha who had visited the maiden slumbers of Usha, and the girl, by magic arts said to be still known to the ladies of Assam, attracted the young prince to the arms of his enemy's daughter. For Bana was a follower of the rival god Siva, the indigenous god of the North-East.

Bana surprised the young people in their new-found happiness and sacrilegiously confined young Anirudha "in serpent bonds." Krishna marched with a great army to the rescue of his grandson, and a great battle was fought, in which so much blood was shed that the place is to this day called Tezpur or Sontipur, the "city of blood." The low hills which line the northern bank of the river were thrown up by the god Siva as a bulwark against his enemy. In such a way does local legend record the fact that there was once a struggle in these parts between Siva-ite and Vishnu-ite sects. Still further to the East, where the steamer stops at Vitwanath to take in chests of tea, is a hill, which Siva used as his pillow when he lay Tripura, covering many a mile, huger than the Miltonic Satan. The whole countryside teems with such legends, fanciful attempts to find a pious and romantic explanation of such facts as we prosaically commit to geography books.

Further East again the traveller comes to the long Majhuli island, probably the largest river island in the world, which is the holy land of North-Eastern Hinduism. Here are the monasteries of the Goshains, whose disciples most Assamese are. These holy men are the agency by means of which rough aboriginal tribes are gradually absorbed and adopted into Hinduism. Some account of these monasteries may be found in the article on Assam in Dr. Hastings's *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, that wonderful storehouse of information as to the religious beliefs of the world. Finally, the steamer journey ends at Diburgarh, the capital of the Lakhimpur district, whence a railway runs to the coal mines and petroleum wells of Margherita, traversing many tea-gardens by the way. Beyond Diburgarh is Sadiya, where civilisation may be said to end, for beyond this are many strange tribes only known as yet to the frontier officer who live among them, people whose origins and habits will, no doubt, furnish much interesting material for the anthropologist and ethnologist of the future.

The dense grass jungle which lines the great stream in most parts of its course swarms with game of every kind, including tigers, bears, rhinoceros, and varieties of deer, though, in spite of their abundance, they are not easily to be met with by the sportsman, unless he has the use of a good supply of well-trained elephants.

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But in the northern parts of Kamrup and Darrang, when the grass jungle has been burned down in the dry season and is beginning to sprout afresh, great numbers of florican, the Indian bustard, can be shot on foot. This is one of the finest of game birds, and its flesh, when well hung, is excellent fare. Those travellers who have friends among the tea-planters of Assam can rely upon their proverbial hospitality, and in the cold season, when the planter has most leisure, may have their fill of polo, tennis, racing and such shooting as may be possible in the district they visit. Assam is but little visited by the travellers for pleasure and, away from rail and river, has few conveniences for them. But it yields to no part of India in natural beauty, and its people are singularly attractive, with much of the easy good nature and spontaneous cheerfulness of the Burmese.

A skilful photographer might easily make a most interesting collection of types of humanity hardly known to the outer world, for the population of the Assam valley contains more varieties of men in proportion to its size than any part of India. Here you meet the sturdy Bhotiya, hardly to be distinguished from his relatives and neighbours, the Tibetans. Here, too, are Akas, Dafias, Miris, Mikirs, Kacharis, Nagas, Deori Chutiyas and many other races as yet hardly known even to professed ethnologists.

The architectural remains of the valley are few and of little importance or beauty. But the Briton who can read in Mr. Gait's *History* of what Assam was only fifty years ago and compare the present state of the province with that tale of supineness and neglect and wrong-doing, may well feel that here, at least, British rule has been an unmitigated blessing, a providential release from misgovernment which could only be ended by external interposition or the relapse of the valley into jungle.

In other parts of India, familiarity with Europeans and European conditions of life has brought about political unrest and ambition, and some may think that the time has come for a relaxation of British control and British protection. But in Burmah and Assam there are men still living whose parents told them tales of ancient wrongs such as can only be practised secretly now. The semi-savage races have made wonderful advances in civilisation and prosperity, have acquired a new self-respect and confidence under the firm yet kindly rule of Englishmen, and here at least no one, not even the most optimistic *Swadeshist*, can deny that there is still much good work for Englishmen to do. Here, too, missionary efforts have resulted in greater and more unquestionable success than in other parts of India, and the achievements of Welsh Baptists in the Khasia hills, and of American Baptists among the Garos and Nagas, are such as may well evoke the admiration of even the most sceptical and cynical. It is no small thing, surely, that wild head-hunting tribes, living hitherto in a state of seemingly inveterate internecine warfare, should in a single generation have been won over to peaceful ways, and should have become prosperous and thriving agricultural and trading communities. Let those who, not without some justification, question the efficacy of missions in India visit the missions among the Garos and Khasis. The most cursory inspection of the work done will convert them to the conviction that among simple animistic races the spread of Christianity is the one way to social and intellectual advancement.

Assam is so little known, even to residents in India, that it is difficult to give an adequate account of the country and its inhabitants in a few pages. I have attempted the impossible, and can only hope that I have said enough to induce readers of this journal to explore the quite accessible books I have mentioned, and, perhaps, some day to visit one of the most beautiful and picturesque valleys in the world.—Mr. J. D. Anderson, I.C.S. (Retd.) in *Travel and Exploration*.

LORD MINTO

A great Viceroy has told us that the time to estimate a man's worth is not when he buckles on his harness, but when in the fulness of time it comes upon him to loosen the straps and lay the glittering panoply aside. After five years' anxious service in this country, Lord Minto to-day divests himself of the burden of Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and returns to the Homeland with a record of eleven years' continuous duty under the Crown in the overseas possessions of the Empire. His departure has evoked a genuine and sincere outburst of gratitude and affection from all classes and all communities. This is inspired in part by an appreciation of Lord Minto's personal character. His is indeed a personality that at once commands respect and affection. Accessible to all, kindly, considerate, and the embodiment of courtesy, courageous to a degree and of unbending integrity, he stands for all those qualities that go to the making of an English gentleman. It is inspired by a consideration of the difficulties Lord Minto has had to face, and of the manner in which he has confronted them. The quinquennium of his Viceroyalty was the most momentous in Indian history for half a century. He landed in Bombay at a time when the grey conservatism of the East was riven by new desires and ambitions, hopes and fears. It was one of those curious indefinable periods that occur in the lives of all peoples, when there is a universal, inchoate yearning for progress, development and a moral uplifting. The working of this ferment threw out many diseased products—the anarchical movement, the larger tendency to organised political crime, the subtle attempt to subvert Indian political growth into a re-assertion of Brahminical superstition and domination. But no one who can throw off the scales of prejudice and wipe from his eyes the dust of particularism doubts that the movement which we generically describe as Indian unrest, despite these maleficent accretions, contained the vital essence of a quickened life which, wisely directed, was capable of shaking the apathy and indifference against which ardent administrators had hitherto beaten in vain. It was a time too when a great manifestation of the Radical and Democratic spirit in England produced a livelier recognition of British responsibility towards India, not always disciplined by a knowledge of the country, or a desire to profit by experience gained in tent and in city; when the galled administrative jade, fretted by hard riding, was beginning to grow restive under the incessant chastisement of whip and spur. Lord Minto at once placed himself at the head of the genuine reform movement. He initiated the great manifestation of constitutional progress that culminated in the enlarged and strengthened Legislative Councils.

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and the admission of Indians to the Executive Councils, and pressed forward to his goal undeterred by the pistol and bomb of the anarchist or the pessimism of the mail-clad conservative. If we cannot say that Lord Minto rode the storm, truly he refused to be blown from the path by its eddies. Above the turmoil of crime and political strife always stood the tranquil figure of the Viceroy, undismayed by personal danger far more real than people will now appreciate, understood only by those in the inner circles of the Government of India; he so lightened the pressure on the administration as to prepare the way for the real scheme of decentralisation now being hammered out, which will ultimately give genuine autonomy to the provincial governments and restore efficiency to the Government of India. This is still a country where personality counts for more than parchment, and it is impossible to exaggerate the influence of a Viceroy of the character of Lord Minto during a period such as that through which India has been passing. Not once, but a score of times, has it been said to us by distinguished Indians, perturbed by the measures forced upon Government by stress of circumstances: "We have supreme confidence in the integrity, discretion and sympathy of the Viceroy." More recently still was it said by a notable Hindu publicist: "You cannot tell how our people love Lord Minto for his sympathy, courage, and unbending fairness." The effect of this influence cannot be catalogued, docketed, filed for reference; but it has been of priceless value to India at a very anxious time. It entitles Lord Minto to the gratitude and respect that have been poured out in no stinted measure.

If the Viceroy were only the King's Vicegerent—if his relation to the governance of India were only that of the Governor-General to the administration of an autonomous Dominion—we might close with this heart-felt tribute of respect to a brave, kindly, loyal gentleman. But the tendency of recent events has made it necessary very emphatically to reassert that statute knows no such office as that of Viceroy: it recognises only the Governor-General, and mainly the Governor-General-in-Council. The functions of the Governor-General of a Dominion are so absolutely distinct from and opposed to those of the Governor-General of India that the practice of recruiting the Viceroyalty from Canada, though it produced some notable successes, is not one to be encouraged. The main business of a Dominion Governor, it has been wittily said, is to learn silence in several languages. He is not responsible for the administration, and he is bidden by custom and constitution to hold aloof from all the details of the administration. The first business of the Governor-General of India is to govern, an important department of his duties is to administer. What is the executive machine of the Government of India as we know it to-day? It is an aggregation of departmental chiefs. There is the Home Member, the Finance Member and the Revenue Member, the Member for Commerce and Industry, the Commander-in-Chief, and lastly there is now the Education Member. There are departmental chiefs, each concerned with departmental efficiency, accustomed, nay compelled, in an individual capacity to take a departmental point of view. The Viceroy is himself a departmental chief, for by precedent he takes the Foreign Portfolio and represents it in the Executive Council. The instrument for welding departmentalism into policy is the Council: the efficiency of the Government of India

is not measured by the ability of this member or that ; but by the solidarity of the Council on great questions of policy, and the influence and stimulus it receives from the Governor-General. During Lord Minto's Viceroyalty the Council seriously deteriorated in quality. As the able men Lord Curzon gathered round him passed out, it was recruited by individuals some of whom were remarkable only for their mediocrity. When actually assembled, most of these members were no less remarkable for their vacillation and the alertness with which they trimmed their sails to any breeze which would waft them to that coveted haven—a lieutenant-governorship. The fruits of this emasculation of the Council soon became apparent. The Government of India ceased to inspire respect in the country. It then lost the confidence of the Viceroy himself. Sure only of this, that the opinion given one day would have veered round the next, Lord Minto withdrew himself from his Council, and left it unassembled for periods unparalleled in any previous Viceroyalty. The Council failed to inspire any respect in the Secretary of State, and although he should have known better, there is some excuse for him in setting up his spokesman in the House of Commons to describe the new Member for Commerce and Industry as the "servant" of the Government of India instead of a component part of it. With the relative supercession of the Council a grave state of indiscipline grew up in the public service. We were compelled to witness the painful spectacle of a great servant of the Crown driven from his post, not by disagreement with the Governor-General-in-Council, but by the machinations of a subordinate. We have seen another subordinate setting himself up in deliberate and undisguised opposition to a policy deliberately resolved upon and approved by the Viceroy ; whilst a presumptuous Under-Secretary had the effrontery to propose the correction of a great expert department. It is no exaggeration to say that whilst policy withdrew into the background, interference ran riot, and that Secretaries and Under-Secretaries assumed unconstitutional authority harassing provincial governments and disturbing Lord Curzon's established policies at their will and pleasure. This is the inevitable fruit of substituting departmentalism checked for the collective and co-ordinating influence of the Governor-General-in-Council. There is yet another great evil that arises from the flabbiness of the Government of India. Much has been said, and rightly said, of the undue and unwarranted interference of Lord Morley in the detailed administration of India. But if the Governor-General-in-Council temporarily abdicates, and there is no genuine appeal from the Department to the Government, whither is the man with a grievance to turn ? He is forced to have recourse to the autocrat of Whitehall. No small measure of the interference of the Secretary of State, which has been so hotly criticised, was forced upon him by the neglect or inability of the Governor-General-in-Council adequately to discharge his functions as a controlling, directing, and revising body. Of course it may be said that this was Lord Minto's misfortune in finding blunt instruments of indifferant temper with which to work, instead of the high grade metal Lord Curzon manipulated. This argument derives some support from the vague theory that Members of Council are appointed to act as a check on the Governor-General. Nevertheless, it may be laid down as a general proposition that the Council is what the Viceroy.

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makes it. Lord Curzon left his successor a band of able and distinguished colleagues. It soon degenerated into a body largely composed of invertebrate placemen. We cannot imagine a Dufferin, a Lansdowne, or a Curzon tolerating such a transformation. It is only at the very end of Lord Minto's term of office that two appointments have been made to Council more consonant with its splendid and distinguished past.

It is impossible to resist the conclusion that Lord Minto's great difficulties as Viceroy were aggravated by this turning of the edge of the instrument which in the governance of India fashioned policy out of sectionalism. He had to face three major problems, though some of them did not conspicuously develop until some time after he assumed office from Lord Curzon. He had to satisfy loyal unrest ; combat the disloyal unrest that flamed into anarchy and political violence ; and maintain the efficiency of the governing machine which was committed to his charge in perfect running order. We can picture supercilious gentlemen who possess a monopoly of human wisdom scorning in their lofty isolation that phrase "loyal unrest." Yet those who do not know that it existed, and constituted perhaps the gravest problem the Government had to face, are blind to events passing under their eyes. From the political renaissance of Asia, which forms such a startling landmark in the history of the past five years, India was no more immune than the other countries of the vast, mysterious continent ; it produced stirring of the dry bones that has, for good or ill, changed the whole trend of Eastern polity. Men whose whole interests are bound up with the maintenance of British rule in India, of whose loyalty there can be no more question than of the natural phenomenon that night follows day, were beginning to question whether the progressive development of India was not hindered rather than encouraged by British Rule. They looked abroad and they found all Asiatic countries pulsating with new life : they looked at home and they wondered if the new life in India was not being stunted by the exigencies of British Rule. Now passionately as we are attached to the Imperial idea, believing it to be one of the greatest progressive forces in the world to-day ; profoundly convinced as we are that only under British rule can India march peacefully to her great destiny, we are convinced that if ever the day arrive when able and loyal men can say that British rule in India is a restrictive and not a progressive force, British rule is doomed, and rightly doomed. The transcendent merits of the Reform Scheme lay not only in what it gave, though the expansion of Indian liberties was so great that it is only dimly being realised, but in the manner of giving. The despatch embodying the final scheme restored Indian self-respect : it revived a confidence in the liberality of British rule that was undoubtedly beginning to wane. Now this policy was initiated by Lord Minto soon after his arrival : the first essential of statesmanship demanded that the Viceroy should maintain the lead he had established, and should never present the spectacle of being dragged reluctantly behind the chariot wheels of the Secretary of State. Now what policy lay behind the first published despatch of the Government of India ? We are not insensible of the merits of parts of that scheme, particularly the provision made for the representation of the landed interest and of important minorities previously ignored

in our scheme of constitutional development. But abortive proposal for an Imperial Council of Princes, the provincial and district advisory councils, the grudging note running through the despatch—none of these things bore the impress of a clear, well-marked, well thought out policy. It may be that the Government of India were convinced that the scheme framed was the maximum consistent with sound policy. But in one of his recent novels, Mr. Antony Hope makes the wise father say to his daughter:—"If ever you give, give handsomely." Judge by the test of its suitability to the particular need for which it was designed, the satisfaction of the natural demand for an expansion of the country, it cannot be pronounced a success. If the impression prevailed that a crude and inchoate scheme had to be fashioned into a genuinely liberal measure by the Secretary of State, the responsibility lies with the Governor-General-in-Council. So does responsibility for the inordinate delay in designing the rules and regulations, which were even then launched in an imperfect form. Whilst all credit is due to Lord Minto for the prescience with which he diagnosed the necessity for reform, and for the courage and tenacity with which he pursued that policy when his path was beset by murder and outrage and the croakings of the pessimists, still his personal association with the new charter of Indian liberties would be the more real and enduring if, combined with the birth of the idea, there had been a resolute and sagacious plan for its nurture.

If we turn to the efforts to combat anarchy and sedition, it is to find the same lack of policy betrayed. Again and again the country was assured that the Government would allow no weapon in its armoury to rust, nor would it refrain from forging as many new weapons as were necessary, in order to suppress a campaign of violence that struck at the very foundations of organised society. Yet whilst these bold words were used, irresolute action accompanied them. In Bengal the baleful boycott movement was allowed to gather head, violence was preached night after night in Beadon Square and in the baser vernacular press, whilst Sir Andrew Fraser pursued his indifferent way unchecked, in that most hopeless belief that what he desired and prayed for would come to pass without sustained effort on his behalf. In Madras violent preaching was winked at, until its natural sequel, riot and bloodshed stirred an apathetic administration into precipitate action. In Eastern Bengal the Lieutenant-Governor, placed in one of the most difficult positions under the Crown, was driven from office by an ambitious official for recommending a policy which very soon the Government of India itself was fain to adopt. We have heard it said that Sir Bampfylde Fuller was not the man for Eastern Bengal; that he developed a sensitiveness to criticism and personal affront, a general prickliness, ill-suited to a charge where large patience and tact were demanded. It is possible that this view may be correct; but even if we admit that it was time for Sir Bampfylde Fuller to go, there is no more deplorable episode in recent Indian administration than the manner of his going. And then, when new instruments were timidly and reluctantly forged, they were presented to the country with an air of apology which deprived them of half their moral value, as if measures against anarchy, a bloodthirsty press, or seditious meetings, were actions necessitating an apologetic attitude. And even more recently we have seen a policy adopted

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towards the Seditious Meetings Act which will force upon Lord Hardinge, within a month of his arrival, the responsibility of determining whether or not that judicious measure should be continued, or placed permanently upon the Statute book. That is an unfair duty to place any Viceroy on the threshold of Government House; it should have been resolutely borne by Lord Minto himself. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the irresolute employment of the powers which the ordinary and extraordinary laws conferred upon it drove the Government of India to a resort to irregular measures which was afterwards a source of serious embarrassment. In touching on these matters we are not insensible of the very special difficulties of Lord Minto. He was appointed by the King on the advice of a Conservative Government; he had scarcely landed at Bombay before his political friends were out of office and a Radical Government with a very Radical Secretary of State for India was installed in their stead. One of the most curious phenomena of modern times is the increasing arrogance, not to say tyranny, of democracy. With many qualities demanding our unreserved respect and gratitude, whilst rendering services to India which give him place amongst the great Secretaries of State, Lord Morley formed a conception of this functions without parallel or warrant. Lord Morley never understood the status of the Viceroy, or he would never have bidden his henchman describe him as the "Agent" of the Secretary of State: he never understood the position of the Governor-General-in-Council, or he would not have had a Member of that body described as the "servant" of the Government of India: he never quite understood the difference between controlling policy and interfering in detail, nor the danger of lending a ready ear to underground sources of information. When there is an irreconcilable difference of opinion between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, the Viceroy must yield or resign. Before he resigns, he must ask himself very seriously whether India stands to gain or lose by his action. If at any time during the past five years Lord Minto has subordinated a personal desire to quit a Procrustean bed to a determination to pursue for his full term the policies he was sent to work out, he has served a great patriotic purpose thereby. It would, we think, have been disastrous for Lord Minto's term of office to have been prematurely curtailed by fundamental disagreements with the Secretary of State. But we hold no less strongly that Parliament, for whom the Secretary of State is the spokesman, and Great Britain, which is supposed to be represented by Parliament, should never be misled into supporting the enforcement of a repugnant policy in India, in complete ignorance of the opinions of the Government of India. We have warrant for this definition in the attitude of the Government of India under a Liberal Viceroy, Lord Elgin. Recent events compel us to ask if real agreement did exist when Lord Morley described the touching accord between himself and Lord Minto, and if it did, whether this accord extended to the Governor-General-in-Council.

But it will be said why discuss these issues now. The five years of Lord Minto's Viceroyalty have passed. The political condition of India has enormously improved. All classes except the political criminal are looking forward to an unusually active future. A new Secretary of State has kissed hands, a new Council is in course of formation. Why not let sleeping dogs lie, and concentrate on those

qualities in Lord Minto that have given him his great and deserved popularity, and which will be permanently commemorated in the Proclamation Pillar and Memorial Park in Allahabad? To follow this course would be the easier and more grateful task, for none could be more sensible than are we of those personal characteristics which will enshrine his memory in thousands of grateful hearts. But the issues raised during the past quinquennium are not dead issues : they are amongst the most pregnant in the history of India ; to refuse resolutely and squarely to face them is to prepare the way for infinite trouble in the future. It is one of the inevitable tendencies of a society such as we have in India that we should barely discern the wood for the trees, that absorbed in the path at our feet we should dimly perceive whither it leads, that busied with the routine of an exacting daily round we should be so obsessed by facts that we cannot discover tendencies. If we succeed in putting aside for a moment the innumerable minutiae that ordinarily becloud our vision, what is the one great fact that stands out in a survey of these five eventful years ? Surely that India, in common with the greater part of Asia, has undergone a profound political and economic revolution. It has passed from a passive acquiescence in being governed into an increasing desire to govern : simultaneously famine and plague, combined with a growing industrial development, have wrought a transformation in the social economy of the Indian peoples that is forcing economic issues irresistibly to the front. Some may deplore these tendencies ; we welcome them. Rightly construed they are the finest product and the most complete justification of British Rule : rightly guided they are going to beat down the ramparts of apathy, indifference and fatalism, in which the unaided battering ram of British influence has been able to make few breaches. But if this right understanding and right direction are to be found there must be a radical revolution in the Government of India. The Governor-General-in-Council must have a policy : he must link it with the greatest executive efficiency. If the Governor-General-in-Council is to have a policy he must recruit his Council from the finest brains in India, he must pick men, if necessary junior men, thoroughly in touch with the new spirit in India ; he must free them from the tendency to subservience bred of the practice of looking upon Membership only as a stepping stone to a Lieutenant-Governorship, which is dependent upon the good will of the Secretary of State or the Viceroy ; he must weld them into a component whole by constant combined association with himself and with each other. The great, the living, lesson of the last five years is that the Government of India, which used to be a task of such simplicity that we could wink occasionally at senile mediocrity, has become one of great difficulty and complexity, and cannot be entrusted in any material degree to elderly Vicars of Bray. It demands our best, and from our best their best. This end can never be attained as long as Members are taught to look upon a Province as the goal of their ambitions. Whether Members of Council should be recruited from the ranks of the Lieutenant-Governors, or Provincial rulers chosen from ranks other than Members of Council is a matter of secondary importance : the paramount issue is that a Membership of Council should be regarded as the goal of a Civilian's career, and that he should have no temptation to barter his independence.

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Then, as this strong independence is to be combined with greater executive efficiency, the Government of India must be relieved of all petty interference with provincial affairs. If the past connection of the Supreme Government with the Provincial Administrations had to be summarised in a phrase it would be interference without control: it has been so busy interfering that it has had no time to control, and paradoxical as it may seem, the weaker the Government of India the greater its tendency to interfere. In preaching decentralisation to-day we are to a certain extent preaching to the converted. A new spirit is abroad at headquarters. A real scheme of decentralisation has been partly announced and is still more in contemplation: nevertheless as the tendency of all Secretariats is to absorb, not to give off, it has been desirable to emphasize this indissoluble union between executive efficiency and thorough decentralisation.

It is because these are living issues, with a real and vital bearing upon the governance of India, that we have thought it desirable strongly to emphasize them at the close of a viceroyalty during which they have been forced to the front. The fullest appreciation of them does not render us insensible to, but perhaps more appreciative of the many engaging features of, Lord Minto's personality. When the dust of controversy has subsided, when the political battle ground has changed, India will always "keep kindness," for the great gentleman who will remain in memory as the Viceroy *charmeur*. India will always remember with gratitude the Governor-General who, at a time of *sturm und drang*, presented a calm, unruffled, courageous front to the storm and refused to be blown from the path he had marked out. India will always have a warm corner in her heart for the Viceroy who inspired a personal confidence in his rectitude at a time of great stress and difficulty. And as for Her Excellency Lady Minto, her sympathy and organising skill are commemorated in a monument more enduring than tablets of brass and stone, by the Lady Minto Nursing Service. (*The Times of India*).

A SURVEY OF LORD MINTO'S WORK IN INDIA

I

REFORM AND REPRESSION

An Anglo-Indian correspondent writing to the *Manchester Guardian* thus reviews Lord Minto's administration :—

There can be little doubt that when Lord Minto was sent to India in 1905 as successor to Lord Curzon, the belief of the Home Government was that he would give a disturbed country a period of tranquillising inactivity. Lord Curzon's viceroyalty had bristled with innovations which were sometimes reforms, but which were nearly always irritating to one class or other. His fatal gift of provoking controversy had alienated Lord Kitchener and his following, had angered even the Eurasians, and had inspired the Indian educated classes with a profound distrust of the aims and motives of the British Raj. A ruler was needed who would be amiable inert, and Lord Minto's career in Canada seemed to guarantee both these qualities. What would have happened if a Conservative Government had remained in power is an interesting matter for speculation. But the appointment of Lord Morley as Secretary of State for India completely transformed the circumstances in which Lord Minto assumed office, and the Viceroy who was selected to mark time has exceeded even Lord Curzon's record in the number and magnitude of the changes for which he has been responsible.

The conditions under which Lord Minto became a reformer obviously, however, raise a question as to the extent of his personal initiative, while, fortunately or unfortunately, the relations between the Government of India and the Secretary of State are such that it is impossible to affirm positively how much of what has been done is due to Lord Minto and how much to Lord Morley. The most dramatic event in the early period of Lord Minto's viceroyalty was the resignation of Sir Bampfylde Fuller, the Lieutenant-Governor of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, an occurrence almost without precedent. Is the acceptance of the resignation to be ascribed to Lord Minto or Lord Morley? Little is known except that, while Lord Minto has made no reference to the affair, Lord Morley has in emphatic words vindicated the treatment which Sir Bampfylde Fuller received. "All I can say is," declared the Secretary of State, "and I do not care who the

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man may be, that if any gentleman in the Indian service says he will resign unless he can have his own way, then, so far as I am concerned in the matter, his resignation shall be promptly and definitely accepted." Apparently it may be inferred that on this occasion Lord Morley was the ruling spirit, but there can be no certainty.

ORIGIN OF THE REFORMS

When we come to the introduction of the Reforms by which Lord Minto's viceroyalty has been placed among the most memorable periods of British rule in India, the difficulty of apportioning the credit for their inception and execution is reduced by the frankness with which Lord Minto has revealed his share in the undertaking. Public opinion both in England and in India has persisted in regarding Lord Morley as the real author of the Reforms, and it is clear that the criticisms levelled against them in the House of Lords were based on the assumption that they had been imposed upon an unwilling Indian Administration. Lord Minto has more than once betrayed some annoyance over this popular belief. In a speech delivered in the Imperial Legislative Council early this year (1910) he explicitly claimed that the Reforms originated with him. "The Reforms," he said, "had their genesis in a note of my own addressed to my colleagues in August, 1906—nearly 3½ years ago. It was based entirely on the views I had myself formed of the position of affairs in India—whether it was good or bad I am entirely responsible for it." Here, then, we have a plain statement which must be accepted as conclusive so far as it goes. Lord Minto must be allowed to have been the first to take official cognisance of the fact that the political progress of the educated classes rendered it expedient to associate them more closely and more widely with the responsibilities of administration.

Moreover, Lord Minto set forth certain suggestions which formed the basis of the Reforms scheme. The proposals which in 1906 he submitted to a Committee of the Executive Council for discussion were the creation of a Council of Princes, the appointment of an Indian member of the Viceroy's Council, increased representation on the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, and a fuller and more systematic discussion of the Budget. In reference to these projected Reforms, it may be pointed out that the Council of Princes was discarded in the deliberations which preceded Lord Morley's final despatch, and that the merit of suggesting the extension of the representative element in the Legislative Councils as well as the fuller discussion of the Budget

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is qualified by the consideration that these were the obvious and indeed inevitable lines of advance. There remains the proposal to appoint an Indian member of the Viceroy's Council, which may well be regarded as the most courageous and original feature of the Reform scheme. In virtue of this contribution, Lord Minto must be held not only to have initiated the new concessions but to have added one of their distinctive novelties.

On the other hand, most of the provisions which have given special gratification to the educated classes made their appearance for the first time in Lord Morley's great despatch of November, 1908. The Government of India did not suggest that there should be a non-official majority in the Provincial Councils or that the right of moving resolutions and asking supplementary questions should be conceded. Nor did they more than hint the possibility that it might be found necessary to provide the Lieutenant-Governors with Executive Councils. These were, it would appear, Lord Morley's additions to the scheme; yet if they had been lacking, the Reforms would have excited a very meagre enthusiasm. It would, however, be unjust to estimate Lord Minto's work as a reformer solely by his share in the construction of the scheme. Its practical success was largely due to the readiness with which the Viceroy accepted the views of the Secretary of State and to the fact and enthusiasm with which he carried the Reforms into effect. Nor can one overlook the political value of the support given by a Conservative Viceroy with a reputation for moderation and sagacity to proposals which, but for his approval, might have been denounced as the wild and impracticable ideas of a Radical doctrinaire.

THE POLICY OF REPRESSION

By the irony of events Lord Minto, who was the originator and part author of momentous Reforms, has also been responsible for more repressive legislation and arbitrary executive action than any of his predecessors since the Mutiny. Lord Curzon has not failed to taunt his successor with the contrast between his own peaceful rule and the turbulence which followed. In reality, however, the troubles with which Lord Minto had to cope were not of his making. There was unrest in Bengal before he set foot in India. The boycott of British goods had been established, and this method of protesting against the Partition could not but lead to racial animosity and crime. It is probable that the accession of a Liberal Government to office served to stimulate the agitators to fresh exertions, for they not unnaturally supposed

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that a Liberal Secretary of State would be inclined to reconsider the Partition, but for this turn of events Lord Minto, at any rate, cannot be blamed. It was simply his misfortune that he was called to formulate his policy for dealing with a growing discontent.

Looking back to this critical period, one is tempted to conclude that if at the outset more vigour had been shown in dealing with seditious journals and seditious oratory and in restraining schoolboy politicians, the coercive measures which subsequently became necessary might have been avoided. The Government of India at the time thought otherwise. There is evidence that for a considerable time after the symptoms of sedition had manifested themselves, the Government were reluctant to resort to executive interference or fresh legislation. The fate of Sir Bampfylde Fuller, who attacked discontent with the ardour of a bureaucrat, implies that either Lord Minto or Lord Morley was not disposed to coercion. Not until 1907 did the Government of India empower Provincial Governments to proceed against seditious newspapers, and even then they declined to strengthen the law, though at least one Lieutenant-Governor declared it to be inadequate. Yet by this time the unrest had reached a high pitch. The boycott was being zealously advocated, and in a multitude of instances it was being forced upon the unwilling by physical violence. The vernacular papers teemed with slanderous attacks upon the Government and British rule, and seditious oratory was rampant. Here again the difficulty of dividing responsibility between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State renders it impossible to make sure of giving Lord Minto his due. It may be that the delay in taking vigorous action is to be ascribed to him, though it is more likely that Lord Morley was reluctant to take drastic measures against an agitation proved by an administrative change which he had maintained without approving of its method.

The Indian Government began their repressive policy by deporting without trial under the now famous Regulation III of 1818 Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh. Presumably Lord Minto and his advisers were responsible for the revival of this obsolete procedure, for, though Lord Morley has defended its adoption with great warmth and much ingenuity, it is improbable that the Secretary of State would have gone to the length of recommending to the Indian Government the precise means by which sedition was to be fought. To a considerable extent, therefore, Lord Minto's reputation as an administrator must depend on the view which may be taken of this bold but retrograde measure and of the repressive legislation by which it was followed. With regard to the deportations, it has been

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argued that they had at least the merit of being effective. It is said that they showed that the dilatoriness of ordinary legal proceedings and the inefficiency of the police did not reduce the Government to helplessness, and that they struck terror into agitators who were trading upon the delays and uncertainties of the law.

THE RISE OF ANARCHISM

The Seditious Meetings Act was the only measure of the kind passed before Anarchism revealed its presence in the country, and its enactment was by way of precaution in the face of a propaganda of unrest. For some time after it had been placed on the Statute Book it was put into operation only in one district of one province. As for the remaining coercive measures, the discovery in May, 1908, of an extensive Anarchist conspiracy in Calcutta justified and, indeed, demanded strong remedies. No Government could remain inactive when attempt after attempt was made to murder officials and police officers who had incurred the enmity of the extremists. The Explosive Substances Act of 1908 was required in order to cope with the introduction into India of the methods of European Anarchists, and the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act of the same year was equally necessary in order to deal with journals which openly advocated murder and violence. For the Press Act of 1910 the most convincing vindication is furnished by the support which it received from Indian politicians of the standing of Mr. Gokhale ; in normal circumstances a proposal to arm the Provincial Governments with the power of demanding substantial security from any newspaper which they deemed to be mischievous would have united all educated Indians in strenuous opposition. The provisions of the Act were ably defended by Mr. Sinha, the legal Member of the Indian Executive, and little resistance was offered to the principles of the measure.

Lord Minto's services to India are not, however, exhausted by his share in the Reforms or by his long struggle with anarchism and sedition. Throughout his term of office his personal character has been a great asset to British rule. He has conciliated the Indian princes and potentates by his courtesy and his frank recognition of their rights, while all classes have been impressed by his obvious sincerity and kindness. It may fairly be said that his individuality has done much to restore the confidence of educated India in the honesty and good-will of the British Government, and an achievement of this order transcends all public acts.

II

The *London Times* has the following review of Lord Minto's Indian administration :—

This afternoon, 12th December, 1910, Lord Minto arrives in London upon the termination of a Viceroyalty of India which has been unusually arduous and exacting. For more than a decade he has been almost continuously in the service of the Crown overseas, having gone to India a few weeks after leaving Canada. Whatever differences of opinion may exist about some aspects of Lord Minto's Indian administration, he is entitled to expect, and will assuredly receive, that warm welcome which Great Britain is wont to accord to those of her statesmen who have long and faithfully served the Empire in distant lands. An account and preliminary estimate of his Viceroyalty appeared in *The Times* of November 21, and discussion will often, no doubt, be renewed regarding the most striking feature of his momentous tenure of the post. To-day the whole country should recall that Lord Minto has faced great difficulties with unfailing courage and invincible serenity, and by his example in moments of emergency has taught his countrymen in India anew that lesson of calmness which should never be forgotten. He has, moreover, always manifested that sympathy with India which the King, when Prince of Wales, in a speech in the City so strongly insisted upon as an imperative necessity. His share in the reforms recently inaugurated was obviously stimulated by a sincere desire to satisfy, so far as might be, the aspirations of educated Indians. The tributes Lord Minto received from various Indian communities on the eve of his departure are a sufficient proof that his attitude has been deeply appreciated. The Indian newspapers, almost without exception, dwell upon his personal qualities. They speak of his courtesy and consideration to all men, his frankness and modesty of bearing. These are attributes which, fortunately for Great Britain, still count for much in the popular estimation of a Viceroy among the Indian peoples ; and they have rarely been more agreeably exemplified than in Lord Minto. Upon one feature of his Viceroyalty there has been almost unanimous accord. He has very greatly improved the relations subsisting between the Government of India and the Native States. At a time when British rule shows a tendency to rely more than ever upon the loyal support of the Princes and Chiefs, that is a valuable achievement.

Almost the last of Lord Minto's executive acts before leaving India was the creation of a new Native State. There has been no

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precedent for such a step for many years past, and it is necessary to make it quite clear that the change now made does not imply the introduction of a new policy. Sir Prabhu Narayen Singh, who now becomes a Ruling Chief, stands in a class apart. His ancestors were Rajas of Benares and ruled a wide expanse of country under the Moguls. When their territories passed to the British the domains they held as personal property remained in their own possession. They retained many of the privileges of Ruling Chiefs, and even had their own Courts for trying cases relating to land. Sir Prabhu Narayen Singh received the personal title of Maharaja Bahadur long ago ; he was permitted to correspond direct with the Viceroy ; he enjoyed the appellation of Highness and a personal salute of thirteen guns as hereditary distinctions. He has always been, in short, a great deal more than the ordinary zemindar or landholder, though appreciably less than a Ruling Chief. He now becomes ruler over an area of 887 square miles, with a population of 362,000 though this territory by no means represents the whole of his possessions. Certain safeguards have been instituted regarding his administration, and he will have less unrestricted freedom than some of his brother Chiefs. The change has been under consideration for five years. It is the most notable event in Native State policy since the rendition of Mysore, and forms a wise and prudent recognition of an extremely loyal and able Prince. Yet we hope it may not lead to the cherishing of vain hopes in other quarters, for the maintenance of the present equilibrium between British India and the Native States is an essential condition of British rule. We have no sympathy with the views of those Civil servants—by no means few—who, grown weary of the strain of administration, dream of the creation of a network of Native States over the whole of India outside a few great cities.

III

A RETROSPECT OF FIVE YEARS

Lord Minto has laid down the reins of Indian Viceroyalty after a brief but eventful period of 5 years. So has Lord Morley, also retired from the high office of the Secretary of State for India which he held with such dignity and conspicuousness for the last 5 years.

It will be remembered that Lord Minto had assumed the Indian Viceroyalty in November 1905, and in the following month Mr. John Morley, as he then was, was appointed Secretary of State for India. The situation before the new Viceroy and the new Secretary of

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State was by no means an easy one. Grave and momentous issues which the great military controversy, better known as the Curzon-Kitchener controversy, had raised over the Army administration, awaited decision and the action of the Viceroy was keenly watched. But those who anticipated a rupture between the new Viceroy and the Secretary of State were disappointed. Lord Minto from the beginning fully endorsed the decision of the Imperial government. And rightly, says the *Times*, did Lord Minto feel it to be his duty to adapt himself to the views of the Secretary of State for India.

Lord Minto did not come to India with a very high ambition. It was rather his intention, as he himself had expressed it, to give rest to the Indian horse which his predecessor had ridden so rough. But how futile his hopes proved to be! Soon after his arrival in India he was beset with difficulties which his predecessor never had to face. And the *Times* congratulates him, so do we, that he emerged from them so creditably.

The measures adopted by Lord Minto and Lord Morley in dealing with sedition have never satisfied those Anglo-Indian critics who believe that India has been conquered by the sword and must be held by the sword. This class of critics has time and again condemned the measures taken by Lord Minto and approved by Lord Morley for the suppression of sedition as weak and inadequate. The *Times* says:—"Unfortunately, the very kindness of heart and the spirit of toleration which won him (Lord Minto) such wide-spread regard led him also into frequent weakness in handling the manifestations of hostility to British rule which he encountered. He was at first very reluctant to recognize the gravity of the evil, and he was always somewhat too ready to believe that the troubles were at an end, too anxious to proclaim that India was once more completely peaceful. It was the revolutionary propaganda carried on for a long time with almost complete impunity—and nowhere carried on with more violence than under his very eyes at Calcutta—that resulted, as every experienced Anglo-Indian foresaw they would result, in a long series of outrages and the loss of many valuable lives."

In the matter of the resignation of Sir Bampfylde Fuller it is now freely admitted that he himself was more to blame for it than either the Viceroy or the Secretary of State. But the critics of the Government are too ready to make a capital out of it and are even disposed to make out that those drastic measures for which Sir Bampfylde Fuller had asked sanction were necessary at that time

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because the Government of India adopted them afterwards. An anonymous writer under the pseudonym of an "Indian Imperialist" writes on this subject in the *Outlook* :

"Nor was the treatment meted out to Sir Bampfylde Fuller calculated to allay the agitation. He was the first Lieutenant-Governor of the new Province—the man on the spot who knew more about it than the newly arrived and withal weak Viceroy and the Secretary of State six thousand miles away, whose sum total of knowledge about India then consisted of certain pre-conceived ideas. Sir Bampfylde Fuller recommended the adoption of certain measures which as subsequent events proved, were absolutely necessary, for both Lord Minto and Lord Morley were forced ultimately to adopt them."

"Indicus," writing in the *Daily Telegraph*, however, is not so sweeping in his condemnation of the regime of Lord Minto. He says that Lord Minto in dealing with sedition had shown considerable strength. "But it is Lord Morley," he adds, "who has insisted sometimes with disastrous results upon a display of leniency which, at any rate in Indian eyes, is indistinguishable from weakness."

The "Indian Imperialist" who seems to belong to the Unionist Party argues in a curious way. He says that it is only when the Liberal-Radical party comes to power that agitation and unrest re-appear in the East and continue in full swing.

"It is a fact," says he, "that while and so long as the Unionist Party is in office there is hardly any agitation or unrest, and a total absence of sedition in Egypt and India."

It may not exactly be known for sometime yet as to how far Lord Minto or Lord Morley is separately responsible for the constitutional changes embodied in the reforms. But the idea of placing an Indian upon the Viceroy's Executive Council (we have the authority of Lord Morley himself) was in the main the conception of Lord Minto.

Very great credit is given to Lord Minto when the *Times* says :

"What is not so generally known is that at a very early stage in the preliminary discussion of the reform proposals Lord Minto favoured the creation of Executive Council for Bengal, the North-west Provinces, and the Punjab, including an Indian member for each Council as well as the appointment of Indian members to the Executive Councils of Bombay and Madras."

The *Times* had already deprecated the innovations as premature and inadvisable and would not change its mind because "no fresh reasons have been advanced which call for a modification of the

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views then expressed." It rather points to the fact that the Executive Council was not created in Bengal until quite recently—two years after its sanction—as showing that the change was anything but urgent ; while in the continuance of government yet on old basis in the United Provinces and the Punjab it finds further reason to support its contention.

But though the *Times* differs from Lord Minto's policy regarding Provincial Executive Councils, it is of opinion that the bold and confident character of his views deserves to be placed on record. It says :

" Throughout the whole of the protracted deliberations Lord Minto may indeed claim to have been frequently in advance of a Secretary of State who was anything but backward in his disposition towards radical change. Lord Minto even wanted to sacrifice the official majority upon the Imperial Legislative Council, and it fell to Lord Morley's lot to insist upon adherence to a more cautious method."

The " Indian Imperialist " lays the blame at the door of Lord Morley for having deliberately kicked down the established principle with which England has so far governed India. He says :

" It was a hard and fast principle which was observed and allowed almost as an axiom that the appointments to the highest executive services in India must be confined to the British, and that no native should, for reasons of State, be permitted to fill them. These reasons were so obvious and so cogent that no one had a word to say against that rule, even at the annual orgy of Babu oratory, the meeting of the Congress miscalled National. But Lord Morley, haunted by theories of government and fetish of liberty more suited to the ideal Republic of Plato than to that geographical entity known as India, turned into a course which has jeopardised British rule in India." Indeed ?

There is, however, one subject which cannot be left out of account in any attempt to review the administration of Lord Morley and Lord Minto. It is the relationship between the Secretary of State and the Governor-General and that of each to his Council. Indeed it is too readily assumed that Lord Morley had often interfered in the details and principles of Indian administration and the general impression is that the Government of India have done little on its own initiative but only carried out the orders of the Secretary of State ; and both Lord Morley and Lord Minto are accused of having systematically ignored their Councils upon many occasions. The *Morning Post* says :

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"Lord Morley's pretensions have led to much quoting of the Act that defines the province and authority of the Secretary of State for India, to the technical justification of his attempt to assume the government of the country." It then observes :

"The interference of the Secretary of State however persistent and hampering cannot in the nature of things be effective the *non possumus* of a government responsible for the welfare of 300 millions cannot be lightly over-ridden by a single gentleman in Whitehall."

We quote the following from the *Daily Telegraph* as a fair verdict upon Lord Minto's work in India :

"India owes much to Lord Minto and it is to be hoped that Englishmen will not allow his courage and devotion to duty to be eclipsed by the personality of a brilliant but inadaptible Secretary of State whose work would have been lost had not the Viceroy made it possible by his unfailing tact and loyalty."

With regard to the attitude of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State towards their Councils, *Asiaticus* writes in the November number of the *National Review* :

"It is often said that Lord Curzon was an autocratic Viceroy. He may have been, but he was never unconstitutional. He summoned a meeting of his Council every week. He never took an important step without fully explaining his intentions to his colleagues. They were never left in the dark as to what he was doing. He often took his own line, after consultation, in matters where he was able to make an independent decision ; but he never refrained from seeking advice and guidance. It is common knowledge that the Council has not been summoned with punctilious regularity under Lord Minto. He has been content to govern far too exclusively through the Secretaries to Government, who have independent access to the Viceroy. The Council was sometimes imperfectly informed concerning current policy. This was not as it should be. India is governed upon the spot by "the Governor-General in Council" by a committee, and not by an individual. The Viceregal Executive Council should be restored to its proper place in the Administration."

He then proceeds : "As the Viceroy's Council has of late suffered an eclipse, so has the Council of the Secretary of StateThe trouble is that the advice of the Council is no longer sought, or when it is sought is too often disregarded."

Continuing, *Asiaticus* says :

"Now, whatever may have been the precise intentions of the

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creators of the Council of India, it is quite certain that its members were intended to have a very large influence upon the policy and the decisions of the Secretary of State. That influence they have almost ceased to exert during Lord Morley's term of office. Unless Lord Crewe shows greater respect than his distinguished predecessor for the views of the Council of India, yet another and a most inadvisable "breach" will have been made in the system under which we control the Indian Empire."

Asiaticus, however, says that probably the decline of the prestige of the Council of India is not due to Lord Minto alone, and he adds that if it were to regain its position of which it has been partly deprived, some of the members should revise their conception of their functions. He is further of opinion that the India Council, and far more the whole of the India Office, requires a "drastic process of regeneration." He condemns the method of manning the India Office exclusively with the members of the Home Civil Service, and thinks that the result of the almost complete division of the *personnel* of the India Office, and that of the Government of India, is "constant friction and mutual jealousy." As a remedy of this evil, *Asiaticus* suggests that the two services should be far more interchangeable than they are at present.

A portion of Indian civilians should undertake a term of service in England, and some of the staff of the India Office should be given Indian experience, when they might learn to become administrators as well as clerks. Lord Morley once talked of making a breach in the bureaucracy ; he should have begun at home.

"Whatever may be thought of many details of his work, I think it must be acknowledged that he has broadened the popular conception of the duty Great Britain owes to India. He has interested the British public in India, which is a very difficult thing to accomplish.

"The saving virtue of Lord Morley's work at the India Office has been, behind all his undue assumptions of authority, his impairment of the position of the Viceroy, his betwachment by the intellectual Hindu, and his indifference to the Civil Service. He saw the fallacy of the contention that we hold India by the sword, which may have been true once, but is certainly not true to-day.

"When Lord Morley gave, or rather joined Lord Minto in giving, he gave too freely ; but it would have been a capital error not to have given at all. And it was his special and exclusive privilege to sound the right note, to unveil the larger and more

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spacious issue, to clothe the changes which were inaugurated with glowing expositions of policy conceived in a prescient spirit. He led the way to the threshold of a new era, but it was only the threshold. Whether we like it or not, changes in India are likely to be far more rapid in the future than they have been in the past. Had Lord Morley shown the same courageous insight in the repression of anarchy that he displayed in the enlargement of liberties, the verdict upon his association with Indian affairs might have been less unreserved."

LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

IS HINDUISM INCONSISTENT WITH NATIONAL MOVEMENT ?

The December number of the *Hindusthan Review* contains an article on "Hinduism and National Movement" from the pen of the Rev. Edwin Greaves which is of special interest to the Indians as it deals with the subject of nationalism in relation to religion upon which there is considerable difference of opinion among thoughtful men of every community.

The writer begins with the hypothesis that it is impossible to dissociate the National Movement from any connection with Religion and he, therefore, expresses his satisfaction that with so many men religion is a genuine factor in their lives, and consequently all that they think and all that they do is, in a greater or lesser measure, influenced by their religious beliefs.

Broadly speaking, says Rev. Greaves, the national movement in India sets before itself two goals. The one is political and the other may be called, for want of a more distinguishing term, social. The first is purely concerned with government which with some resolves itself into the question :—

"Shall an alien government hold the seat of authority or shall the government be indigenous and independent of any alien sway or authoritative dictation ? The second question which is by far of greater importance has a wider scope and a deeper meaning. Its end is the unification of all the local and racial interests into a common centre, the nation, a corporate body with common interests and common ideals."

It cannot be doubted that Indians are not a nation as yet, in the proper acceptance of the term and many will, therefore, feel disposed to agree with Rev. Greaves when he says :

"Whatever our hopes and anticipations for the future may be, the facts of the present are self-evident and cannot be denied. India is not a nation, but a name including many races and peoples. Many millions of the people enjoy their measure of national unities under the rules of the numerous Native States, though even then it is open to very grave doubt whether their grouping under the domination of a single ruler constitutes them a nation, in the highest meaning of that term. The remaining millions find their only

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approach to unity by their inclusion under the centralized government of a British monarch. The well-nigh innumerable nationalities of India have no other unity, or rather unities, than those just specified. They have their own national characteristics and languages and interests, and, it must be allowed, are, generally speaking, more anxious to secure their own interests than to seek the common interests of those who are, in so many ways, separated from them. It must be sadly admitted that among possibly nine-tenths of the people no ideal of an Indian nation, embracing all classes and races and creeds throughout the whole vast continent, has ever dawned."

No doubt, for the unification of various and divergent interests such as these is needed a great forbearance and a greater tolerance which none but men of broad minds and general impulses can only cheerfully contemplate. So says Rev. Greaves :

"A National India will mean sacrifice of authority and dignity to not a few ; we must not only look forward to sharing the honours and privileges of our social superiors but sharing our own also with those whom we have been disposed to regard as our inferiors. In the process of the nationalization of India, there will be much of *giving* as well as of *taking* for very many."

Signs are, however, not wanting that the past indifferences are being gradually broken down and new inspirations and new impulses are being called forth by the advent of the national movement. These Rev. Greaves sets forth in the following passage :

"Not a few are not only possessed of glorious hopes about the future in their own minds, but they are eager to influence others and to inspire them with their own high enthusiasms. They aim at so broadening the sympathies of the entire people that they may be obsessed with the feeling of common kinship with all who belong to India ; they seek to animate them with the desire to let this feeling take practical shape by identifying the interests of others with their own ; they strive to promote such a sense of organic unity that from north to south, and from east to west, local and petty motive-powers and selfish interests may be merged in a common loyalty to India as a whole, and that thus "India" may become a watchword stirring up feelings of patriotism, and displacing, and replacing, class feeling and race prejudices and other narrower groupings of interests."

Extremes always lead to extremes, and Rev. Greaves is right when he tries to limit the scope and meaning of the National Movement lest the dream for a united India carries some of its apostles too far. He says :

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“It involves the demolition of pride and selfishness, of class feuds and religious bigotries, of the exclusiveness of caste and the domination of wealth and brute force. It does not mean, of course, the equality of all, in the sense that all men will be equal in every respect. It does not look forward to the enthronement of a form of Socialism under which private property could not be held, and under which birth and worth should count for nothing. Any such socialism as this spells anarchy and is the high-road to chaos. But such a unity is desired as shall secure for all classes of men, and for all men of those classes, common rights, which shall be recognized as rights and not as privileges.”

What essentially he desires is this :

“An Indian nation should mean liberty and freedom for all, so far as such liberty and freedom are not used to curtail the freedom and liberty of all others. Not the liberty to do as each one likes, but the liberty which means security against the tyranny of others. It means that each man, because he is a man, and not because he belongs to this class or that class, has his rights as a member of the great community, and that the community is pledged to regard him as a brother, to acknowledge his right to its consideration, to respect him, no matter what his estate, and to seek his good.”

Rev. Greaves then pauses to consider whether this ideal can be accomplished by any legislation. But the conclusion he arrives at will generally lead one to think that it cannot be achieved at least in the present state of the country.

Later on Rev. Greaves comes to the particular question, the bearing of Hinduism on National Movement, and we are face to face with the question :—Is Hinduism, by its general spirit and organization, calculated to foster, further and develop this National Movement? Regarding the question, as he does, from a purely religious standpoint, Rev. Greaves is of opinion that Hinduism which concerns itself with a man's relation to his God and to the future which lies beyond the grave and which has nothing to do with social privileges and responsibilities will hardly claim the attention of the National Movement which is so closely identified with man's life upon the earth and his relations and dealings with his fellowmen.

Again, as a hindrance to the fulfilment of the conditions which this Movement demands, the writer mentions the vexed question of the caste-system which, he says, “has not only divided the peoples but differentiated them in a blatantly offensive way.....This differentiation does not rest on moral, or even, intellectual differ-

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ences, but is one based on birth, and so rigid that it cannot in any way be overcome."

But here also Rev. Greaves recognizes the signs of the times. He thus speaks of our national consciousness :

"Recently a far more humane spirit is asserting itself, a conscience is being born about the matter, and Hindus are confessing that in the past they have been guilty of grave injustice in their treatment of the depressed classes, that reparation must be made and their position improved."

The caste-system, says Rev. Greaves, is not the only aspect of Hinduism which demands a solution. There are other features of it which equally deserve consideration and indicate that Hinduism must be modified or replaced by some other religion if the National Movement is to possess its religious basis and sanction. The author mentions two points. Firstly, the ideal of perfect human life, which Hinduism generally holds up is opposed to the root idea of the National Movement. In attempting great works, says Rev. Greaves, men need "the assurance that they are working in a world which has a divine meaning and purpose, that they are seeking to infuse a higher spirit and order into a world which is of eternal significance in the destiny of life. Why should we bother, he goes on, about a world which is undivine, towards which man's only duty is to escape from it? Secondly, the conception of God in Hinduism in whatever form it may be taken is not such as to inspire a reformer with confidence that he is working in accordance with a will and purpose of the Most High." The "Iswara," says Rev. Greaves, is essentially as unreal as the world he presides over. He observes : "To work for an unreal world, impelled by an unreal God, is not the inspiration. We need inspiration of not a god but *the* God, the Most High."

Rev. Greaves then proceeds to examine the relations of the Hindus to men of other faiths and creeds and observes :

"So far as the writer knows the modern attitude of Hindus towards others is not the outcome of any direct and specific teachings of Hinduism, but largely the outcome of contact with men of broad minds and wide sympathies outside the pale of Hinduism, fortified by the sound common-sense, the large-hearted views of life which they themselves hold."

He is further of opinion that

"Hinduism in itself cultivates no open mind for appreciating the worth of other peoples and creeds. It is true that wide liberty of thought (though not of social usage) is tolerated by Hinduism, but

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there is not, apparently, any contemplation of intercourse and fellowship with other peoples."

Inconsistent as are the general teachings of Hinduism with the broad principles of the National Movement, the writer is unable to determine whether Hinduism would be modified or its place would be taken by any other religion. In the latter case, Rev. Greaves doubts not but it will lose that support and inspiration which religion alone can give it.

But even if the one or the other were to happen, it was still a matter for consideration, thinks Rev. Greaves, as to how far peoples of different races and different religions could be welded into one great nation.

"There may be an outward unity of organization effected, but can the deepest and widest union," he asks, "really come about?" "We must admit," he answers, "that if we are to understand our brotherhood we must believe that there is one God and Father of us all."

The apostle of Christ hints at Christianity as a leveller, and concludes by putting a leading question to his readers:—Has the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man been ever so taught and so lived as by Him who was called the "Son of Man" and the "Son of God," thus linking earth with heaven, men to God, and men to one another?

THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM IN INDIA

In a short article in the December number of the *Indian Review*, Mr. Mushir Husain Kidwai discusses some aspects of the educational problem of Modern India. Now that a separate Educational Department has been created in the Imperial Government of India, the writer hopes that the educational problem which is at once the most vital and complex problem will receive its due attention.

Educational problem in India, as in all other civilized countries, is a national question and Mr. Husain Kidwai rightly observes that any sort of separatist policy in solving this problem would prove fatal to the nation and to the country. He suggests that first of all a general policy should be formulated and thinks that the three essential principles of that policy should be

"1st, that education should be imparted in some common indigenous language giving a secondary place to foreign language ;

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and, that education should be compulsory ; and 3rd, that it should be free."

Mr. Husain Kidwai does not argue that these principle should be carried out immediately but contends that they should be adopted as principles of a fixed policy which it would be the aim of the Education Department to work up fully and completely.

With regard to the first point, the writer, thinks that the time has come to settle it in a national spirit, and he emphatically declares that the policy of burdening a nation with an alien language has already proved a failure and that it would be nothing short of folly if that policy were continued any further. He says :

" It has been repeatedly said that although educated India has learnt the English language it has not assimilated the English character. It has also been bitterly complained that the modernisation of India has been only superficial and that the masses have remained quite stationary. What else could be expected from the policy that was adopted when the Indian nation was in dead slumber and did not raise its voice ? How could educated India improve its character by merely cramming a few books in a language alien to the country, its traditions and civilizations ? How could three hundred million people be educated in a language that was totally foreign ? Those Indians who are educated in the English language and who try to imitate the Europeans in their manners and costumes instead of becoming an example for their people are themselves treated as aliens by the masses. The greater the imitation and the assimilation the greater becomes the denationalisation and even if in scores and scores of generations it proves possible to accomplish the education of the three hundred million Indians in the English language the result will be not an Indian India but an Anglicised India."

Equally important and necessary are the other two points, and Mr. Kidwai is of opinion that they should also be adopted—not immediately but gradually.

" To begin with, education should be made compulsory with certain limitations for the urban population and free for the rural. Later on with the improvement in the resources of the income and with the curtailment of less necessary expenses it would be possible to impart free elementary education all over India and also to increase the extent of compulsion for education."

To accomplish this object, Mr. Mushir Hussain Kidwai would make Urdu or Hindustani as it may be called the medium of all education in India—high or low. He puts forward the claim of

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Hindustani in the following manner in answer to those critics who hold that the English language should not be dispensed with because no indigenous language is rich in scientific technicalities :

“ Hindustani language, with its extensive sources and a number of parental languages to borrow from, can very easily and quickly develop its scientific vocabulary as it has already developed its legal and medical vocabulary. Even now the Hindustani language has borrowed words not only from its chief sources of Sanskrit, Persian, Hindi and Arabic but it has also adopted Dutch, English and Turkish words and it can comfortably adopt scientific Latin or Saxon terms with but slight alterations in the spelling and pronunciation.”

KING EDWARD'S PEACE TOUR IN INDIA

Under the above heading Mr. S. M. Mitra gives an account of the late King's visit to India in the December number of the *Nineteenth Century and After*. The tour which his late Majesty, the King-Emperor Edward the Seventh, made as Prince of Wales in India during 1875-76 was an unqualified success and it deserves, thinks Mr. Mitra, to be more fully recalled at a time when the late King's acts and character are being reviewed and when his son is about to be crowned as Emperor of India at Delhi.

To the country and its inhabitants, altogether new to him, the Prince came as the personal embodiment of their future King ; he came as the son of the Queen who had proclaimed conciliation and peace ; his every word and act, his personal dignity, kindness, and humanity, his considerateness and sense of duty, combined to render him the most effective peacemaker ever seen in India. He won the hearts of the Chiefs and the masses alike ; in his honour some Hindu ladies of Calcutta, who had never before broken the seclusion of the purda or their caste rules, touched the hand of an Englishman ; he consolidated the attachment of India to the British Crown. Such a service to England and to India is worthy of lasting commemoration.

The project of a royal visit to India was long contemplated but could not for various reasons be carried out until 1875. The Government laid special stress on the political importance of the contemplated tour which was brought before the House of Commons in the summer of 1875 and the debate which followed explained the official basis on which it was supported. As might be expected it was opposed by a section of the House, principally by the

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late Messrs Bright and Fawcett. Some opposed it on captious grounds and other raised the financial question on behalf of India. But finally the project received the approval of the majority of the members of the House of Commons and £60,000 was sanctioned by Parliament in aid of the expenses of the proposed visit besides the naval charges. The grant was carried by 350 votes to 16, the majority being 334.

The news was received in India with great enthusiasm. The Prince of Wales's departure from England was heralded by an eloquent sermon preached in the Westminster Abbey and by leading articles full of good wishes in the daily newspapers. Dean Stanley, says Mr. S. M. Mitra, struck a wise note when he prayed that the visit might leave behind it, on one side,

"the remembrance, if so be, of graceful acts, kind words, English nobleness, Christian principles; and, on the other, awaken in all concerned the sense of graver duties, wider sympathies, loftier purposes. Thus, and thus only, shall the journey on which the Church and Nation now pronounce its parting benediction be worthy of a Christian Empire and worthy of an English Prince."

The Prince on his arrival at Bombay was given a cordial welcome. His Excellency Lord Northbrook, attended by his official and personal suite, went on board the ss. *Scamper*. More than seventy Indian Princes, Chiefs, sirdars and other notables were present at the dockyard in Bombay where his Royal Highness landed. They were all very favourably impressed with the Prince's frank smile, look of candour, and courtliness as he returned their salutes. An address of welcome from the municipal corporation of Bombay was read by the chairman, Mr. Dosabhai Framji Karnaka, in which the Corporation claimed for Bombay the distinction of being a royal city, as the island first became an appanage to the Crown of England, forming part of the dowry of Charles the Second's Portuguese bride. In the course of the address it was said:

"All this material prosperity she owes to the strong and wise Government which has secured her the enjoyment of peace and order, of equality before the law, of religious liberty and of freedom of trade, and has thus given confidence to men of all races and creeds—Europeans, Indo-Portuguese, Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis and Jews—to pursue their various callings under the shadow of the British flag. We gladly, therefore [it was added in the address], seize the occasion of your Royal Highness's presence among us to record our sense of the blessings of British rule, and to assure your Royal Highness of our devotion to that Throne which has become

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the enduring symbol of concord, liberty, prosperity, and progress, to all the multitudes of nations that own the benign sway of Queen Victoria. We beg that your Royal Highness will convey to her Most Gracious Majesty the expression of our loyal sentiments, and of our gratification that her Majesty has sent the Heir to the Crown among us to become personally acquainted with the people of India."

The Prince (as Edward VII then was) in reply said :

"Your natural advantages would have ensured a large amount of commerce under any strong Government, but in your various and industrious population I gladly recognise the traces of a rule which gives shelter to all who obey the laws, which recognises no invidious distinctions of race, which affords to all perfect liberty in matters of religious opinion and belief, and freedom in the pursuit of trade and of all lawful callings. I note with satisfaction the assurance I derive from your address, that under British rule men of varied creeds and nations live in harmony among themselves, and develop to the utmost those energies which they inherit from widely separate families of mankind, while all join in loyal attachment to the British Crown, and take their share, as in my native country, in the management of their own local affairs. I shall gladly communicate to Her Majesty what you so loyally and kindly say regarding the pleasure which the people of India derive from her Majesty's Empire. . . . I fervently trust that the same good Providence, which has prospered the rule of the British nation in India heretofore, may yet further bless our efforts for the peace and good government of all parts of her Majesty's dominion."

From Bombay the Prince went to Poona. In reply to an address at Poona the Prince discanted on the benefits of Western education. On the 19th November, the Prince left for Baroda and it was here that the characteristic sympathy, kindness and generosity which earned for his late Majesty the epithet of a peace-maker was manifest in the highest degree. The affairs of Baroda had in the early part of 1875 come prominently, and very unpleasantly, under the public notice. The Gaekwar of the time, Mulhar Rao, the successor of the former Gaekwar Khandi Rao, was deposed for mal-administration of his State. The Maharani Jumna Bai, widow of the Maharaja Khanda Rao, was allowed to select and adopt a youth of thirteen years, a descendant of a former Gaekwar of Baroda, in May 1875.

The Prince on his arrival at Baroda was received by the young Gaekwar, the Prime Minister, Sir T. Madhava Rao, the Resident

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and others and drove to the Residency. His Royal Highness exchanged visits with the Gaekwar, and drove through the native city to the old Palace. But all this official programme did not satisfy his Royal Highness.

Intuitively he perceived that something more than mere official formalities were expected of him. Hindu public opinion was all in favour of the Maharani Jumna Bai. Though her grievances against the Baroda Durbar were redressed by the Government of India, yet she had received no consolation for which the heart of a woman always craves. In official red-tape there is not much room for sentiment, and with a woman a little sentiment is of more value than all the Resolutions of the Government put together. It was left to his Royal Highness to find out that the Maharani Jumna Bai wanted something more than official reparation. He at once made up his mind to pay her a visit. This was no sooner thought of than done. The shortness of the time required immediate action. Its effects were magical. All the bad blood caused by recent incidents was removed. Even the sullen Sirdars, who did not hesitate to ascribe motives to the British Government for interference with the affairs of Baroda, were appeased. Even the adherents of Ranis Mahalsa Bai and Lakshmi Bai could not help praising the prince as a great peace-maker. The Maharani Jumna Bai made thank-offerings at the temples of her faith. Travelling pilgrims carried the news from shrine to shrine. All Hindu India echoed with the praise of the Prince. Bards in different parts of India vied with one another in singing his virtues. Hindu astrologers made themselves busy in casting the horoscope of his Royal Highness. His fame travelled faster than the special train which carried him, and reached villages and out-of-the-way places where no newspapers circulated. For the first time the people of India felt that British policy was not confined to physical possession of the country, but was extended to holding the hearts of the natives of India. This policy was initiated in the most unobtrusive manner by one who was destined to be the first Christian Emperor of India.

In another article, Mr. Mitra proposes to show how the Prince's progress in Upper India produced a wonderful effect in the Provinces which not many years before had been the arena of mutiny and massacre.

LIST OF RECENT BOOKS ON INDIA

ABERIGH-MACKAY, G. K.—Twenty-One Days in India
(A New and Illustrated Edition, Messrs. Thacker,
Spink & Co., Calcutta.)

YOUNGHUSBAND, SIR FRANCIS—India and Tibet
(Murray, 21s.)

SACHAU, DR. E. C.—Alberuni's India (An account of the
Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Geography, Chrono-
logy, Astronomy, Customs, Laws and Astrology of
India about A.D. 1030. 2 vols. Kegan Paul, Trench,
Trubner & Co., 25s. net.)

ALSTON, LEONARD—Indian Taxation (Elements of
the Theory of Taxation with special reference to
Indian Conditions. Murray, 2s.)

HEDIN, SVEN—Overland to India (Murray.)

CHIROL, VALENTINE—Indian Unrest (A Reprint of
letters from the *Times*. Revised and enlarged ;with
an Introduction by Sir Alfred Lyall, Murray, 5s.)

MENPES, MORTIMER—The People of India (Containing
32 illustrations in Colour and 32 in Black and
White. Murray, 5s.)

Papers Read Before the Fifth Industrial Conference held at
Lahore (Amraoti.)

SCHULTZKY, O—The Soul of India, being an Eastern
Romance.

MACDONALD, RAMSAY—The Awakening in India (In
Two Editions, London. 5/ and 2/6.)

ARTICLES

THE HINDU-MAHOMEDAN PROBLEM

Of all the many problems which perplex the Indian patriot and the Anglo-Indian official none is more perplexing and complicated than the relation of the Hindus and Mahomedans to each other and of both to the Government of India. What is commonly known as the Hindu-Mahomedan question in India is mainly a social question ; and however difficult it may be of solution as a question by itself it does not seem so hopeless as the relation which these two important communities of India bear to the Government of this country. This aspect of the problem is essentially a political question and no haphazard or careless statesmanship can ever hope to solve it. So long as these two communities do not allow their relationship to each other to grow more friendly and intimate, so long as their mutual distrust does not disappear and the narrow prejudices which one entertain for the other do not give way to a more kindly tolerance and of broader sympathy, there can be no hope of the social relationship of these two communities presenting to the supreme Government an easy opportunity of approaching the solution of this problem. But all these prejudices and narrowness have existed since the days of the first Moslem invasion of India and reached their climax at the time when Aurangzeb mounted the Peacock Throne at Delhi. Into the historic question as to how the Moslem invaders began to treat their Indian subjects and the haughteur with which they treated Indian men and things it is no good entering at the present moment. Nor is it any good to discuss the attitude of distrust and hostility so persistently maintained against Islam by the Hindus of upper India and so forcibly illustrated in the memorable *johar* at Chitore. With the light, however, that has been thrown into our life by western education and culture, with our increasing powerlessness to harm and injure each other, with greater association of both communities in the same schools, colleges, courts, Municipal and District Boards and Legislative Councils, things had no doubt began to improve under British rule ; and if matters had been left to themselves a hope might easily be entertained of the ultimate reconciliation of both these communities to a common and friendly destiny. But most unfortunately, partly through weakness and partly through diplomacy, a most un-

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warrantable policy of *divide et impera* was inaugurated in India during the closing years of Lord Dufferin's Viceroyalty in India. This new policy of *divide et impera* started about a quarter of a century ago opened a new chapter in the relation between the Hindus and Moslems and of both towards the Government. For the first time in the history of British rule the Moslems found a golden opportunity of keeping themselves quite aloof from Hindu movements and living in a world apart uncontaminated by Hindu association. Educated Hindus who had been entertaining hopes under new conditions of things of a united nationality found this Moslem indifference to common aspirations a dangerous obstacle to united action. Under the leadership of the late Sir Syed Ahmed of Aligarh, educated Islam gradually developed an attitude of frank hostility towards not only all Hindu movements but even to such general movements as the Indian National Congress. Anglo-Indian rulers, who behind the screens encouraged this attitude of the Moslems, found that their objects had nearly been gained and openly came out with the criticism that the Congress was not representative of Indian public opinion and belittled it as a Hindu organization.

Through the many important details and incidents of this chapter of Indian history it is not our intention to take our readers in the present article. But how Aligarh came to occupy a prominent position in the determination of Indian political questions is history which is sufficiently well-known to all educated men of the present day. The agitation for separate Moslem representation is not however many years old, and a Private Secretary of a recent Viceroy and Governor-General of India is believed to have given this agitation a unique importance by bringing up this question through an All-India Moslem deputation before the highest authority in the land. This was another turning point in the history of Hindu-Moslem relations, and that is the genesis of the present system of separate electorates which have been brought into operation by the regulations of the enlarged councils.

It is interesting to note in this connexion the development of this idea of special electorates. Our Mussalman friends naturally began with the plea that, in most parts of the Empire they being in a minority, it was the duty of the Government to safeguard their interests. This question of safeguarding the interests of minorities was logically followed with the demand for a due and adequate representation of the minorities in the Councils of the Empire. At this time, most fortunately for our Mahomedan brethren, came Lord Curzon's proposal for the

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partition of Bengal. The opposition against this administrative measure came principally from the educated Hindus of both sides of Bengal. This gave a splendid opportunity to both Lord Curzon and our Mahomedan friends to put down and make short work with Hindu clamour. Lord Curzon raised the cry of a new Province where Mahomedan voice and Mahomedan influence and Mahomedan interest should predominate over everything. And with Nawab Salimollah of Dacca as their leader, almost the entire Mahomedan population of Eastern Bengal gave the weight of their support to Lord Curzon's proposals. Lord Curzon's scheme was a decisive bid for enlisting the sympathies of Eastern Bengal Mahomedans, and our Mahomedan friends would have been anything but human if they had opposed Lord Curzon's proposals for the territorial redistribution of Bengal. The partition was duly carried out inspite of the opposition which reasonable men of every community, including British officials and civilians of the greatest experience, presented against this measure. This partition of Bengal was originally designed as an administrative measure but before long developed into a political *coup de etat* of the highest importance. Whether it has been an administrative improvement is open to serious doubt but as a political measure it has been a step of the gravest importance. It has not only completed the gulf and the breach that existed between the Hindus and Moslems in this country, it has not only made political amenities between the two communities impossible, but more than anything else it has awakened the entire Moslem population in India to the political importance and 'dynamic force' of their community. This sudden re-awakening of the political consciousness and the dynamic force of their community, first realized by the partition of Bengal, naturally led educated Islam in India to drop the question of representation of minorities in the councils. There was no getting over the fact that in most of the provinces of India they were in a minority and the question of the representation of minorities they therefore gave up for a much bigger game. It was no longer a question of minority with them, but a question of political importance; and since this was realized by the Mahomedan community through Lord Curzon's crowning act of folly, it went in for special favours. The deputation that waited on Lord Minto at Simla a few years ago brought this question of special representation to the front and it got out from Lord Minto almost a promise to comply with this request. When in the course of time the reform scheme of Lord Morley

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came to be adumbrated and Lord Morley in his famous despatch of November 27, 1908, elaborated a scheme for the due representation of the Moslems in the Councils of the Empire by the institution of a system of electoral colleges, the principal point of the Mahomedan opposition was the particular promise of Lord Minto to which we have just referred. The Anglo-Indian party in London, never too friendly to Hindu aspirations, set up Syed Ameer Ali to remind the Government of the definite promise made by Lord Minto to the Mahomedans, and there was no way out of it. Lord Morley's scheme of electoral college was consequently wrecked in no time.

It is rather early in the day to say what amount of mischief has been done by the concession by the Government of special seats to the Mahomedan community in India. No matter whether the Mahomedans are in a minority or not, they have now their special electorates in every province of the Empire. The Hindus have naturally constructed this as an undue favour shown towards the community which has been so frankly antagonistic to them for more than eight centuries and they have no doubt taken it deeply to heart. There has been exultation among the Indian Moslems and bitter disappointment in the Hindu world.

This grant of special concession to the Mahomedan community has complicated more seriously the already too complicated problem of the relations of Hindus and Moslems to each other. The attitude of the Government towards these communities may have taken a decided and definite shape in the regulations which have brought the Indian Councils Act into operation, but the fact remains that no good government in this country is possible so long as a better understanding does not exist between these two great and warring communities. If, as we have said above, things had been left to themselves, a time would have no doubt come, sooner or later, when these two contending communities would have adjusted their relations to each other in a desirable and friendly spirit, under common laws and institutions and under a common government and rule. But by the impolitic steps which we have just mentioned this hope has been dashed to pieces and these two communities have again been left to fight out their importance with each other. No good, however, can be served by discussing at this stage the far-reaching consequences of the Reform Regulations so far as they concern the special electorates. The question now to consider is, what can be done to improve the relations between these two communities to each other and how, instead of being

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two factious communities in the same body-politic, they can be induced to co-operate with the imperial Government in the development of good government in this country ?

We shall devote the next article to the consideration of this question.

Political

THE ROMANCE OF NUR-JEHAN

The annals of India, rich as they are in romantic lore, do not afford a completer or sublimer instance of the beautiful than the life-story of Nur-Jehan—the “Light of the World.” There was a beauty in Nur Jehan that was almost of an all-embracing nature, and we doubt whether the mythical Helen, the chaste Lucrece, or the far-famed Cleopatra were ever a match of this Mogul lady. A woman with the graceful profile of an Egyptian princess, with the love-softened face of a Grecian goddess, stamped with the impress of intellect, emotion and spirituality—such was Nur-Jehan, the empress of Hindustan, Persia's *gift* to India—the only empress in the East who was not merely a queen-consort.

Heredity, it is said, plays an important part towards determining the character of a person. Nur-Jehan's mother was a person of unusually high accomplishments. Amongst her other famous works stands prominent the invention of the *attar* (otto) of roses. “She conceived the idea,” says Jehangir in his autobiography, “of collecting the oil which rises to the surface when rose-water is heated and the oil was found to be a powerful perfume.” Her father Mirza Ghyas Beg, supremely endowed with a poetic spirit, united with it, by careful study and investigation, the stored-up wisdom of ancient India. “He had,” it is recorded of him, “studied the old poetry and had a nice appreciation of the meaning of words and his hand-writing was bold and elegant.” Born of Persian parents and once holding the Wazir-ship of Khorassan, an evil turn in his fortune led him to emigrate to India to revive his fallen glory. On his way thither his caravan was plundered and the crowning-point of his misery was reached by his wife's giving birth to a child, in the way to India, who was named Mirhunissa—the sun of women. But the sun shed no light. Far from it ; its appearance was accompanied by disappointment of hopes in its parents until it culminated in the desertion of the child itself in the high way. An irony of fate, indeed, for the future empress of India ! But such was not to be her *hismet*. A merchant, moved

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by pity and more so by her beauty, adopted her as his child and appointed her mother to act as her nurse. Ghyas Beg, on arriving at the imperial court, was presented to Akbar, who, in a short time, captivated by his intelligence and education, appointed him to superintend the royal household.

As Mirhunissa grew in years her beauty ripened. She was becoming extremely accomplished in the arts of painting and music. It is even said that she began to write verses. There is no reason to discredit this statement in the face of the evidence that she used to sing extempore verses to Jehangir. There is an air of romance,—perhaps unequaled in the history of love,—that surrounds the first meeting of the destined ruler of Hindustan with the crown-prince, Selim.

It was a gala night in the Palace. The usual feast being over, the more formal guests had taken their departure. Wine had been brought in and the ladies had entered the Dewani Khas fully veiled, according to custom. Amongst these was Mirhunissa, whose blooming beauty shone forth even through the folds of her garments—"to haunt, to startle and waylay." Selim's heart was touched. Shall we say the same of the maiden,—for, who ever loved that loved not at first sight? She sang and danced and the prince was in raptures and "he could hardly be restrained, by the rules of decency, to his palace." Then, in the midst of her dancing, she dropped her veil, as if by accident, and stood revealed before the young Prince in all the gorgeousness of a Persian maid, brought up in India's radiant clime. Their eyes met and each drank deep the first draught of fully-awakened love. The imperial orgies ended with two young hearts beating time to one unwearied song.

After this eventful night, their meetings, though very scarce, served to captivate, by the charm of Mirhunissa's art, the heart of Selim which her beauty had already conquered. The prince asked Akbar for permission to marry the girl. This was contemptuously refused,—the proposal of a scion of the royal house of Tamerlane marrying a girl with no pretensions to respectability!

In the course of time Selim ascended the throne, as Emperor Jehangir, and his Rajput wife died. The memory of his early love was yet alive and fast approaching a point which, in kings, brooks no denial. Mirhunissa, in the previous reign, had been married by the emperor, in order to guard against mischief, to one Sher Afghan, the lion-slayer, who had accordingly been appointed the Subedar of Burdwan. This man possessed remarkable bravery and great popularity. The emperor, perceiving that the only

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hindrance to the satisfaction of his love was the Subedar, adopted the usual step of concocting plans for his murder. But he was not destined to succeed before the innocent Sher had bequeathed to history some noble records of his unswerving courage and implanted in the hearts of the people a great abhorrence of the nasty aspect of Jehangir's many-sided character. A story is told of a unique tiger-hunt, got up by the emperor, with the ultimate purpose of slaying the "slayer of lions." After the usual preparations had been made and the tiger had been driven into the royal rifle-ranges, the monarch conceived the singular desire of witnessing a single-handed tiger fight. All eyes now turned on Sher. But he budged not. Accordingly, the brave Afghan accepted the imperial challenge and drew his sword. Then, smiling and casting aside all his weapons, Sher advanced and offered to kill the tiger, not only single-handed, but without the aid of any weapons at all. The emperor expressed his unwillingness to sanction such a piece of unparalleled madness, as he called it. The permission however was ultimately granted and as Sher sallied forth, Jehangir's hopes began to rise; this was more than he had counted for. In the midst of his ruminations, the warrior and the tiger were conveyed to the royal presence, both apparently unconscious. But the heavy breathing of the man, the glassy and fixed stare of the beast, each told its own tale. Sher had triumphed.

Thus foiled, a yet deadlier means of vengeance was conceived by Jehangir. The unfortunate Sher was to be waylaid and trampled to death by a goaded elephant. Once again he escaped from the death-trap by the exercise of his cool judgment, in the midst of dangers. The royal rage knew no bounds. He sent his foster-brother Kutub-ud-din as Viceroy of Bengal and charged him with the mission of procuring him his heart's desire. The Viceroy was prompt in his action. The brave Sher fell, but not before he had killed the king's dastardly agent.

The widow of Sher was now sent to Agra, but she disdainfully rejected all overtures of marriage from Jehangir. She was as beautiful as ever. In fact, with the acquisition of a calm and mature dignity that, later on, graced so well the imperial diadem, her personality had assumed a yet lovelier shape. For some four years she remained relentless, but after this "the days of misfortune," says a chronicler of that period, "drew to a close and the stars of her good fortune commenced to shine and to wake as it were from a deep sleep." On a certain *Nauroj* festival, wearied with all the bustle and hurry of court pleasures,

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Mirhunissa was taking a little rest in the midst of a flower garden and thinking of the "long, long thoughts of youth." Startled by a sudden sound, she looked back and beheld the emperor. A reconciliation took place and soon the royal nuptials were celebrated. Mirhunissa was installed as the favourite queen and named Nur Mahal and later on Nur-Jehan-Begum. "Before I married her," Jehangir has left it on record, "I never knew the true meaning of marriage." She soon gained a complete ascendancy over the king and ruled the vast empire with Jehangir as the nominal emperor. "Nur Jehan is wise enough to conduct the matters of state," said the emperor, "I want only a flask of wine and a piece of meat to keep me merry."

At the age of 26, when other empire-rulers abandon themselves to the gaieties and pleasures of life, Nur Jehan seriously set herself to the exercise of the sovereignty which both the people and the king had willingly granted to her. She would sit in the balcony of her palace while the nobles would present themselves (as to a king) and listen to her dictates. Coins were struck in her name; she signed all *farmans* jointly with the king. She directly managed all affairs of State and honours and patronage of every kind were at her disposal. She had everything at her command and yet, be it noted to her glory, she never misused any power.

Her influence was felt in every sphere of life. Under her regime, the Mogul court became magnificent, thanks to her taste and liberality. She became the leader of society, if an eastern queen can ever be so called; it is recorded that she changed the fashion of ladies' dresses and invented a variety of new ornaments to decorate their persons. She was generous towards all. Her name was a terror to all oppressors. She was charitable to a degree and never forgot to make provisions for the destitute and the helpless.

Two of her personal characteristics that require special mention were her qualities of consummate generalship and of skillful hunting. In her former capacity, her rescue of Jehangir from the hands of Mahabat Khan is a matter which every student of Indian History lays particular stress on, as exhibiting powers that stand on a level with those of some of the great generals of the world. In hunting she indulged whenever freedom from state affairs and other duties permitted her to do so. One instance of her skill as a hunter is specially noteworthy. "My huntsmen", wrote Jehangir in his Memoirs, "reported that there was a tiger in the neighbourhood. I ordered his retreat to be sounded. I told Nur-Jehan to fire my

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musket. The smell of the tiger made the elephant very restless and he would not stand still ; and to take good aim from a *howdha* is a very difficult feat. Mirza Rustam, who, after me, has no equal as a marksman, had fired three or four shots from an elephant's back without effect. Nur-Jehan, however, killed this tiger with the first shot."

In Nur-Jehan, most of the elements, if not all that constitute our conception of beauty proper, were prominent. Intellectually, she stood amongst the highest type that the world has ever seen ; from an aesthetic stand-point, she possessed all the charms and graces that have ever adorned classic beauty ; emotionally, she was endowed with all those noble feelings and sentiments that can continually retain the love of an oriental monarch. A great woman she was,—a veritable heroine of the Carlyle type. As a commander-in-chief, she was very much like a Joan of Arc ; as the ruler of a state an anticipation of Bismarck, a Madame de Stael ; as the guardian of her people a Queen Elizabeth ; but as an empress and a woman, the name of Nur-Jehan stands coupled with that of no single woman either in the East or the West.

N. C. Leharry.

A CHAPTER IN SOUTHERN INDIAN HISTORY

While the great Tirumalai Naidu had immortalized his name in the South by bringing into existence monuments of architectural and archæological interest in and about Madura, and by his munificent endowments to temples, one of his successors, a lady of great talent and rare accomplishment, made her name ever memorable by her boundless charities. A short story of such a charitable and benevolent ruler is given in the hope that it will interest the readers of the *Indian World*.

Ranga Krishna Muttu Virappa Naidu ruled Madura for seven years from 1682 to 1689. Little enough of his territories remained to him to rule. The country was a prey to complete anarchy and universal pillage, foreign enemies occupying all the forts and robber-chiefs being masters of the rural areas and carrying on their brigandage with impunity. The young king, though indulging in all his boyish love for fun and adventures which endeared him to his courtiers, had also a stock of sound ability and spirit which moved the admiration of his ministers, and looked into the state affairs himself without trusting to his ministers and Brahmin counsellors. He took advantage of the war

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between Mysore and Gingee and the domestic outbreaks in Ramand and Tanjore to improve his own prospects.

Ranga Krishna Muttu Virappa recovered his capital about 1685, gradually reconquered large parts of the ancient kingdom of his forefathers, and succeeded in restoring the power of the Naidus of Madura to a position, which, though not to be compared with that held by it at the beginning of his father's reign in 1682, was still far above that which it occupied at the end of that period.

Ranga Krishna Muttu Virappa, to the misfortune of his country, died of small-pox in 1689, at the early age of 22. He left no issue ; but his widow, Muthammal, shortly after his decease, gave birth to a son and heir. A curious story is told of her in one of Mr. Taylor's manuscripts which is in a great measure corroborated by a Jesuit letter of 1713. It appears that Muthammal was the only wife (a strange circumstance) whom the late king had ever married, and was utterly inconsolable at his loss. So poignant was her grief that she insisted upon burning herself with her husband, although likely to bear an heir to him within a very short time, and it was with great difficulty that her mother-in-law, the dowager-queen Mangammal, the subject of this sketch, persuaded her to defer her self-cremation until after her confinement, she and other relations solemnly swearing that she should then be allowed to have her way. When at length the son was born, she had her way.

When the infant was three months old, he was crowned king ; and his grand-mother Mangammal acted for the next fifteen years as queen-regent in his behalf. It must be remembered that the great Tirumala Naidu had no successor nor predecessor fit to be mentioned in the same breath with him except perhaps Visvanatha Naidu, the founder of the dynasty, and Mangammal, the regent-queen of Madura.

Mangammal, a daughter of the Rajah of Chandragiri Dupakal, was a woman of surpassing intelligence and immense vigor of mind, possessed with a rare and thorough outlook of state affairs. In her, culture and goodness were happily blended and her reign was full of noble works. Kindness occupied the most prominent part in her heart and she soon made herself endeared to her subjects by her innumerable acts of charity. Besides building many aghararas, temples, tanks, wells, chattrams and choultries for the accommodation of travellers, which were supplied with all necessary articles for their use and consumption, and which are to this day known as Amma Mantapam, Amma Chattram, Amma

kinaru (well), Amma Kulam, Amma Salai etc., she constructed roads from Kasi (Benares) to Rameswaram, to Cape Comorin and other places, and planted avenues of trees along them to give shade to way-farers and furnished them with water booths and wells. Her name is greatly remembered through several of her avenues being still in existence, and through wells and chattrams all over southern India in which the wearisome travellers find much-needed relief, when oppressed by the perpendicular rays of the Indian sun or by the pourings of the Varuna. The long regency of Mangammal was doubtless distinguished by many events of more importance than the planting of avenues and the erection of chattrams, for she was certainly a woman of great spirit and enterprise, and whilst she held the reins of government, the Madura kingdom almost occupied the same position in the eyes of the world that it had occupied in the palmiest days of the great Tirumala Naidu.

Mangammal was a popular administrator, and is still widely remembered as a maker of roads and avenues and a builder of temples, tanks, and choultries. Popular belief unhesitatingly ascribes to her every fine old avenue in Madura, Tinnevely, and Trichinopoly. A very curious reason is assigned for Mangammal performing so many charitable acts. One day, it is reported, she inadvertently put betal into her mouth with her left hand instead of with her right hand, and this offence against good and correct manners set the Brahmins to compel her to expiate for it by munificent gifts on all kinds of religious work.

Mangammal was less frequently engaged in war than his predecessors. In her reign the kingdom of Madura first came into direct touch with the Moghul Empire of Delhi. In 1698, she had subdued a rebellion in Travancore. The king of Travancore, encouraged by the disordered state of the Madura kingdom under Choka Natha Naidu (Ranga Krishna Muttu Virappa's father and grandson of the great Tirumalai), had for many years been very irregular in remitting his tribute to the Madura treasury, and it had been necessary on several occasions to send an army to collect arrears. Determined to put an end to these periodical visitations, the king of Travancore collected a large force and fell upon the Madura army in 1695, and annihilated it in a short space of time, allowing only a few to return. Mangammal, imbued with a desire to revenge herself at this defeat, caused a large army to be collected and despatched against Travancore under command of Dalavay Narasappayya, who reduced the state after much hard fighting and returned to Trichinopoly with considerable booty,

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consisting of jewels and guns. The guns were mounted, says one of the vernacular manuscripts, on the ramparts of Trichinopoly and Madura. Mr. Nelson made many enquiries about these latter, but failed to unearth any tradition regarding their ultimate fate ; and he was informed that when the fort of Madura was dismantled many years ago, not many guns were found upon the ramparts. In 1700, a desultory war was carried on between Madura and the Marhattas of Tanjore which ended in the crushing defeat of the latter. In 1702, Tanjore and Madura were unsuccessful in their united attempt to reduce Ramnad. In the summer of 1701, the Rajah of Mysore had thrown an enormous dam across the bed of Kaveri, and had by this means diverted into his kingdom the whole of the freshets produced by the commencement of the south-west monsoon, thus preventing a drop of water flowing into the rice fields of Trichinopoly and Tanjore. This act on the part of the Mysore Raj threatened to involve both kingdoms, and more particularly Tanjore, in absolute ruin ; and caused an unexpected and almost unprecedented alliance between the ruler of Madura and the king of Tanjore, as a result of which they both made a combination against the Rajah of Mysore forgetting their old feuds and caused preparations to be made for war on a scale unknown before. When an expedition was about to start for the purpose of destroying the great dam, the waters of the Kaveri itself came down with unusual violence and completely swept it away.

A proof of the vigor of the government during the regency is afforded by the circumstances that in 1691 when Father Mello was incarcerated in Marava country and was about to be put to death, an order for his instant liberation was issued by the Madura Dalavay and obeyed without demur. In the words of Mr. Nelson, "as the Sethupathi at the time was the Kiiavan who intended to share in the pillage of Trichinopoly and subsequently joined Venkata Krishnappa in a successful war against the king, the fact of an order from Trichinopoly being respected within the limits of his dominions is one of some significance."

On Tirumala's death, the kingdom began to break up. His successors were weak rulers. Confusion and anarchy prevailed. "The one redeeming feature of the confusion and anarchy was the regency of Queen Mangammal," in the words of a historian, "the most remarkable personage, next to Tirumal, in Madura history." There can be no doubt that under Magammal's firm guidance, the kingdom of Madura regained the proud position it had held in the

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days of the great Tirumala. Mangammal takes her rank among the great rulers of the country, as one who not only carved out a large empire out of chaos, but based its administration on such humane and catholic policy that it still deserves to be remembered.

In 1704-1705, Mangammal's grandson came of age. This event appears to have led to some serious disturbances which had a very tragical ending. A local tradition is extant both in Trichinopoly and Madura that she was starved to death. It would seem that during the latter portion of her regency she had lived on terms of great intimacy with her prime minister, a Brahman named Achchaya, and that at his instigation she attempted to exclude her grandson from the throne. She however failed in her attempt, and it is generally believed she was imprisoned and slowly starved to death.

Speaking of this Mr. Nelson says :—" The particulars connected therewith cannot unfortunately be ascertained with anything approaching precision, as we have no Jesuit letters written between the years 1701 and 1709, and Hindu mss. throw scarcely any light upon the occurrences of this period. But a comparison of oral traditions with a few clearly apparent facts affords some ground for the conclusion that the following were the circumstances which ushered in the new reign. The Queen Regent seems to have lived for some two or three years to the great scandal of her subjects on terms of too great intimacy with Narasappayya's successor, a Brahman of the name of Achchaya, and relying on his support to have refused to make way for her grandson when he came of age. In consequence of this, a strong party was formed against her, and she was arrested and confined in the building which is now used as a jail. And not satisfied with this measure of punishment her enemies resolved to murder her; and did the deed with a refinement of cruelty almost too horrible to conceive. They slowly starved her to death: and to aggravate her sufferings periodically placed food near the bars of her prison window, at such a distance that she could see and smell, without being able to reach it with her hands. It is said that the place where the unhappy woman was thus tortured is still pointed out to strangers, and that the story of her fate still excites compassion: but whether the horrible legend is true it is I believe impossible now to discover. However there is nothing *prima facie* improbable in it as it stands, and there exists some evidence tending to corroborate it. A statue of a young man may be seen in the little chapel built by Mangammal on the west side of the golden lily tank which is commonly known as the statue of Mangammal's minister and

paramour : and in a picture on the ceiling of the chapel there is a portrait of the same person opposite to one of the Queen, and it is observable that the portrait of Mangammal shows that she did not dress as an orthodox Hindu widow should dress, but indulged in jewels and finery fit only for a married woman. These circumstances are certainly in favour of the story of the intrigue with Achchaya being true, and if so, then the story of the imprisonment and murder is rendered more worthy of credence."

In Trichinopoly, however, a small room, near the large hall, in the Nawab's palace, which is always called Mangammal's hall, is pointed out as the place of her death.

The circumstance that she chose to appear in the garb of a married woman in the picture in the ceiling mentioned by Mr. Nelson, so far from bespeaking her amorous intrigue, indicates only her fine taste and is certainly in her favour for the simple reason that, if she were intriguing, she would have preferred to hide and not betray herself. The affection she had for her wise minister, and her adherence to his advice to defer the installation of her grandson to a future date till he was well equipped for administration, had naturally given rise to the scandal, and to the infamy that befell a glorious and eventful reign. The scandal might be quite unjustifiable and uncalled for as some of Bernier who recorded similar scandals of Shah Jehan's daughters who wielded considerable influence in the affairs of the state.

Mangammal's palace near the north-east corner of the great temple, a road lying between, was used by the British Government as the District Jail till 1869 and till 1872 was used for civil debtors, when these also were transferred to the New District Jail. The Taluk Offices, the Government Girls' School and the Big Central Market, completed this year, have risen on the site of the Mangammal's palace. Mangammal built a chattram at Sholavandan, twelve miles west of Madura, which was for centuries an important halting place for pilgrims travelling to Rameswaran and endowed it generously. When the English first acquired the district, it was found that the proceeds of land granted free of rent for the support of Chattrams had, in most cases, been appropriated to their own private use by the grantees' successors or their managers known as "Hakudars". Mr. Hurdis, the Collector in 1802, resumed most of these Chattram inams, and assigned to the institutions *tasdik* (a fixed sum) allowances in place of them. The land given by Mangammal to Sholavandan Chattram was treated in this manner, and the institution is now paid an annual allowance of Rs. 3160 from Provincial Funds.

When the new road from Madura to Dindigul through Tadampatti was opened, it diverted part of the pilgrim traffic from Sholavannan, and a branch of the Chattram was accordingly opened and is still kept up at Tadampatti. Later on, when the Railway was brought to Madura, Sholavandau became of less importance than ever as a halting place for pilgrims to Rameswaram and with the approval of the Government, a portion of its endowment was diverted in 1894 to the founding and upkeep of the Chattram opposite to the Railway station at Madura, and this was called after her, "The Queen Mangammal Chattram."

Not long ago we had in the columns of the *Madras Mail* a description of a well, known as the "Mangammal Kulam" or "Ammakulan," excavated by Mangammal near the railway station at Jolarpet. The traveller's bungalow at Manapparai, twenty-five miles south-west of Trichinopoly, in the Trichinopoly District, is rather a curious construction, and is attributed to Mangammal. The public Bungalow in Manapparai is the only one in the district that was not built by the English. It has a lofty circular dome, and resembles in its style of architecture the large hall in the building in Trichinopoly known as the Nawab's palace. It is, however, of course on a much smaller scale. The building is of Hindu origin, and was constructed by Mangammal as a Chattram or a rest-house. The "audience hall" of Mangammal in the palace at Trichinopoly, now called the Nawab's palace, after its later occupant (the courtyard now occupied by the Sub-Magistrate's Cutcherry) is the most noticeable part of the palace.

A curious ghost story told in one of the O. H. Mss. connects the death of Mangammal with that of her contemporary the Rajah of Mysore and contrasts the characters of the rulers in very strong colors. In the words of Mr. Nelson, "it is to the effect that the Rajah of Mysore, who according to Wilks (volume 1, page 211) was named Chick Deo Raz and died on the 12th December 1704, was a man of a mean and sordid mind and never by any chance performed acts of charity: accordingly when he died he went Naragam, the place of torment, and lay where he fell in the great agony. Shortly afterwards he recognized one of his subjects, who had been carried off by mistake by one of Yama's messengers and was about to be released and sent back to the world of the living; and calling him to his side the Rajah told him he must be so good as to take a message to the Rajah's son and successor. The spirit agreed to do what was asked, and the Rajah thereupon said:

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“When I ruled over Mysore, I laid up great treasures for myself and never performed any works of charity : and hence my miserable fate. But Mangammal of Madura has always been a charitable woman, and now that she is coming to the world of the dead they are setting up triumphal arches and making all kinds of grand preparations for her reception. Go then to my son and tell him that he must at once spend in works of charity all the treasure which is buried in a place which I will presently describe to you, that by so doing he may peradventure rescue my soul from this place of torment.” The Rajah then described the place, and the liberated spirit forthwith delivered the message. The Rajah’s son did not give it credence at first ; but shortly afterwards he received intelligence from Madura to the effect that Mangammal had died at such an hour on such a day, and, finding that the time agreed with the time indicated by the message, he felt certain that the message was genuine and began to act in entire accordance with the directions which it contained. This story is certainly remarkable as illustrating most forcibly on the one hand the selfish and avaricious character of a Rajah, who according to Wilks was in the habit of never breaking his fast in the morning until he had placed two thousand Pagodas in his treasury, and succeeded in collecting so much treasure that he was called the ‘lord of nine crores,’ and on the other hand the generous and amiable character of a Princess, who, in happier circumstances and in a more enlightened age, might have been an ornament both to her country and to her sex.”

P. R. Venkatesalu Naidu.

NATURE AT DAWN

Peace has put forth her olive all around,
The hunters have not yet begun to gore
Her bosom ; but ere long they will be here
To blindly let the shots whir thro’ the bore !
Fair Chandra smiles her last, a gloomy smile,
Her face is pale and blushless are her cheeks.
With her white beams inwoven darkness blends
To shed a murky light o’er hill and creek.
Behold this spot with morning dew full drunk,
That is wrapped in the melting shades of night ;
The objects are but dimly visible,
But soon a splendid scene shall greet our sight.

NATURE AT DAWN

As once in torturing anguish Radha was,
When she voluptuous and panting lay
In the Madhoovana, for Madhav dear ;
While he, Madhav, behind her stole his way,
And in sheer sport when sport she needed not,
But sweet embrace—a lover's soothing balm—
Closed quick and fast her tear-stained beauteous eyes,
Which well betrayed her heart knew little calm.
So now are we unable to observe
The distant view in visible darkness rolled ;
Replete with lovely flowers by Nature reared
And of all colours from deep blue to gold,—
Sweet flowers that have unveiled their blushing face
Hid under petals hitherto as though
To welcome Surya swiftly shooting up,
Who gives them heat and light by which to grow ;
Replete with dainty bowers by Nature spun
Which we see faintly in this dunnish light ;
With cries of many a strange sweet-throated bird,
In plumage garbed of varied hue and bright ;
With murmuring brooks that in a frolic mood
Once stayed away from yonder winding stream
And idly crept into these regions cool
Which they with many playmates found to team ;
With lovely birds and reed with whom to sport
And groves and nooks where after sport to rest
Just for a while, and then their way resume
To meet their mother-river in the west.

S. Srinivasan

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

The Hindustan Review

The *Hindustan Review* for December is an interesting number containing more than 150 pages of solid matter. The first article is a brief notice of Sir Wilfrid Lawson whose life is held up by Sir William Wedderburn as a great object-lesson to Young India. Sir William's solicitation for the welfare of the Indians has led him to repeat what he has time and again said, that the political interests of India would be best furthered (a) by influencing those in chief authority in England, and (b) by making an appeal at first hand to King Demos. He urges the Indian reformers to study the British elector and says that the clue to the solution of this problem would be found in the ways and means adopted by Sir Wilfrid for the purpose. Mr. Sasi Bhusan Mukherji follows this with the second instalment of his article on *High Prices and their Causes* and shows by facts and figures how the prices of food-stuffs have steadily increased during the last century in this country and decreased in Great Britain. The rise of prices in India is attributed chiefly to free trade and the depreciation of the value of rupee. Dr. Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal's *Political Thought In Islam* promises to be very interesting. In his first instalment he says that political theory is no new thing in Islam, but exists from the days of the Arabs. Even women, the writer declares, possess theoretically the right of election though they have seldom exercised this right in practice. Rev. Edwin Greaves discusses the consistency of Hinduism with National Movement from a missionary point of view which we have noticed elsewhere. Mr. D. J. Kapadia welcomes *Religious Reform among Parsis*, and warns the reformers of the danger of applying reason to religion and of other extravagances. "What is wanted," he points out, "is renovation and not destruction." Mr. R. C. Bonnerjee, Bar-at-law, in his didactic article on *National Life and National Character* deplores that nationalism in India is a mere 'catch-word' instead of being a 'reality.' He lays great stress on character-building and points out that national life and national character after all is dependant upon individual life and individual character. "One who knows him" has a whole-hearted appreciation of *Raja Sir Harnam Singh: the Indian Christian*. Mr. Lajpat Rai strongly pleads for an

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Anti-consumption Campaign and appeals to his countrymen to check its growth by individual efforts and provide greater and more effective facilities for its cure. Besides these there are 2 critical articles, a literary supplement, and other topics of general interest. An Indian Nationalist challenges some of the statements made by Lord Cromer in his *Ancient and Modern Imperialism*. Mr. Iswar Sarwan in his critical appraisal of Mr. H. P. Mody's *Political future of India* generally agrees with his views and characterises them as "sober."

The Indian Review

The Indian Review which completed its 11th year this December is varied and full of interest. It contains as many as 18 articles and 13 illustrations besides a few pages on current events and current topics. In the opening article Her Majesty the Queen of Roumania pleads for 'peace on earth and good-will among men.' Travelling and study of foreign languages are suggested as the best means for promoting universal brotherhood. Sir Henry Cotton follows with his *Message and Appeal*. His message is "complete self-government" for the people of India and his appeal to his countrymen is for "regulating the period of transition so that this goal shall be attained with the least disturbance." *The Educational Problem in India* by Mushir Husain Kidwai is noticed elsewhere. Rev. C. F. Andrews in his article on *India in the Victorian Age* reviews the "type of work accomplished by the British rule, its gains and defects," and is disposed to pronounce a favourable verdict on the whole. But he points out that the comparative success on the mere practical side was balanced by the comparative failure which took place, when the claim was made "not to action but to sentiment, not to justice but to sympathy." In future, he says, "there must be adaptation and appreciation in the spheres of education, art, culture and religion, wherever the West comes in contact with the East." A Mussulman writing on *Muslim Politics abroad and in India* claims for Islam the originality of the democratic ideas. He reminds of the glorious past of Islam and predicts even a brighter future for it. The unrest and upheaval in Egypt, Turkey, Morocco and Persia, he remarks, point to the immense latent potentiality of the Islamities and the trend of events in those countries, he thinks, will convince a refractory separatist of the erring policy of the Muslim League. Mr. Frederick Grubb, Secretary of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, writing on the *Drink Traffic in India*, calls attention to

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the steady growth of the Excise Revenue and points out some of the ways in which Government must be held responsible in part for this increase. The following among other reforms are suggested : (1) The abolition of the auction system in the disposal of licenses ; (2) The removal of the licensing function from the control of revenue officials ; and (3) An extension of the principle of local option, adapted to the special conditions of India. Rev. Dr. Lazarus writing on *The Indian Christians* says that if they take opportunity of the many advantages they enjoy they will play a most important part in the nation-building of India. He rightly observes : "In trying to render unto God the things that are God's, the Indian Christian has in a way forgotten to 'render unto Cæsar things that are Cæsar's'. That is to say, though he is scrupulously loyal, and pays his taxes promptly, he avoids politics as if that was the devil himself." The Hon. Mr. T. V. Sheshagiri Iyer in his article on *The Manava Dharma Shastra* highly extols Manu. He says : "Manu has given to the world the Hindu ideal of domestic and social duties, of civic and political responsibilities. His Dharma Shastra has more abiding power than all the other smrities." Mr. Sundar Iyer very strongly pleads for definite and organised action for the amelioration of the condition of the Panchamas both from social and political considerations. Mr. S. H. L. Pollock discussing the *Fate of the Transvaal Deportees* says that the result of the action of the Transvaal Government is "the breaking up of numberless homes, inflaming public opinion in India, imperilling Imperial relations and disgracing the fair name of the Union of South Africa."

The Modern Review

The December *Modern Review* is led off by an article on "Psychical Research and Man's Survival of Bodily Death" in which Mr. Hiralal Halder deals with Apparitions and Telepathy. The facts cited are mostly taken from the proceedings of the Psychical Society. An Indo-American next describes how criminals are converted to honest citizens in America by a "common-sense" policy. Cannot the system be introduced into Indian Jails ? Dr. Ananda K. Coomarswami writing about pictures says that the true significance of art lies in the expression of emotion and in the power of awakening a mood. He also points out some of the common errors to which people are liable to fall in criticising arts. *The Philosophy of Indian History* is a good translation from the

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Bengali of Babu Ravindra Nath Tagore by Mr. S. P. Varma. The writer deplors that History has concealed true India. He observes : "The narrative of our history, from the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni to Lord Curzon's outbursts of Imperialistic pride, is only a variegated mist so far as India is concluded. . It does not help us to realize our true country, it only veils our Gaze." Mr. Sudhindra Bose discusses *American Newspaper Development* and attributes its causes to (a) 'public opinion (b) news organization (c) mechanical progress end (d) advertisements. Mr. Lajpat Rai in an elaborate article on *Education in England* deals chiefly with elementary education. He strongly advocates for Open Air Schools in India. Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy gives an account of the work of the Protestant Missionaries in Chota Nagpur and greatly appreciates their noble achievements. Mr. Asshutosh Roy narrates the characteristics, customs and practices of the people of the Celestial Empire. John Chinaman, the writer says, venerates two things most, old age and merit. There are two copiously illustrated descriptive articles on Allahabad. The retrospect of Anglo-Indian life in the one is peculiarly interesting. The Anglo-Indians of that period smoked hooka and the Memshahib was a less exclusive person. There are a few more articles besides comments and criticisms.

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

Time rolls on and year succeeds year, and very few people reckon how history is made before their nose. Even in **INDIA IN 1910** the East, where a set of silly writers had told us nothing changes, no single year passes without contributing its full share to the making of history. India is no longer devoted to the contemplation of abstract questions ; she is no longer absorbed in the solution of metaphysical problems ; she has thrown herself into the vortex of world-politics and as such is not only taking per due share in the making up of her own destiny but also she is materially contributing to the history of human movements. Democracy has got India under its grip and democratic institutions are now the cry in India. Even in the days of Lord Ripon very few people could have dreamt that the dry bones in the valley would be instinct with life so soon and that India would be anxious to march shoulder to shoulder with the West. What Lord Ripon could not dream, what Lord Dufferin did not dare suggest, what Lord Lansdowne anxiously avoided to concede has quietly passed in Indian history in 1910. In the year under notice India has seen the beginning if not exactly of parliamentary institutions but certainly of popular government ; and however tempered and modified by the exigencies of foreign rule the expanded legislative Councils may be, we have in them the bedrock upon which democracy will build its structures in the India of the future.

We have very often expressed our disappointment at the manner and the system by which Lord Morley's Indian Councils Act of 1909 were brought into operation early this year. We have taken exception and sometimes very strong exception to the creation of special electorates for the benefit of special classes. We have pointed out the invidiousness shown in the regulations between one community and another and above all the injustice of a scheme of Reform in which religion has been made the basis of political concessions. We shall not discuss them over again in this place. All that we are concerned here to record is that, inspite of all these drawbacks, Lord Morley's scheme has taken us a long step in advance towards popular and democratic government. In the expanded Councils which came into being in the beginning

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of this year we have now as many as 370 members, nearly half of whom take their seats as a matter of right and need not look to government for official confirmation of their elections. The maximum strength of the old Councils was 126 ; it is now nearly 3 times as much. In the place of 39 elected members there are now 135, and while under the regulations of 1892 officials were everywhere in a majority, the present regulations have established non-official majorities in all the local provincial Councils of the Empire. To quote the words of the Government of India's Resolution on the subject, dated November 15, 1909 : " Nor has reform been confined to the constitution of the Councils : their functions also have been greatly enlarged. A member can now demand that the formal answer to a question shall be supplemented by further information. Discussion will no longer be confined to legislative business and a discursive and ineffectual debate on the budget, but will be allowed in respect of all matters of general public interest. Members will in future take a real and active part in shaping the financial proposals for the year, and as regards not only financial matters but all questions of administration they have liberal opportunities of criticism and discussion and of initiating advice and suggestions in the form of definite resolutions." We have seen in the course of the year how some of these opportunities have been availed of, by some of the elected members of the Councils in every province of the Empire, to bring important political and economic questions before the attention of Government. In the case of Mr. Gokhale's resolution in the Supreme Council in the matter of indentured Indian labour in South Africa, educated public opinion had for the first time in the history of British rule received a clear recognition at the hands of the Government and this was the only case in the legislative history of this year where a resolution brought in by a private member was allowed to be carried in the Council. In the matter of the financial debates, though no important changes have yet taken place, it is hoped that at no distant day the control of the purse will pass away from the hands of those who hold executive authority in the land to those of these Councils.

That is not the whole work which we can put to the credit of the year now closing. The release in February of this year of the nine Bengal deportees by Lord Minto put the last nail on the coffin of bureaucratic ways in India. While civilized methods of legislation could not be devised to cope with the general unrest in the country, Regulation III of 1818 was brought

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out from the armoury of an 18th century administration and put into force to deport public men and political agitators without trial or even a decent pretext. On two memorable occasions during Lord Minto's Viceroyalty was this weapon brought out and used. And looking back to the history of the last three years we think it were well that it was used at all. This recent use of the obsolete and primitive Regulation of 1818 was followed in England and in other parts of the civilized world with a strong denunciation. No end of questions were put on this matter in the British House of Commons and Lord Morley himself was so uncomfortably heckled that he had no alternative left to himself but to find rest and peace in the gilded chamber. The force of public opinion in England and this country became so strong that Lord Minto could not think of continuing their detention in exile for any indefinite length of time. The release of these deportees, therefore, has established that autocratic ways will no more do even in India, and that this Regulation III of 1818 has been knocked on the head and will remain in the Indian Statute book as of no greater moment than a dead letter.

Speaking of the events of 1910, one cannot forget that excepting one murder early in the year which may be described as part of the anarchist programme of Bengal, the year has been pretty free of political assassinations and anarchist outrages. We hope the murder of Shamsul Alum has been the last offence with which Bengal terrorists have stained their hands and with that murder we hope anarchism has spent itself up in this Eastern land.

There is another matter of considerable importance which must be placed to the credit of 1910. The Indian Chiefs, from the transfer of the Government of India from the Company to the Crown, have been regarded as so many extra wheels in the administrative coach and Lord Curzon made their position at the Delhi Durbar and on other occasions as still more irksome. Lord Minto, however, owes public thanks for having greatly contributed to the resuscitation of their position, and early this year took them in his confidence regarding the measures to be framed to cope with Indian sedition. This, therefore, must be considered as the beginning of a new era, so far at least as the treatment of the feudatory princes of India are concerned.

Now as to noteworthy legislations, the year under review is responsible for two repressive Acts. The Press Act of 1910 is an unwarrantable piece of legislation and, though blessed with the countenance given to it by Mr. Gokhale, it is in some details worse

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than the Vernacular Press Act of Lord Lytton. Then we have had the extension, at a Simla session of the Imperial Council, of the Seditious Meeting Act of 1907.

The death of King Edward VII about the middle of the year evoked in this country an outburst of sorrow and a widespread and intense feeling of loyalty for the Throne of England almost unparalleled in the history of our generation. Subscription lists have been opened and very generously contributed to in every province of the Empire for perpetuating the memory of this great friend and emperor of India. One of the most remarkable features about these local memorials is that they are almost everywhere to take the shape of works of public utility and beneficence and *not* that of statues and gardens. What a change seems to have come upon us !

1910 has seen Lord Morley retiring from the India Office after a strenuous work for five years on behalf of this country. Now that Lord Morley is no more connected with our government and administration we feel what a sincere and well-meaning benefactor of India we have lost in him. As regards Lord Morley's rule at the India Office, we have in the last number of this Review given our estimate of it and this is not the place to repeat what we have said there. But whatever may be the verdict of history regarding his control of Indian affairs for the eventful quinquennium from 1906-1910, here can be no manner of doubt that England never gave to India the services of so great an intellectual and first-rate statesman as Lord Morley. And whatever else Lord Morley may have done, here is no denying the fact that he had succeeded in bringing Indian affairs to the close attention of the English Democracy—fact for which Lord Morley is entitled to our sincerest thanks.

The creation of an executive Council in Bengal, for which a provision was made by Lord Morley in his Indian Councils Act of 1909, was delayed till about the end of this year. This gives Bengal status equal to the Government of Madras and Bombay and makes Eastern Bengal and Assam a province lower in the administrative grade. When the question of the Partition of Bengal was being discussed during the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, that great Indian proconsul decided in his omniscience the scheme of Council Government for Bengal to be an inexpedient idea. Not three years had passed after the Partition was carried through that

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Lord Morley conceived the idea of granting Council Government to Bengal with an Indian member to the bargain. If this Council had come into being before or during Lord Curzon's time, perhaps no occasion would have risen for the Partition of Bengal. But in these days we are getting used to "settled facts."

Now we come to the more recent events of the year. It was a very happy idea with the Congress Committees to have unanimously elected Sir William Wedderburn as President of the Indian National Congress of this year, and India cannot sufficiently thank this grand old man for his having risked his life and health in coming out to India to preside over the deliberations of a not very easy session of this national organisation. Sir William came out to India with a peace mission and by his address to the Congress and by his conduct at its chair he at once impressed one and all with the sincerity of his object and his anxiety to see in this country a mutual co-operation between all classes of people for a progressive and peaceful government. If Sir William has achieved no greater success than the recognition by all the contending parties of India of the fact that strife is not the road to progress, he has done a friendly turn to us which perhaps would alone entitle him to our lasting gratitude. For once, after many years, have the Hindus and Mahomedans come to cry halt to their hostility against each other, and throughout the country one finds today a sense of restraint and responsibility pervading the writings and utterances of leaders of both communities. Sir William, or for the matter of that any man, ought to feel proud for having brought about this feeling in the country, and if subsequent events will strengthen this feeling and engender greater restraint and responsibility among Indian public men, history will have a niche set apart to preserve the good memory of such a saintly personality. Would England could give more of such of her sons to the cause and service of India !

The next most important movement in India, the Indian Industrial Conference, has had for its President Mr. R. N. Mookerjee, the head of the firm of Messrs Martin & Co., and the sheriff of Calcutta for the present year. Mr. Mookerjee has hitherto so closely associated himself with Anglo-Indian views that one finds it refreshing to see him take up some of the cries of the Congress party—*viz*, the need of Protection for some of our industries, the necessity for the establishment of a high-class Technological Institute in the country, and the extension by the Government to indigeneous manufactures fair

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and equal treatment. We are thankful to Mr. Mookerjee for having taken up an attitude of courage and independence in the matter of our industrial regeneration and for having acknowledged openly that the swadeshi movement has not all to the bad to its credit. In two other matters, that is of the employment of Indian capital for Indian industries and of the urgency of the abolition of the Public Works Department, we find ourselves in entire agreement with Mr. Mookerjee. Altogether Mr. Mookerjee made a most sensible speech at the Indian Industrial Conference and every Indian is likely to be the wiser and the better by a careful perusal of it.

This year's session of the Indian Social Conference was conspicuous by the absence of Mr. Justice
The Social Conference Chandravarkar. Since Mr. Ranade's death, Mr. Chandravarkar has religiously attended almost all the sessions of the Social Conference and treated them with interesting and illuminating addresses. This year the Conference missed this great, but a good part of this deficiency was made up by the very interesting speeches made by Pandit Matilal Nehru and the President of the Conference. The President attacked the caste system with great courage in view of the distinguished position he holds in the United Provinces and the apathy and conservatism that still prevails in Hindu society throughout India.

Besides the above, there were a lot of other Conferences held this month in several parts of India which unmistakably go to indicate how the East is changing and is awakening to a consciousness of its destiny. The dry bones in the valley are now instinct with life, and all classes and communities have stirred themselves not only to solve their individual destiny, but also the common destiny of New India. More than a quarter of a century ago, a provincial satrap was startled by the inauguration of a national movement in India and was led to discuss the question in the columns of an Anglo-Indian paper with the significant title of—*If it be real, what does it mean?* Today the activities of New India are not confined to a mere political movement, but to as many branches of life as concerns the civilised man. The question of political and social reform, of religion, caste and script,—everything come under the consideration of the leaders of New India. From the table which we give below, and our readers must *not* take it anyway as an exhaustive list, one will find how the wind is blowing in India and at what pace is India preparing herself to march with modern ideas. And if this be in 1910, what will be in 1950?

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The East may not meet the West but the East may go in advance of the West. Who knows?

NAMES.	Date and Place.	Presidents.
1. The 25th Indian National Congress ...	26th—29th Dec. Allahabad	Sir William Wedderburn.
2. The 24th Indian Social Conference ...	29th Dec. Ditto	The Hon. Raja Rampal Singh, C.I.E.
3. The 6th Industrial Conference ...	30th Dec. Ditto	Mr. R. N. Mukerjee, C.I.E.
4. The 3rd Mohammedan Educational Conference & Moslem League	29th & 30th December Nagpur ...	Mr. Syed Nabi Ullah.
5. The Common Script Conference ...	30th Dec. Allahabad	Mr. Justice Krishna-swami Iyer.
6. The 7th Indian Ladies' Conference ...	28th „ Ditto ...	The Rani of Vizianagram.
7. The Shudhi Conference ...	30th „ Ditto ...	Mr. Sarodacharan Mitter.
8. The 35th Theosophic Conference ...	26th & 27th December Madras ...	Mrs. Annie Beasant.
9. The 7th Temperance Conference ...	28th & 29th Dec. Allahabad ...	Mr. E. W. Fritchley.
10. The Vaisya Conference ...	31st December Allahabad ...	The Hon. Lala Sukhbir Singh.
11. The Saiva Conference ...	27th—29th December Bangalore ...	.....
12. The 4th Viswa Brahmin Conference ...	28th December Ongole ...	Pandit Y. A. Sastri.
13. The 15th Bhumihaar Brahmins' Conference	29th December Allahabad ...	Maharaj Kumar Sri Adit-narayan Singh.
14. The Conference of Cochin Nairs ...	28th December North Travancore ...	Mr. A. Govinda Pillay.

